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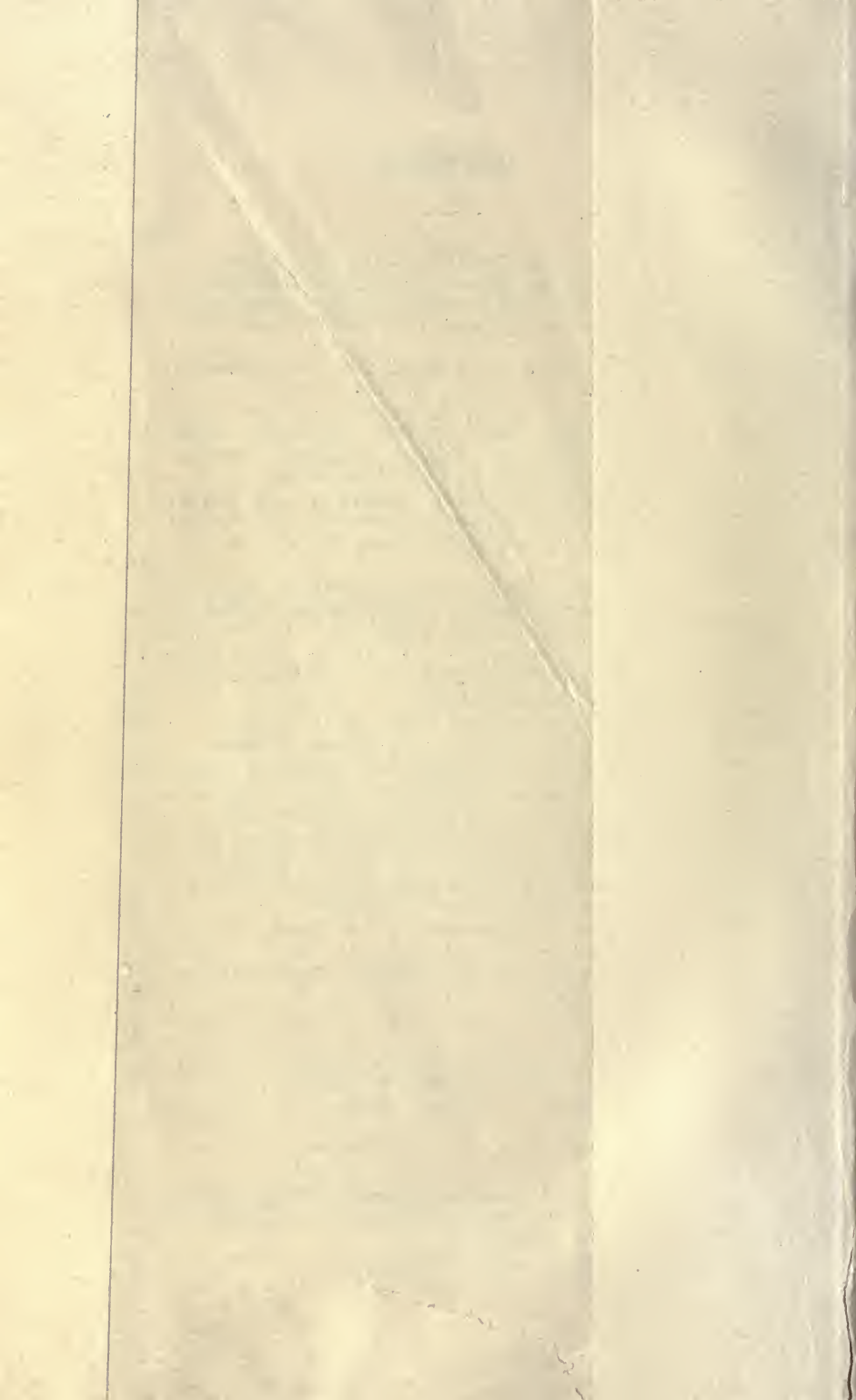
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VOL. XXIX, 1

NEW SERIES, VOL. XXII, 1

I.—THE ORIGIN OF THE EASTER PLAY

Of the mediæval religious plays that emerged from the Roman liturgy the earliest, so far as we know, is associated with Easter Day.¹ The impulse toward the creation of this particular play finds its first definite record in a di-

¹ For his assertion that the Christmas play is older than the Easter play Professor Wilhelm Meyer (*Fragmenta Burana*, Berlin, 1901, pp. 37, 38, 173) offers no evidence. The dramatic Easter trope *Quem quæritis in sepulchro* is found in manuscripts of the tenth century (St. Gall ms. 484 and Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. latin 1240; see texts below), and a true Easter play,—that is, a presentation of the story by means of action and impersonation,—is extant in a document composed, probably, in the period 965-975, and preserved in a manuscript of the period 1020-30 (see Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage*, Vol. II, pp. 306-307, concerning the *Regularis Concordia* of St. Ethelwold). The dramatic Christmas trope *Quem quæritis in præsepe* is not extant in texts earlier than the eleventh century (see Young, in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, Vol. XVII, pp. 300-311), and the earliest true plays of the Christmas season are found in manuscripts of the eleventh century (see Young, in *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 68-70).

minutive prose dialogue of which the simplest ² form runs as follows:

Item ³ DE RESURRECTIONE DOMINI.

Interrogatio:

Quem queritis in sepulchro, Xp̄iticolę?

Responsio:

Iheym nazarenum crucifixum, o caelicolae.

Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat;

ite, nuntiate quia surrexit de sepulchro.

Resurrexi.⁴

This small composition is easily identified as one of some thousands of literary intrusions into the canonical text of the Roman liturgy which are technically called *tropes*. In the present case the trope is attached, obviously, to the Mass, and serves as a mere introduction to the Introit of the Mass of Easter, of which the first word is *Resurrexi*, and of which the complete form is the following:

Resurrexi, et adhuc tecum sum, alleluia: posuisti super me manum tuam, alleluia: mirabilis facta est scientia tua, alleluia, alleluia.

² Although this is the *simplest*, and, indeed, the *oldest* form of the trope, the manuscripts that preserve it are not quite so old as the manuscript (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS. latin 1240) that preserves a derived form. These considerations are discussed below, pp. 12-13.

³ The word *Item* indicates the fact that this trope is one of a series of tropes for the Introit of the Mass of Easter.

⁴ St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS. 484, Troparium Sangallense saec. x, p. 111. The last word *Resurrexi* is the first word of the Easter Introit. It is followed immediately by the rubric *Aliter*, indicating the beginning of a fresh trope. The rime, and the arrangement of the lines of the trope as here printed, should mislead no one into thinking that this piece is other than prose. See C. Blume, *Reperitorium Repertorii* (*Hymnologische Beiträge*, Vol. II), Leipzig, 1901,

Psalmus: Domine probasti me, et cognovisti me: tu cognovisti sessionem meam, et resurrectionem meam.

Versus: Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto. Sicut erat in principio, et nunc et semper, et in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.⁵

The trope before us, however, did not always attach itself to the Mass. It has been justly observed that *Quem quæritis in sepulchro* had a double association and development within the liturgy of Easter: first as an appendage to the Introit of the Mass, and secondly as an intrusion in the Canonical Office, immediately before the *Te Deum* at the end of Matins.⁶ Of these two developments the second, called *Visitatio Sepulchri*, has been assiduously studied. More than twenty-five years ago Professor Carl Lange published some two hundred texts illustrating the growth of *Quem quæritis* into a true drama in the office of Matins, and expounded the chief stages of this development in a lucid commentary.⁷ The few scores of similar texts more recently published have merely confirmed the more important part of Lange's exposition.⁸

⁵ The manner in which this Introit was rendered will be discussed below. See p. 16.

⁶ The best analysis of this double development is that presented by Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage*, Vol. II, pp. 9-36.

⁷ See C. Lange, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, Munich, 1887.

⁸ Such texts have been published by N. C. Brooks, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, Vol. L (1908), pp. 297-312; *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. VIII (1909), pp. 464-488; *id.*, Vol. X (1911), pp. 191-196; by S. Windakiewicz, in the bulletin of the *Krakauer Akademie*, Vol. XXXIII (1902); *id.*, Vol. XXXIV (1903), pp. 339-356; by H. Pfeiffer, in *Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg*, Vol. I (1908), pp. 3-56; by P. Stötzner, *Osterfeiern*, Programm No. 594, Zwickau, 1901; and by the present writer in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. XXIV (1909), pp. 297-329; *id.*, Vol. XXV (1910), p. 351; *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, Vol. XVI (1909), pp. 899-944; *Modern Philology*, Vol. VI (1908), pp. 221-222.

It appears, however, that the other, and earlier, development of *Quem quæritis*,—as a trope attached to the Introit of the Mass,—has never received adequate study. From the few examples of the trope that have been published, the importance of this dramatic germ has, to be sure, been duly discerned; but in the absence of any considerable number of published texts,⁹ it has been impossible to expound completely the fundamental factor in the development of the Easter play, and the very embryo of modern drama.

In the following pages, then, I present the texts of all the Easter *Quem quæritis* Introit tropes that are known to me, and try to trace the growth of this germ toward drama while it remained attached to the Mass.¹⁰ In the course of

⁹ Texts are given chiefly by the following: (1) L. Gautier (*Le Monde*, Paris, August 17, 1872, p. 2; *Les Tropes*, Paris, 1886, pp. 216, 217, 220); (2) G. Milchsack (*Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, Wolfenbuettel, 1880, pp. 38-39); (3) C. Lange (*op. cit.*, pp. 22-23); (4) W. H. Frere (*The Winchester Troper*, London, 1894, p. 176. The text printed on p. 17 I do not regard as a trope of the Introit. The inadequacy of Frere's method of editing,—particularly apparent in the present connection,—is exposed without reserve by Blume in *Analecta Hymnica*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 31-36); (5) Clemens Blume (*Analecta Hymnica*, Vol. XLIX, pp. 9-10). Although certain of these scholars possess an extensive and masterly knowledge of tropes in general, all five writers combined have printed scarcely more than a half dozen texts of *Quem quæritis in sepulchro* that are both correct and intelligible. Lange, writing without an acquaintance with Gautier's epoch-making investigations, seems to have been unaware of a difference between the *Troparium* and the *Graduale* or the *Liber Responsalis*. None of these writers distinguishes clearly between the use of *Quem quæritis* as a trope of the Introit and as a dramatic intrusion at the end of Matins. Upon the basis of the few texts provided by these investigators, however, Chambers (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 9 ff.) makes this distinction with admirable lucidity.

¹⁰ My possession of most of the new texts offered in this study was made possible by the generosity of Reverend H. M. Bannister, of Rome, and Le Révérend Père Dom G. M. Beyssac, O. S. B., of

this procedure I shall treat the following divisions of the subject: (1) the simplest form of the trope, its sources, and its provenience; (2) the addition of sentences of mere liturgical significance; (3) the addition of sentences of dramatic, as well as of liturgical, significance; (4) the conscious adoption of a *mise en scène*; (5) the development of the trope into true drama while still attached to the Introit; and (6) other associations of the *Quem queritis* formula with the Easter Mass.

I

Returning, then, to the simplest form of the trope, we may examine a text quite similar to that given above:

ALITER < p. 247 >

INTERROGATIO:

Quem queritis in sepulchro, Xpicticolae?

RESPONSIO:

Ihēum nazarenū crucifixū, o celicolē.

Non est hic, surrexit sicut prēdixerat;

ite, nuntiate quia surrexit de sepulchro.

Resurrexi.¹¹

That this text constitutes a dialogue appears both from the content and from the rubrics. The dialogue clearly concerns the visit of the Maries to Christ's empty sepul-

Quarr Abbey. I cannot adequately thank these teachers of mine for constant gifts of materials and for untiring instruction. I should, however, absolve them from all responsibility for my particular treatment of the materials in the present study.

¹¹ St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 381, Troparium Sangallense sæc. xi, pp. 246-247. The last word *Resurrexi* is followed immediately by the rubric *Aliter*.

chre, the first sentence consisting of the angelic challenge, the second, of the reply of the Maries, and the third (*Non est hic*), of the angelic assurance. The omission of a rubric before the third sentence would seem to suggest that the second and third sentences were delivered by the same person, or persons. From other texts, however, we infer that this undramatic form of rendition did not obtain,¹² and that the third sentence was delivered by the person, or persons, who delivered the first. In the text before us we have no indication as to how the parts were distributed: whether between two half-choirs, or between a cantor,—or cantors,—and the whole choir, or between two cantors,—or groups of cantors.¹³

Since we now have in hand the simplest form of our trope, we may conveniently inquire as to its sources. Turning to the Vulgate we find the following three accounts of the visit of the Maries to the empty sepulchre: ¹⁴

¹² See the texts from the following manuscripts, printed below: Zürich, MS. Rheinau 97; Verona MS. 107; Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS. latin 779; *ibid.*, MS. latin 118; Ivrea MS. 60; Monza MS. C. 13/76; Monte Cassino MS. 127; Benevento MSS. 27 and 28; Oxford, MS. Douce 222; Piacenza MS. 65.

¹³ As to the manner in which such a trope was sung we derive a certain amount of information from MS. latin 9498 (Paris, Bibl. Nat.), one of twenty volumes of liturgical documents compiled by J. de Voisin in the seventeenth century. On page 17 of MS. 9498, in describing a thirteenth-century *Ordinarium* from the Abbey of St. Denis, de Voisin quotes the following concerning the singing of the trope that follows upon the procession (*Vidi aquam*) after Terce:

Post processionem ascendant infra sancta sanctorum quidam bene-cantantes, alii in dextro latere et alii in sinistro absistentes, tropas bene et honorifice conjubilantes scilicet: Quem quæritis, et sibi inuicem respondentes. Et cum intonuerint: Quia surrexit, dicens Patri, statim archicantor et duo socii ejus assistentes in choro incipiant Officium.

¹⁴ On the relation of *Quem quæritis* to the Vulgate see H. Anz,

MATT. xxviii, 5-7, 10.

MARC. xvi, 5-7.

LUC. xxiv, 4-6.

5. Respondens autem angelus, dixit mulieribus: Nolite timere vos; scio enim quod Jesum qui crucifixus est, quæritis.

6. Non est hic; surrexit enim, sicut dixit. Venite, et videte locum, ubi positus erat Dominus.

7. Et cito euntes, dicite discipulis ejus quia surrexit; et ecce præcedet vos in Galilæam; ibi eum videbitis: ecce prædixi vobis.

10. Tunc ait illis Jesus: Nolite timere; ite, nuntiate fratribus meis ut eant in Galilæam, ubi me videbunt.

5. Et introeuntes in monumentum, viderunt juvenem sedentem in dextris cooperatum stola candida, et obstupuerunt.

6. Qui dicit illis: Nolite expavescere; Jesum quæritis Nazarenum, crucifixum; surrexit, non est hic, ecce locus ubi posuerunt eum.

7. Sed ite, dicite discipulis ejus, et Petro, quia præcedit vos in Galilæam; ibi eum videbitis, sicut dixit vobis.

4. Et factum est, dum mente consternatæ essent de isto, ecce duo viri steterunt secus illas in veste fulgenti.

5. Cum timerent autem, et declinarent vultum in terram, dixerunt ad illas: Quid quæritis viventem cum mortuis?

6. Non est hic sed surrexit; recordamini qualiter locutus est vobis, cum adhuc in Galilæa esset.

It will be observed, in the first place, that none of the Gospels recounts the visit of the Maries in dialogue form. In only one account, that of St. Luke, is there an angelic interrogation, and this interrogation is far from identical with that in the trope. It is clear, moreover, that in none of the accounts do the Maries explicitly reply to the angelic address. It appears, then, that although the Vulgate provides the content and some of the words of the trope, it does not provide the essentials of dialogue form. It might be suggested that the influence of St. Luke's version is to

Die lateinischen Magierspiele, Leipzig, 1905, p. 38; Gautier, *Les Tropes*, p. 219, note 5; Milchsack, pp. 10, 27, 30-31, 116; A. Schönbach, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, Vol. xxxii (1888), p. 85; Chambers, Vol. II, pp. 9, 28.

be seen in the plural form *celicole* (= *cælicolæ*), since only in the Third Gospel are two angels mentioned. The plural form *celicole*, however, is almost certainly due to the rime with the inevitable plural *Xpicticolæ*.¹⁵

As another possible source we may turn to the liturgy itself, which the trope-writer was engaged in embellishing. During the Easter season he shared in the singing of such suggestive antiphons as the following: ¹⁶

Antiphona: Jesum quem quæritis, non est hic, sed surrexit. . . .

Antiphona: Nolite expavescere, Jesum Nazarenum quæritis crucifixum; non est hic, surrexit, alleluia.

Antiphona: Jesum qui crucifixus est quæritis, alleluia; non est hic, surrexit enim sicut dixit vobis, alleluia.

Likewise familiar were the following two well-known responsories:

(1) Responsorium: Angelus Domini descendit de cælo, et accedens revolvit lapidem; et super eum sedit, et dixit mulieribus: Nolite timere; scio enim quia crucifixum quæritis. Jam surrexit. Venite et videte locum ubi positus erat Dominus, alleluia. Versus: Angelus Domini locutus est mulieribus dicens: Quem quæritis, an Jesum quæritis? Jam.

(2) Responsorium: Angelus Domini locutus est mulieribus dicens: Quem quæritis, an Jesum quæritis? Jam surrexit, venite et videte, alleluia, alleluia. Versus: Ecce præcedet vos in Galilæam, ibi eum videbitis, sicut dixit vobis. Jam.

In view of the somewhat complex nature of the responsory as a type, it may be well to indicate the normal distribution of parts in the singing of the two responsories

¹⁵ See Gaston Paris, in *Journal des Savants*, 1892, p. 684.

¹⁶ These liturgical pieces are conveniently found in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. LXXVIII, col. 769-774. Here may be quoted also the *Offertorium* of the Mass for Easter Monday: Angelus Domini descendit de cælo, et dixit mulieribus: Quem quæritis surrexit, sicut dixit, alleluia. (Migne, *Pat. Lat.* LXXVIII, 678.)

before us.¹⁷ In accordance with the prevailing mediæval practice, the first responsory (*Angelus Domini descendit*) would have been sung in one of two ways, as follows:

(a) Cantor *Angelus Domini descendit de cœlo, et accedens revolvit lapidem; et super eum sedit, et dixit mulieribus: Nolite timere; scio enim quia crucifixum quæritis. Jam surrexit. Venite et videte locum ubi positus erat Dominus, alleluia.*

Chorus: *Angelus Domini descendit de cœlo, et accedens revolvit lapidem; et super eum sedit, et dixit mulieribus: Nolite timere; scio enim quia crucifixum quæritis. Jam surrexit. Venite et videte locum ubi positus erat Dominus, alleluia.*

Cantor: *Angelus Domini locutus est mulieribus dicens: Quem quæritis, an Jesum quæritis?*

Chorus: *Angelus Domini descendit de cœlo, et accedens revolvit lapidem; et super eum sedit, et dixit mulieribus: Nolite timere; scio enim quia crucifixum quæritis. Jam surrexit. Venite et videte locum ubi positus erat Dominus, alleluia.*

Cantor: *Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto; sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in sæcula sæculorum, Amen.*

Chorus: *Jam surrexit. Venite et videte locum ubi positus erat Dominus, alleluia.*

Cantor: *Angelus Domini descendit de cœlo, et accedens revolvit lapidem; et super eum sedit, et dixit mulieribus: Nolite timere: scio enim quia crucifixum quæritis. Jam surrexit. Venite et videte locum ubi positus erat Dominus, alleluia.*

Chorus: *Angelus Domini descendit de cœlo, et accedens revolvit lapidem; et super eum sedit, et dixit mulieribus: Nolite timere: scio enim quia crucifixum quæritis. Jam surrexit. Venite et videte locum ubi positus erat Dominus, alleluia.*

(b) Cantor: *Angelus Domini descendit de cœlo, et accedens revolvit lapidem; et super eum sedit, et dixit mulieribus: Nolite timere; scio enim quia crucifixum quæritis.*

¹⁷ As to the singing of antiphons and responsories see P. Wagner, *Origine et Développement du Chant Liturgique*, Tournai, 1904, pp. 135-163.

Chorus: Jam surrexit. Venite et videte locum ubi positus erat Dominus, alleluia.

Cantor: Angelus Domini locutus est mulieribus dicens: Quem quæritis, an Jesum quæritis?

Chorus: Jam surrexit. Venite et videte locum ubi positus erat Dominus, alleluia.

Cantor: Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto; sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in sæcula sæculorum, Amen.

Chorus: Jam surrexit. Venite et videte locum ubi positus erat Dominus, alleluia.

Cantor: Angelus Domini descendit de cælo, et accedens revolvit lapidem; et super eum sedit, et dixit mulieribus: Nolite timere; scio enim quia crucifixum quæritis.

Chorus: Jam surrexit. Venite et videte locum ubi positus erat Dominus, alleluia.

Similarly, the second of the responsories (*Angelus Domini locutus est*) would take one of the following forms:

(a) Cantor: Angelus Domini locutus est mulieribus dicens: Quem quæritis, an Jesum quæritis? Jam surrexit, venite et videte, alleluia, alleluia.

Chorus: Angelus Domini locutus est mulieribus dicens: Quem quæritis, an Jesum quæritis? Jam surrexit, venite et videte, alleluia, alleluia.

Cantor: Ecce præcedet vos in Galilæam, ibi eum videbitis, sicut dixit vobis.

Chorus: Angelus Domini locutus est mulieribus dicens: Quem quæritis, an Jesum quæritis? Jam surrexit, venite et videte, alleluia, alleluia.

Cantor: Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto; sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in sæcula sæculorum, Amen.

Chorus: Jam surrexit, venite et videte, alleluia, alleluia.

Cantor: Angelus Domini locutus est mulieribus dicens: Quem quæritis, an Jesum quæritis? Jam surrexit, venite et videte, alleluia, alleluia.

Chorus: Angelus Domini locutus est mulieribus dicens: Quem quæritis, an Jesum quæritis? Jam surrexit, venite et videte, alleluia, alleluia.

(b) Cantor: Angelus Domini locutus est mulieribus dicens: Quem quæritis, an Jesum quæritis?

Chorus: Jam surrexit, venite et videte, alleluia, alleluia.

Cantor: Ecce præcedet vos in Galilæam; ibi eum videbitis, sicut dixit vobis.

Chorus: Jam surrexit, venite et videte, alleluia, alleluia.

Cantor: Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto; sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in sæcula sæculorum, Amen.

Chorus: Jam surrexit, venite et videte, alleluia, alleluia.

Cantor: Angelus Domini locutus est mulieribus dicens: Quem quæritis, an Jesum quæritis?

Chorus: Jam surrexit, venite et videte, alleluia, alleluia.

An examination of these liturgical pieces reveals, once again, certain of the expressions found in the trope *Quem quæritis*, but nothing approaching the essential dialogue. The liturgy of Easter presents the necessary content, but not the desired form.

In another part of the liturgy, however, in an irrelevant context, appear certain passages that may have served the trope-writer as a nucleus. During Mass on Good Friday he stood for an impressive hour and listened to the Deacon's chanting of the Passion according to St. John.¹⁸ In the course of this chastening ceremony he heard the following:

(1) [Christus]: Quem quæritis?

[Narrator]: Responderunt ei:

[Judæi]: Jesum Nazarenum.¹⁹

¹⁸ John xviii, 1—xix, 42.

¹⁹ John xviii, 4-5. The names of the speakers, in brackets, are given merely for the sake of intelligibility. They should not be mistaken as meaning that in the singing of the Passion each of the three utterances was assigned to a separate singer. Until the fifteenth century, the Passion was sung throughout by one Deacon. Concerning the singing of the liturgical *Passiones* see an article by the present writer, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, Vol. xxv (1910), pp. 311-333,—especially p. 315.

- (2) [Christus]: Quem quæritis?
 [Narrator]: Illi autem dixerunt:
 [Judæi]: Jesum Nazarenum.²⁰

Since in the chanting of each of these passages, each separate utterance was marked by a change of voice on the part of the Deacon, the force of the question and answer could not escape the listener.

Whether or not any of these Biblical or liturgical passages served the author of *Quem quæritis* as a starting-point, none of them approaches the finished dramatic form of the trope itself. *Quem quæritis in sepulchro* must be regarded, then, as an original composition.²¹

In view of this fact, we may well inquire concerning the home, the date, and the name of the author of this productive little dramatic piece. The oldest extant text of our trope is found in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. latin 1240, written for the monastery of St. Martial at Limoges within the period 933-936.²² This text, however, does not

²⁰ John xviii, 7.

²¹ This fact is recognized, upon the basis of one consideration or another, by Milchsack (*op. cit.*, pp. 31-32), Gaston Paris (*Journal des Savants*, 1892, p. 684), and W. Meyer (*op. cit.*, p. 34). Lange (*op. cit.*, pp. 19, 168) seems to assume that the trope *Quem quæritis* was a fundamental part of the liturgy, and that we should no more seek a definite author for such a piece than for the traditional antiphons and responsories. Lange's error results from his lack of information concerning tropes as such,—information quite inaccessible, indeed, before the publication of Gautier's monograph, mentioned above. The tropes were never officially recognized as part of the liturgy, and the *troparium* was never an official service-book. The *troparia* were always relatively few in number, and they merely preserved the numerous musico-literary embellishments with which ambitious, but misguided, religious communities corrupted the liturgy of Rome.

²² As to the date see the facts advanced by Reverend H. M. Bannister in *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. II (1901), pp. 420 ff., and in *Analecta Hymnica*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 22-23.

show the trope in its simplest form. This *simplest* form,—and we may confidently say also, *original* form,—I have already printed above from two St. Gall manuscripts (Nos. 484 and 381). Although the older of these two St. Gall manuscripts (No. 484) cannot be assigned to a date earlier than the year 950,²³ the version of *Quem quæritis* preserved in it must have originated at a date earlier than the period 933-936, from which we have a text of an elaborated, and hence derived, version.²⁴ If, then, the original version of our trope is located at St. Gall, and if it arose at a date somewhat anterior to 933-936,—say *circa* 900,—we can hardly hesitate to mention as the probable author, the famous Tutilo, who was actively engaged in trope-writing at St. Gall about the year 900, and who was still living in 912.²⁵ It is an interesting fact that St. Gall ms. 484, which preserves the earliest text of the simplest version of *Quem quæritis in sepulchro*, contains two tropes which are unquestionably the work of Tutilo,²⁶ and one of which, *Hodie cantandus est*, is strikingly dramatic in form.²⁷

Having considered the possible sources, provenience, and authorship of the simplest version of *Quem quæritis*, we may continue our observations upon the text itself, two examples of which have already been printed above.²⁸ Minor variations from this text are seen in the following:

²³ See Bannister, *Journal of Theological Studies*, II, 420 ff.

²⁴ This reasoning seems to accord with the general view expressed by Blume in *Analecta Hymnica*, Vol. XLIX, p. 10.

²⁵ See Gautier, pp. 35-36, *et passim*.

²⁶ See Gautier, p. 34.

²⁷ For an account of the trope *Hodie cantandus est*, with texts, see an article by the present writer in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, Vol. XVII (1912), pp. 362-368.

²⁸ From St. Gall mss. 484 and 381. See pp. 2 and 5.

<TROPUS>

1. Quem queritis in sepulchro, ho cristicole?
2. Hiesum nazarenum crucifixum.
3. Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat;
4. ite, nuntiate quia surrexit.
5. Resurrexi et adhuc.²⁹

Variant:

Vercelli, Bibl. Capit., ms. 162, Graduale-Troparium Vercellense sæc. xii, fol. 191v.—1. sepulchro ho cristicole] sepulchro o p̄icole.—
2. Hiesum] Thm.—4. nuntiate] nunciate.—5. et adhuc] omitted.

In this version one notes the shortening of the second sentence (*Hiesum nazarenum*), and the consequent removal of the rime *christolæ: cœlicole*.³⁰ The division of the dialogue in this version is secured from another text:

IN PASCHA INTROITUM

Quem queritis in sepulchro, o Xpisticole?

Versus: Hiesum nazarenum crucifixum.

Versus: Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat;³¹
ite, nunciate quia surrexit.³²

Antiphona: Resurrexi.³³

²⁹ Vercelli, Bibl. Capit., ms. 146, Graduale-Troparium Vercellense sæc. xi, fol. 109r. The text printed above is immediately preceded, in the manuscript, by a prose for the Purification, and is immediately followed by the words *Ecce Pater cunctis*, which begin a fresh trope of the Introit.

³⁰ That this variation is not merely scribal seems likely from the evidence of three manuscripts: Vercelli 146, Vercelli 162, and, as printed below, Vercelli 161.

³¹ MS. prediscerat.

³² MS. susrexit.

³³ Vercelli, Bibl. Capit., ms. 161, Graduale-Troparium sæc. xii, fol. 121r. The text printed above is immediately followed, in the manuscript, by the words *Ecce Pater cunctis*, indicating a new trope of the Introit.

In the following text the introductory trope itself shows no important textual variations:

IN DIE PASCHAE

Interrogatio:

Quem queritis in sepulchro, Xpisticolę?

Responsio:

Ihesum nazarenum crucifixum, o celicolę.

Interrogantes:

Non est hic; surrexit sicut prædixerat.

Ite, nuntiate quia surrexit de sepulchro.

AD MISSAM: Hodie processit leo fortis sepulchro, ob cuius uictoriam gaudebant celestes ministri; ideo *et* nos letemur canentes. *Resurrexi*. Principe inferni deuicto, claustris ac reseratis. Et adhuc <tecum sum>, *alleluia*. A quo numquam recessi, licet in carne paruerim. Posuisti <super> me. Quem tu solus *et* solum genuisti, Deus ante sæcula. Manum <tuam>, *alleluia*. Quia iussu tuo mortem degustauit. *Mirabilis* <facta> est. Cui nulla sapientia mundi est equanda. *Scientia* <tua>, *alleluia*. Quod tali uictoria uictorem tumidum strauisti, *alleluia*. <Psalmus>: *Domine probasti* <me, et cognovisti me: tu cognovisti sessionem meam, et resurrectionem> meam. Qui me de morte <p. 17> turpi assumptum sedere tecum in gloria facis. <Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto; sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in sæcula sæculorum>, Amen. Quę angelis est ueneranda cunctis atque mortalibus. *Resurrexi*.³⁴

³⁴ Zürich, Kantonsbibliothek, ms. Rhenoviense 97, Troparium Sangallense (?) sæc. xi in., pp. 16-17. The last word *Resurrexi* indi-

In this case the dialogue is clearly indicated by the rubrics. The connection of *Quem quæritis* with the Introit itself, however, is not quite clear. It may be that the trope introduced by the rubric *Ad Missam* is to be regarded merely as a continuation of *Quem quæritis*; or possibly *Quem quæritis* may be used merely as a processional, and is to be understood as a liturgical piece quite separate from the succeeding trope.³⁵ In any case, for an understanding of the complete text before us one should have a clear notion of the manner in which the Introit itself was rendered. The distribution of parts most commonly observed, perhaps, from the year 900 onwards, may be seen in the following:³⁶

[Chorus primus] Antiphona: Resurrexi, et adhuc tecum sum, alleluia; posuisti super me manum tuam, alleluia; mirabilis facta est scientia tua, alleluia, alleluia.

[Chorus secundus] Psalmus: Domine, probasti me, et cognovisti me; tu cognovisti sessionem meam, et resurrectionem meam.

[Chorus primus] Doxologia: Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto; sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in sæcula sæculorum, Amen.

[Chorus secundus] Antiphona: Resurrexi, et adhuc tecum sum, alleluia; posuisti super me manum tuam, alleluia; mirabilis facta est scientia tua, alleluia, alleluia.

cates the repetition of the antiphon of the Introit. This text has been previously published by Professor N. C. Brooks, in *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. x, pp. 191-192. My text, which differs from that of Professor Brooks only in trifling details, is printed from a copy generously made for me by Herr J. Werner, Librarian of the Kantonsbibliothek, Zürich.

³⁵ Concerning the use of *Quem quæritis* as a processional see below, pp. 49 ff.

³⁶ The various practices connected with the singing of the Introit are explained by P. Wagner, *Origine et Développement du Chant Liturgique*, Tournai, 1904, pp. 68-78.

This expansion of the Introit reveals the extent of the troping in the manuscript before us. The rubric *Ad Missam* is followed by a complete internal trope of the Introit. Not only are the parts of the Introit separated by the trope, one from another, but even the separated parts are themselves disrupted.

II.

So far in our observations we have encountered no important variations in the four sentences of the original trope, and we have noticed no increase in content. We must now consider a few examples which show a small textual addition. The following text is typical:

IN RESURRECTIONE

<H>ora est, psallite; iubet dominus canere; eia
dicite!

Quem queritis in sepulcro, cristicole?

Ihesum nazarenum crucifixum, celicole.

Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat;

ite, nunciate quia surrexit, dicentes:

Resurrexi.³⁷

The addition (*Hora est*) here takes the form of an exclamatory introduction to the original trope *Quem queritis*. By Gautier this accretion is succinctly characterized as the trope of a trope,—“le trope d'un trope.”³⁸ It should be observed, moreover, that the introductory pas-

³⁷ Vich (Spain), Bibl. Capit., ms. 111, Troparium Vicense sæc. xi-xii, fol. 2r. The trope does not extend within the Introit.

³⁸ Gautier, p. 226.

sage does not unite organically with the original text to form an extension of the dialogue,—that it constitutes a *liturgical* rather than a *dramatic* addition.³⁹

A slight variation in the new form of the trope is seen in the following:

1. TROPI IN *Dominica* DE PASCHA
2. Hora est, surgite; iubet domnus canere; eia dicite!
3. Quem queritis in sepulchro, Xpisticole?
4. Hiesum nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole.
5. Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat;
6. ite, nuntiate quia surrexit, dicentes:
7. Resur<r>exi.⁴⁰

Variant:

Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS. 1741 (C. iv. 2), Troparium Nonantulense sæc. xi, fol. 75r-75v.

1. Tropi Dom̄ in pas̄c.
6. nuntiate] nunciate.

From another manuscript we have a similar text, provided with rubrics:

³⁹ That the introductory formula *Hora est* was used elsewhere than in connection with *Quem quæritis in sepulchro* is shown by the following trope of the Introit of Pentecost, from Bibl. Nat., MS. latin 903, Graduale-Troparium Sancti Aredii sæc. xii, fol. 155r:

In die *sancto* Pentecosten.

Hora est, psallite; iubet Domnus canere; eia dicite.

Psallite, fratres mi omnes, una uoce dicentes:

Hodie descendit Spiritus Sanctus uelut ignis super apostolos, et eorum pectoribus inuisibiliter penetrauit; docuit eos omnis linguis loqui in eius honore dulce; carmina omnes decantæ; dicite:

Spiritus Domini.

⁴⁰ Rome, Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, MS. 1343 (Sessor. 62), Troparium Nonantulense sæc. xi in., fol. 28v.

IN DIE SANCTO ⁴¹ PA<S>CHE AD MISSAM SINT OMNES
ORDINATI IN CHORO, *et* INCIPIAT CANTOR ITA DICENS:

Hora est, psallite; ⁴² iubet dominus canere; eia
dicite!

Respondet SCOLA:

Quem queritis in sepulchro, o cristicole?

Respondet CANTOR:

Hiesum nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole.

Respondet SCOLA:

Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat;
ite, nunciate quia surrexit, dicentes:

Resurrexi.⁴³

In this case the dialogue is divided between the choir (Scola) and a single singer (Cantor). After the cantor has sung the introductory liturgical summons, he is interrogated by the choir, replies, and then receives the angelic assurance. The choir in uttering the words of the scriptural angel (or two), and the cantor in answering with the words of the several *Christicolæ*, are both precluding anything approaching dramatic appropriateness in the assignment of parts.

III

Far more important than the mere liturgical introduction to the trope that we have just noticed, are a considerable number of textual additions which either consti-

⁴¹ MS. scm.

⁴² MS. spallite.

⁴³ Verona, Bibl. Capit., MS. 107, Troparium Mantuanum sæc. xi, fol. 11r. The last word *Resurrexi* is followed immediately, in the manuscript, by the rubric *Item alia*, indicating the beginning of a fresh trope.

tute definite extensions of the dialogue, or, at least, provide new dramatic possibilities. An addition of this latter sort is seen in the following:

Dominicum DIEM Sanctum PASCHE
TROPHI <fol. 102^v>

Quem queritis in sepulchro, cristicole?

Hiesum nazarenum crucifixum,⁴⁴ o celicole.

Non est hic, surrexit enim sicut predixerat;
ite, nunciate quia surrexit dicentes:

Alleluia, resurrexit Dominus hodie, resurrexit leo fortis,
Xpistus filius Dei; Deo gracias, dicite eia, *alleluia*.

Resurrexi.⁴⁵

The passage beginning *Alleluia, resurrexit Dominus* constitutes a natural dramatic extension of the trope, an extension which provides a fresh utterance for the *Christicolæ*.

A similar text appears as follows:

IN DIE DOMINICO SANCTO PASCHA
TROPUS

Quem quaeritis in sepulchro, Christicolae?

Responsio:

Iesum nazarenum crucifixum, o coelicolae.

Non est hic, surrexit sicut praeceperat;
ite, nunciate quia ⁴⁶ surrexit.

⁴⁴ MS. creifixum.

⁴⁵ Modena, Bibl. Capit., MS. O. I. 7., Troparium Ravennatense saec. xi-xii, fol. 102r-102v. The last word *Resurrexi* (MS. *Resurrexit*) is followed immediately by the rubric *Aliter*.

⁴⁶ MS. sicut.

Responsio:

Resurrexit Dominus hodie, resurrexit leo
fortis; Deo gratias, dicite Alleluia.

ANTIPHONA: Resurrexi et adhuc tecum sum,
Alleluia. *Psalmus*: Domine probasti me.⁴⁷

The rubrics are here somewhat uncertain as to the division of parts, and at best we can allow only slight authority to a text of which we have only a seventeenth-century copy.

The interest of the following text lies in the continuation of the trope within the Introit:

DE PASCHA *Domini*

Quem queritis in sepulchro, *Xpisticole*?
Ihesum nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole.
Non est hic, surrexit sicut locutus est;
ite, nunciate quia surrexit.

Alleluia, resurrexit Dominus hodie, resurrexit leo fortis,
Xpistus filius Dei; Deo *gratias*, dicite eya. Resurrexi.
Victor triumpho potenti. Et adhuc <tecum sum, alleluia>. Celi, terre, adque maris scepra tenes. Posuisti <super me manum tuam, alleluia>. Glorificasti me deifice. Mirabilis facta est. In omni uirtute. Scientia tua. <fol. 19^r> Qua cuncta gubernas. *Psalmus*: Domine probasti me <et cognovisti me: tu cognovisti sessionem meam, et resurrectionem meam. Gloria Patri>. Preclara adest dies *Xpistus* quare surgens, hoste triumphato, uitam dedit mundo, cuius uoce summo Patri gratulantes cum propheta proclamemus omnes ita: Resurrexi.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. lat. 9508, Miscellanea liturgica sæc. xvii, fol. 179 r ("Ex Missali Corbeiensi ms. num. 622 sæculi xi"). There is no internal troping of the Introit.

⁴⁸ Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, ms. 1169, Troparium Aeduense anni

At this point our attention falls naturally upon the earliest extant text of the trope *Quem quæritis*:

TROPHI IN PASCHE

Psallite regi magno, deuicto mortis imperio!

Quem queritis in sepulchro, o Xpisticole?

Responsio:

Ihesum nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole.

Responsio:

Non est hic, surrexit sicut ipse dixit;

ite, nunciate quia surrexit.

Alleluia, resurrexit Dominus hodie, resurrexit leo fortis, Christus filius Dei, Deo gratias, dicite eia! <Resurrexi, et adhuc tecum sum, alleluia>. Dormiui, Pater et surgam diluculo, et somnus meus dulcis est michi. Po<suisti super me manum tuam, alleluia>. Ita, Pater, sic placuit ante te, ut moriendo mortis mors fuisset, morsus inferni, et mundo uita. Mirabilis <facta est scientia tua, alleluia, alleluia>. Qui abscondisti hec sapientibus, et reuelasti paruulis, alleluia.⁴⁹

As we have already noticed above,⁵⁰ this famous manuscript from Limoges, although it presents the *oldest* extant

996-1024, fol. 18v-19r. The last word *Resurrexi* indicates the repetition of the Introit. *Resurrexi* is followed immediately by the rubric *Alia*.

⁴⁹ Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. latin 1240, Troparium Martialense sæc. x (anni 933-936), fol. 30v. The text above is immediately followed by the rubric *Item* introducing another trope. Inexact or mutilated texts of the trope printed above are given by E. DuMéril (*Origines Latines du Théâtre Moderne*, Paris, 1897, p. 97, note 1), Milchsack (pp. 38-39), Lange (pp. 22-23), and W. H. Frere (*The Winchester Troper*, London, 1894, p. 176). In my reading of the manuscript I am forced to dissent, also, from the critical notes provided by Blume in *Analecta Hymnica*, Vol. XLIX, pp. 9-10.

⁵⁰ See pp. 12-13.

text of *Quem quæritis*, does not preserve the trope in its simplest form. In addition to a fresh introductory formula of a liturgical nature, this text provides the familiar concluding passage, *Alleluia, resurrexit Dominus*. As to the delivery of this concluding passage the rubrics give no precise information. The continuation of the trope within the Introit is noteworthy.

At this stage of our survey the following text is relevant:

IN PASCHA

Hora est, psallite; iube dominus canere; eia dicite!

Quem queritis in sepulchro christicole?

Ihesum nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole.

Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat;

ite, nunciate quia surrexit, dicentes:

Alleluia, resurrexit Dominus hodie, resurrexit <fol. 34^r> *leo fortis, Christus, filius Dei; Deo gracias, dicite eia! Αντιphona: Resurrexi* ⁵¹ *et adhuc tecum* <sum, alleluia>. *Gaudeamus omnes, resurrexit Dominus. Posuisti super me* <manum tuam, alleluia>. *Vicit leo de tribu Iuda, radix Iesse. Mirabilis facta est* ⁵² <scientia tua, alleluia, alleluia>. ⁵³

Both the introductory liturgical formula in this text, and the concluding passage of the trope, immediately before the Introit, are now sufficiently familiar.

Fresh additions to the original trope are seen in the following:

⁵¹ MS. *Resurrexit*.

⁵² Followed immediately in the manuscript by the rubric *Aliter*, indicating the beginning of a new trope.

⁵³ Apt, Archives of the Basilica of St. Anne, MS. 4, *Troparium* sæc. x, fol. 33v-34r.

TROPOS IN RESURRECTIONE

1. Quem queritis in sepulchro, o Xristicole?
2. Iesum nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole.
3. Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat;
4. ite <fol. 21^v>, nunciate quia surrexit.
5. Alleluia, ad sepulcrum residens angelus
6. nunciat resurrexisse Xristum.
7. En ecce completum est illud quod olim ipse
8. per prophetam dixerat ad Patrem taliter inquires:
9. Resur<rexi>.⁵⁴

Variants:

Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. lat. 1120, Tropharium S. Martini Lemo-
vicensis sæc. xi in., fol. 20^v-21^r. A.—*Ibid.*, ms. lat. 1121, Troparium
S. Martialis Lemovicensis sæc. xi in., fol. 11^v-12^r. B.—*Ibid.*, ms.
lat. 1084, Troparium S. Martialis Lemovicensis sæc. x, fol. 64^v-65^r.
C.—Huesca, Bibl. Capit. ms. 4, Troparium Oscense sæc. xi-xii,
fol. 124^r-124^v. D.

1. sepulchro] sepulcrho C; sepulcro D. Xristicole] Xpisticole
A B; cristicole B.
2. Iesum] Ihessum A; Hiesum B; Ihesum C D.
3. predixerat] praedixerat B.
4. nunciate] nuntiate B C.
5. Alleluia] Aeuia C D. sepulcrum] sepulchrum A B; sepul-
crum C.
6. nunciat resurrexisse Xristum] nuntiat resurrexisse Xpistum
A B; nunciat resurrexisse cristum C; nunciat resurrexisset
Xpm D.
8. per] omitted C.
9. Resurrexi] Resurrexit A.

Concerning the two added sentences *Alleluia, ad sepul-*
crum and *En ecce completum est* Chambers observes,
“The appended portion of narrative makes the trope

⁵⁴ Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. lat. 1119, Troparium S. Augustini Lemo-
vicensis sæc. xi, fol. 21^v-21^r. In connection with this text should
be listed the similar, but incomplete, texts in Paris, Bibl. Nat.,
ms. lat. 909, Troparium Martialense sæc. xi, fol. 21^v-22^r, and *Ibid.*,
Nouv. Acq. latin 1871, Troparium Moissiacense sæc. xi, fol. 13^v.

slightly less dramatic,"⁵⁵ and Gautier remarks, "Quelques lignes y sont ajoutées aux précédentes et semblent continuer discrètement une rubrique de mise en scène."⁵⁶ Obviously these sentences do mark a discontinuance of the dialogue; for although they constitute a continuation of the part of the *Christicolæ*, they must be regarded not as a second reply to the *Cælicolæ*, but either as a mere exclamation, or as an exultant address to an audience.

A similar text is seen in the following:

IN PASCA AD MISSAM

Quem queritis in sepulcro, o Xpisticole?

Iesum nazarenum crucifixum,⁵⁷ o celicole.

Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat;
ite, nunciate in Galileam dicentes:

Alleluia, ad sepulcrum residens angelus nunciat resurrexisse Xpistum.

En ecce completum est illud quod olim ipse per prophetam dixerat, ad Patrem taliter inquires:

Resurrexi.⁵⁸

The passage *ite, nunciate in Galileam* of the third sentence seems to have been composed under the direct influence

⁵⁵ Chambers, Vol. II, p. 10.

⁵⁶ Gautier, p. 220.

⁵⁷ MS. crucifixum.

⁵⁸ Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. lat. 887, Troparium S. Martini (?) Lemoicensis sæc. xi, fol. 19r. The last word *Resurrexi* is followed immediately by the rubric *Tropi*, introducing the following series of tropes of the Easter Introit: (1) *Psallite regi magno . . .* (2) *Factus homo tua iussa pater . . .* (3) *Ecce pater cunctis ut iusserat . . .* (4) *Aurea lux remeat Ihesus . . .* (5) *Iam tua iussa pater . . .* For the texts see *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, Vol. XLIX, Leipzig, 1906, pp. 54-55. Any one of these five tropes may have been used as an internal trope of the Introit *Resurrexi*, in continuation of the introductory trope *Quem queritis in sepulchro*.

of the Vulgate: *ite, nuntiate* fratribus meis ut eant in *Galilæam* (*Matt.* xxviii, 10).

As to the distribution of parts in this form of trope, the following text gives a slight indication:

IN DIE Sancto PASCHE STACIO AD Sanctum PETRUM.

Item TROPOS IN DIE

Hora est, psallite; iuba dompnus canere; eia, eia,
dicite!

Quem queritis in sepulcro, o Xpisticole?

*Respondent:*⁵⁹

Iesum nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole.

Respondent:

Non est hic,⁶⁰ surrexit sicut predixerat;
ite nunciate quia surrexit.

Respondent:

Alleluia, ad sepulcrum residens angelus nunciat resurrexisse Xpistum.

En ecce completum est illud quod olim ipse per prophetam dixerat, ad Patrem taliter inquires:

Resurrexi.⁶¹

A somewhat similar text may be seen in the following:

⁵⁹ In speaking of the rubric *Respondent* as "la plus ancienne didascalie ou indication de mise en scène" Gautier (*Le Monde*, Aug. 17, 1872, p. 2) is scarcely scientific.

⁶⁰ MS. *ihc*.

⁶¹ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. latin 1118, Troparium S. Martialis Lemovicensis sæc. x (988-996), fol. 40v. The last word *Resurrexi* (MS. *Resurrexit*) is followed immediately by the rubric *Item alius*.

TROPOS IN RESURRECCIONE DOMINI

Quem queritis in sepulcro, o cristicole?

Responsio:

Ihesum nazarenum crucifixum, o caelicole.

Responsio:

Non est hic, surrexit <fol. 36^v> sicut predixerat;
ite, nunciate quia surrexit.

Responsio:

Alleluia, ad sepulcrum residens angelus nuntiat
ressurrexisse Xpistum.

Hen ecce completum est illud quod olim ipse per
prophetam dixerat, ad Patrem taliter inquiring:

Ressurrexi et.⁶²

In the following text occur fresh additions:

<TROPUS>

Quem queritis in sepulchro, Xpisticole?

Hiesum nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole.

Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat;

ite, nunciate quia surrexit, dicentes:

Alleluia, resurrexit Dominus, eia!

Karrissimi, uerba canite Xpisti.⁶³

Psallite, Fratres, hora est; surrexit Dominus. Eia et
eia!

Resurrexi.⁶⁴

⁶² Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. lat. 779, Graduale Arelatense sæc. xiii, fol. 36r-36v. The last word *et* is followed immediately by the rubric *Alios*.

⁶³ Ms. Xpiste.

⁶⁴ Vereelli, Bibl. Capit., ms. 56, Missale plenum Vercellense (?) sæc. xi-xii, fol. 87v. The trope does not extend within the Introit.

The sentence *Alleluia, resurrexit Dominus, eia!* may be a continuation of the part either of the *Cœlicolæ* or of the *Christicolæ*. The sentences *Karrissimi, uerba* and *Psallite, Fratres* are clearly liturgical in intention.

A possible elucidation of the text just given appears in the following:

Versus AD SEPULCHRUM

Quem queritis in sepulchro, o Xpisticole?

Versus: Hiesum nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole.

Versus: Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat;

ite, nuntiate quia surrexit, dicentes:

Alleluia, resurrexit Dominus, eia!

Tropus

Versus: Karissimi, uerba canite Xpisti.

Versus: Psallite, fratres, hora est, resurrexit Dominus,
eia et eia!

Tropus

Xpistus deuicta morte persona uoce preclara Patri dicens. Resur<rexi>. *Versus:* Cum seuiens Iudeorum me circumdaret⁶⁵ turba. Posuisti. *Versus:* Cuncta quia oculi<s> maiestatis tue sunt aperta. Mirabi<lis>.⁶⁶

The opening rubric *Versus ad Sepulchrum* and the subsequent rubric *Tropus* would seem to indicate that the trope *Quem quæritis* is here detached from the Introit and associated with the Easter Sepulchre. It may be, therefore, that this text and the one preceding, from Ver-

⁶⁵ MS. circumdare.

⁶⁶ Ivrea, Bibl. Capit., ms. 60, Troparium Eporediense sæc. xi in. (1001-1011), fol. 69v. The text above is immediately followed by the complete Introit of Easter, and further tropes.

celli ms. 56, should not be considered tropes of the Introit. As we shall see later, however, the association of a text of *Quem queritis* with the Introit does not preclude its association also with the *sepulchrum*.⁶⁷

In a manner related to the two preceding texts is the following:

TROPHUS

Versus: Quem queritis in sepulchro, Xpisticole?

Versus: Hiesum nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole.

Versus: Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat;

ite, nuntiate quia surrexit, dicentes:

Alleluia, resurrexit⁶⁸ hodie, hodie resurrexit leo fortis, Xpistus, filius Dei; <fol. 99r> Deo gratias, dicite eia!

Resurrexi <et adhuc . . . scientia tua, alleluia, alleluia>. Eia, karissimi, uerba canite Xpisti.

Psalmus: Domine probasti me, <et cognovisti . . . et resurrectionem meam. Gloria Patri>. Psallite, fratres, <h>ora est resurrexit Dominus, eia et eia!

Resurrexi.⁶⁹

In the present connection the interest of this text lies in the use of *Karissimi*, *uerba* and *Psallite*, *Fratres* in the internal troping of the Introit.

A smooth transition from dramatic dialogue to liturgical celebration is well accomplished in the following text:

⁶⁷ See below, pp. 42-49.

⁶⁸ MS. resurrexi.

⁶⁹ Monza, Bibl. Capit., ms. C. 13/76, Graduale-Troparium Modætinum sæc. xi, fol. 98v-99r. The last word *Resurrexi* indicates a repetition of the antiphon of the Introit. In the manuscript this word is followed immediately by a trope of the *Kyrie*. A text similar to that above is to be found in Monza, Bibl. Capit. ms. 77, Graduale-Troparium Modætinum sæc. xii, fol. 81r.

DIEM *Dominicum Sanctum* PASCHE.STATIO AD *Sanctam* MARIA <M> MAIORE <M>.

INTROITUM

Quem queritis in sepulchro Xpisticole?

Ihesum nazarenum crucifixum, celicole.

Non hic est, surrexit sicut predixerat;

ite nuntiate quia surrexit.

Alleluia, resurrexit Dominus hodie, resurrexit leo fortis.

<D>eo gratias, Deo gratias, Deo gratias; dicite omnes alleluia.

Eia, plects deuota, Deo nunc corde sereno cum Xpisto Deo celebremus Pascham canentes:

Resurrexit sicut dixit Dominus; in Galilea apparuit discipulis. Resurrexi⁷⁰ et adhuc tecum sum. Ve tibi, Iuda, qui tradidisti Dominum, et cum Iudeis accepisti pretium. <Posuisti super me manum tuam, alleluia>. Mulieres qui ad sepulchrum uenera<n>t angelus dixit quia surrexit Dominus. Mirabilis <facta est scientia tua, alleluia, alleluia>. Cito euntes, dicite, discipuli, alleluia, alleluia. Resurrexi.⁷¹ Lux mundi, Dominus resurrexit hodie. Possui<sti>. Manus tua,⁷² Domine, saluauit mundum hodie. Mirabilis. Scientia Dei mirabile facta est hodie alleluia, alleluia. Resurrexi⁷³ et adhuc tecum sum, alleluia. <X>pistus hodie resurrexit a mortuis, et Patrem glorificans ait. Posuisti super me manum tuam, alleluia. Quoniam mors mea facta est mundi uita. Mirabilis facta est s<c>ientia tua. Quem celum <et> terra simul collaudant dicentes alleluia, alleluia. Psalmus: Domine probasti.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ MS. Resurrexit.⁷² MS. tue.⁷¹ MS. Resurrexit.⁷³ MS. Resurrexit.⁷⁴ Rome, Vatican, MS. lat. 4770, Missale plenum Benedictinum S.

Although, in the absence of rubrics, the assignment of parts in this text cannot be demonstrated with certainty, one may be allowed to conjecture that *Alleluia, resurrexit Dominus* and, possibly, one or more of the succeeding sentences were understood as extending the rôle of the *Christicolæ*.

The following text has, apparently, no fresh significance except in the link between *Quem queritis* and the Introit:

1. INCIPIUNT TROPHI IN DIE SANCTO ⁷⁵ PASCE
2. ANTE INTROITUM
3. Quem queritis in sepulchro, Xpisticole?
4. Hiesum nazarenum crucifixum, o cêlicolê.
5. Non est hic, surrexit sicut locutus est;
6. ite, nuntiate quia surrexit, dicentes Alleluia.
7. Alleluia, resurrexit Dominus.
8. ITEM TROPHI
9. Pascha nostrum Xpystus est, immolatus agnus est,
10. etenim pascha nostrum immolatus est Xpystus.
11. Hodie exultent iusti; resurrexit leo fortis; Deo
12. gratias, dicite eia!
13. ITEM INTROITUM: Resurrexi.⁷⁶

Petri in Aprutio sæc. x-xi, fol .117r. Part of the text printed above is given by A. Ebner, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kunstgeschichte des Missale Romanum im Mittelalter: Iter Italicum*, Freiburg, 1896, p. 219, Note 1. The last word of the text as given above is followed, in the manuscript, by a trope of the *Kyrie*.

⁷⁵ MS. scm.

⁷⁶ Turin, Royal Library, MS. G. v. 20, Graduale-Troparium Bobiense sæc. xi, fol. 97r. The trope does not extend within the Introit.

Variant:

Turin, Royal Library, MS. F. IV. 18, Troparium Bobiense sæc. xii, fol. 85v.

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1. and 2. reduced to one word: Tropi. | |
| 4. Hiesum] <i>Versus</i> : Hiesum. | |
| 5. Non] <i>Versus</i> : Non; locutus est] predixerat. | |
| 6. nuntiate] nunciate. | |
| 8. Item Trophi] <i>Aliter</i> . | 11. Hodie] <i>Aliter</i> . Hodie. |
| 9. Xpystus] Xpistus. | 12. gratias] gracias. |
| 10. Xpystus] Xpistus. | 13. Item Introitum] omitted. |

Although the accretions of the following text defy explanation, this version belongs, apparently, in the present series:

INCIPIT TROPHUS IN DIEM Sanctum PASCHE
AD INTROITUM

Quem queritis in sepulchro, cristicolę?
Hiesum nazarenum crucifixum, o celicolę.
Non est hic, surrexit sicut locutus est;
ite, nuntiate quia surrexit, dicentes alleluia, alleluia.
Resurrexit Dominus.

Surrexit Cristus, iam non moritur; mors illi ultra non
dominabitur, alleluia, alleluia.

Resurrexit.

Sedit angelus.

Prosa: Crucifixum Dominum laudate.

Nolite.

Recordamini qualiter.

Nolite usque Alleluia.

Prosa: Suggestione angelica nutantia mulierum corda
naviter solidantur.

TROPHUS:

Surrexit leo de tribu Iuda, quem impii suspenderunt in
ligno.

Monumenta hodie aperta sunt, et multa corpora sanctorum, surrexe<fol. 214^v>runt; dicite eia!

Resurrexi.

AD Repetendum TROPHUS

Virgine progenitus creui temptamina uicia, fixusque cruci mortem moriendo subegi. Resurrexi. Quem non deserui carnis dum tegmina sumpsi. Posuisti. Ut per metua sit uirtus clarescere alme. Mirabilis. Gloria, euouae.⁷⁷

In spite of the apparent intention of the introductory rubric, it is entirely possible that a considerable part of this text constitutes a processional for use before the Mass of Easter.

However seriously one may question the dramatic value of the textual accretions in the versions reviewed above, one cannot deny that the following text contains a definite and substantial extension of the dialogue:

1. IN DIE Sancto PASCHE TROPUS
2. <H>ora est, psallite; iubet dominus canere; eia dicite!
3. Ubi est Xpistus, meus Dominus et filius excelsi?
4. eamus uidere sepulcrum.
5. Quem queritis in sepulcro, Xpisticole?
6. Ihesum nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole.
7. Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat;

⁷⁷ Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, MS. 123 (*olim* B. III. 18), Troparium Bononiense (?) sæc. xi, fol. 214r-214v. The letters *euouae* at the end of the text are the vowels of the final words of the Gloria Patri, —*seculorum, amen*,—sung at the end of the Introit. This vowel series is often written in this way merely as a support for the musical notes forming the cadence of the Gloria Patri.

8. ite, nunciate quia surrexit, dicentes:
9. Alleluia, ad sepulcrum residens angelus nunciat
10. resurrexisse Xpistum.
11. En ecce completum est illud quod olim ipse per
12. prophetam dixerat ad Patrem, taliter inquit:
13. Resurrexi.⁷⁸

Variant:

Vich, Museum, MS. 124, Processionale Vicense sæc. xiii-xiv, fol. Bv-Cv.

1. Tropus in die sancto Pasche.

The liturgical introduction *Hora est* is here followed by an interrogation, *Ubi est Xpistus?* which is appropriate only to Maria Mater. That the other Mariæ are not absent from the intention of the text, however, is made certain by the plurals *eamus* and *Xpisticole*. The novel character of the dramatic addition appears from the fact that it is found neither in the Vulgate nor in the liturgy.

A somewhat similar text appears as follows:

<H>OC EST DE MULIERIBUS

Ubi est Xpistus, meus Dominus et Filius excelsus?

Eamus uidere sepulcrum.

Quem queritis in sepulcro, o Xpisticole?

Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat;

ite, nuntiate discipulis eius quia precedet uos in Galileam.

Vere surrexit Dominus de sepulcro cum gloria,

Alleluia.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Vich, Museum, MS. 31, Troparium Ripollense sæc. xii-xiii, fol. 48v. The trope is not continued within the Introit.

⁷⁹ Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS. latin 1139, Troparium Martialense sæc. xii, fol. 53r. The text above is followed immediately in the manuscript by the rubric *Sponsus* and the famous play of that name. For a list

This text is unique. Although it gains dramatically through the presence of *Ubi est Xpistus*, it loses by the omission of the usual response *Jesum nazarenum crucifixum*. As a matter of fact, it is by no means certain that this version constitutes a trope of the Introit. The manuscript gives us no assurance, for our text is immediately preceded by a series of irrelevant *versus*, and is immediately followed by the rubric *Sponsus* and the text of the famous dramatic piece of that name.⁸⁰

IV

It can scarcely be urged that the texts reviewed thus far record an impressive advance toward real drama. In some cases we have observed a palpable enlargement of the dialogue, but as yet we have noted no substantial indication either of *mise en scène* or of impersonation. We may proceed, then, to consider definite indications of this sort in the texts that follow. Pertinent information appears, for example, in a text of the eleventh century from Monte Cassino:

DOMINICUM SANCTUM PASCHA

FINITA TERTIA UADAT UNUS SACERDOS ANTE ALTARE ALBA
UESTE INDUTUS ET UERSUS AD CHORUM DICAT ALTA UOCE:

of previous texts of the version of *Quem quæritis* in this manuscript see Lange, p. 4. Lange's own text of the trope (p. 22) is regretably incomplete.

⁸⁰ A Poitiers version, of uncertain date, somewhat similar to the version before us is used not as a trope of the Introit, but as a *Visitatio Sepulchri* at the end of Matins (see Chambers, Vol. II, p. 29, note). Gautier (p. 221, note 3) seems to suggest that the words *Eamus videre sepulchrum* of the text printed above indicate the presence of the actual *sepulchrum* of the *Visitatio Sepulchri*.

Quem queritis?

ET DUO ALII CLERICI STANTES IN MEDIO CHORI RESPONDEANT:

Iesum nazarenum.

ET SACERDOS:

Non est hic, surrexit.

ILLI UERO CONUERSI AD CHORUM DICANT:

Alleluia, *resurrexit Dominus.*

POST HEC INCIPiATUR TROPOS. SEQUITUR INTROITUS:

Resurrexi.⁸¹

According to this text a single priest standing before the altar addresses the angelic interrogation to two clerics standing in the middle of the choir. The two clerics deliver the reply of the Maries, and after receiving the angelic assurance, address to the choir their triumphant *Alleluia, resurrexit Dominus*. In the assignment of parts we readily surmise an approach toward dramatic appropriateness,—one person speaking for the angel, and two persons for the Maries. As we shall see below, moreover, the stationing of the personages *ante altare* suggests a conscious and significant use of the altar as a stage-setting.

⁸¹ Monte Cassino, MS. 127, Missale Monasticum sæc. xi, fol. 105v. In connection with this text one should observe the following from Monte Cassino MS. 199, as calendared in *Bibliotheca Casinensis*, Vol. iv, p. 124:

Dum canitur Tertia, aspergantur Fratres in choro aqua sancta, quae pridie benedicta est, etc. Antiph. ad Processionem peculiare. Qua finita vadat unus Sacerdos ante altare alba veste indutus, et versus ad chorum dicat alta voce: Quem quaeritis, et duo alii clerici stantes in medio chori respondeant: Iesum Nazarenum. Et Sacerdos: Non est hic. Illi vero conversi ad chorum dicant: Alleluia, resurrexit. Post haec tres alii cantent tropos, et agatur Missa ordine suo. Cf. Chambers, Vol. II, p. 12, note 1.

A similar disposition of the dialogue is seen in the following:

1. *Dominicum sanctum PASCHA. Statio ad Sanctam MARIA<M>.*
2. *INDUTUS presbyter SACRIS UESTIBUS STET POST*
3. *ALTARE ET DICAT ALTA VOCE:*
4. *Quem queritis in sepulcro, Xpisticole?*
5. *RESPONDEAT DIACONUS:*
6. *Hiesum nazarenum, o celicole.*
7. *Respondeat presbyter:*
8. *Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat;*
9. *ite, nuntiate quia surrexit.*
10. *TUNC PERGIT DIACONUS CANENDO HEC USQUE IN CHORO:*
11. *Alleluia, resurrexit Dominus.*
12. *ITEM uersus DE INTROITU: Hodie exultent iusti,*
13. *resurrexi<t> leo fortis; Deo gracias, dicite omnes.*
14. *Resurrexi. Versus: Lux mundi Dominus resur-*
15. *rexi<t> hodie. Posu<isti>. VERSUS: Manus tua,*
16. *Domine, saluauit mundum hodie, et ideo.*
17. *Mirabilis. Versus: Sciencia Domini mirabilis*
18. *facta est hodie, alleluia.*
19. *ALiter. Mulieres que ad sepulcrum uenerant*
20. *angelus dixit: iam surrexit Dominus. Resurrexi.*
21. *Versus: Cito euntes dicite, discipuli, quia*
22. *surrexit sicut dixit Dominus. Posu<isti>.*
23. *Versus: Ve tibi, Iu<fol. 48^r> da, qui tradidisti*
24. *Dominum, et a Iudei<s> accepisti precium.*
25. *Mirabilis. ALiter. Hodie resurrexit leo fortis, Xpis-*
tus,
26. *filius Dei; Deo gracias, dicite eia! Resurrexi,*
27. *Versus: Victor resurgens manens in secula Deus.*
28. *Posu<isti>. Versus: Omnes fringens tartara uictor*

29. exiit ad supera. *Mirabilis. Versus: Gloria*
 30. omnes in excelsis Domino dicite fratres, *Alleluia.*
 31. *INTROITUS: Resurrexi.*⁸²

Variant:

Benevento, Bibl. Capit., MS. 26, Troparium Beneventanum *sæc.* xii, fol. 68v-69r.

1. Statio . . . Mariam] omitted.
- 2, 3, 5, 7, 10, omitted.
4. Quem] *Versus* Quem. sepulcro] sepulchro.
11. resurrexit] surrexit.
12. Item . . . Introitu] *Tropus.*
13. gracias] gratias.
14. Versus] omitted.
15. Versus] omitted.
17. Versus: Sciencia] Scientia.
19. Sepulcrum] sepulchrum.
20. Resurrexi] omitted.
21. Versus] omitted.
23. Versus] omitted.
24. precium] pretium.
26. gracias dicite eia] gratias dicite alieia.
27. Versus] omitted. manens] mane.
28. Versus] omitted.
29. Versus] omitted.

In this case a single priest standing behind the altar interrogates a single deacon stationed, apparently, in the sanctuary before the altar. After receiving the angelic assurance, the deacon transmits the message to the choir. There is no indication of impersonation; indeed, the assignment of parts is not dramatically appropriate, for the *Christicolæ* and the *Cælicolæ* are represented by single persons. The familiar trope is here followed, under a fresh rubric, by an internal troping of the Introit, and it

⁸² Benevento, Bibl. Capit., MS. 27, Troparium Beneventanum *sæc.* xii, fol. 47v-48r. In the manuscript the full text of the Introit follows.

is quite possible that in this text, and in the preceding one, *Quem queritis* is to be regarded as entirely detached from the Introit.

Here may be added another text of the version just considered:

1. *Dominicum Sanctum PASCA.*
2. STET *presbyter* INDUTUS SACRIS VESTIBUS POST
ALTARE;
3. DICAT MAGNA VOCE:
4. Quem queritis in sepulchro, *Xpisticole*?
5. *Respondeat diaconus*:
6. Hiesum nazarenum, o *celicole*.
7. TUNC *presbyter*:
8. Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat;
9. ite, nuntiate quia surrexit.
10. *Pergat diaconus canendo usque in choro*:
11. Alleluia, resurrexit Dominus.
12. *Aliter versus de Introitu*: Hodie exultent⁸³
13. iusti.⁸⁴

Variants:

Benevento, Bibl. Capit., MS. 25, Troparium Beneventanum sæc. xii, fol. 122v. A.—*Ibid.*, MS. 29, Troparium Beneventanum sæc. xi, fol. 20r. B.

1. Pasca] Pascha B. Line omitted A.
2. Omitted A B.
3. Unus clericus post altare dicat A. Omitted B.
4. sepulchro] sepulcro A B.
5. Duo clerici albis induti ante altare respondeant A. Omitted B.
7. Unus dicat A. Omitted B.
10. Duo dicant A. Omitted B.
12. Aliter . . . Introitu] Tropos A. Tropos B.

⁸³ MS. exultant.

⁸⁴ Benevento, Bibl. Capit., MS. 28, Troparium Beneventanum sæc. xii, fol. 28r. In the manuscript follows a series of internal tropes of the Introit. I print the text above, and the variants, in order to show the variety of rubrics.

A real advance in dramatic appropriateness is seen in the following text:

IN DIE *sancto* PASCE, cum OMNES SIMUL CONUENERINT
IN ECCLESIAM AD MISSAM CELEBRANDAM, STENT PARATI II^o
DIACONI INDUTI DALMATICIS RETRO ALTARE DICENTES:

<fol. 18^v> Quem queritis in sepulchro, Xristicole?

RESPONDEANT II^o CANTORES STANTES IN CHORO:

Iesum nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole.

Iterum DIACONI:

Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat;
ite, nunciate quia resurrexit, dicentes:

TUNC CANTOR DICAT EXCELSA VOCE:

Alleluia, resurrexit, Dominus.

TUNC PSALLAT SCOLA:

Resurrexi, <et adhuc tecum sum, alleluia>. Qui dicit Patri prophetica uoce. <fol. 19^r> Posuisti <super me manum tuam, alleluia: mirabilis facta est scientia tua, alleluia, alleluia>. Mirabile laudat filius patrem. Psalmus: Domine probasti me, <et cognovisti me: tu cognovisti sessionem meam et resurrectionem meam>. Eia, karissimi, uerba canite Xpisti. Resurrexi, <et adhuc tecum sum, alleluia>. Victor ut ad celos calcata morte redire. Posuisti <super me manum tuam, alleluia>. Quo genus humanum, pulsus erroribus, altum scanderet ad celum. Mirabilis <facta est scientia tua, alleluia, alleluia>. Nunc omnes cum ingenti gaudio celsa uoce gloriam Xpisto canite. Gloria <Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto; sicut erat in principio, et nunc et semper, et in secula> seculorum, Amen.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Oxford, Bodleian, MS. Douce 222, Troparium Novaliciense sæc. xi, fol. 18r-19r. This text has been previously published by N. C. Brooks, in *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol.

The lines of the *Christicolæ* and *Cælicolæ* are here appropriately sung, in each case, by two persons. The rubric *parati duo diaconi induti dalmaticis*, however, can hardly be interpreted as an indication of impersonation, for the dalmatic is the normal liturgical vestment of a deacon.

The variations seen in the following text are not without interest:

IN DIE SANCTO ⁸⁶ PASCE TROPI.

FINITA TERTIA CANTOR CUM ALIIS UADAT RETRO ALTARE;
EXCELSA UOCE INCIPIAT:

⁸⁷ Quem queritis ⁸⁷ in sepulcro, Xpisticole?

QUI ANTE ALTARE FUERINT RESPONDEANT:

Hiesum nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole.

ILLI UERO <QUI> RETRO FUERINT, DICANT:

Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat;
ite, nunciate quia surrexit, dicentes:

Qui ANTE respondeant:

Alleluia, alleluia, resurrexit Dominus.

ILLI qui RETRO DICANT:

Eia, Carissimi, uerba canite Xpisti.

HIS FINITIS QUI RETRO FUERINT, ANTE ALTARE UENIANT
ET CUM ALIIS SIMUL CANTANT:

Resurrexi, et adhuc tecum sum, alleluia. Qui dicit Patri prophetica uoce. Posuisti super me manum tuam, alleluia. Mirabi<fol. 236^r>le laudat Filius Patrem. Mirabilis facta est scientia tua, alleluia, alleluia, Psalmus: Domine probasti me, et <cognovisti me: tu cog-

viii, pp. 463-464, and by the present writer, in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, Vol. xvii, Part I, p. 309.

⁸⁶ MS. scm.

⁸⁷⁻⁸⁷ Written twice in the manuscript.

novisti sessionem meam, et> resurrectionem meam. Hodie exultant iusti, resurrexit leo fortis; Deo gracias, dicite eia! Resurrexi, et <adhuc tecum sum, alleluia: posuisti super me manum tuam, alleluia: mirabilis facta est scientia tua, alleluia, alleluia>. <G>loria Patri <et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto: sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in secula s>e<c>u<l>o<r>u<m>, A-<m>e<n>.⁸⁸

In this instance the number of persons engaged in the dialogue is not indicated. The transition from the dramatic trope to the Introit *Resurrexi* is gracefully accomplished through the liturgical formula, now familiar, *Eia, Carissimi, uerba canite Xpisti*, after the singing of which, the participants in the *Quem quæritis* dialogue join with others before the altar in singing the Introit.

Since a certain number of the texts just examined seem to suggest that the altar was used as *mise en scène* for the dialogue of the *Quem quæritis* Introit trope, it may be well to inquire concerning the *rationale* of this use, and to examine the independent evidence that the altar was regarded as *sepulchrum*. This evidence may be convenient-

⁸⁸ Piacenza, Bibl. Capit., ms. 65, Graduale-Troparium Placentinum sæc. xi-xii, fol. 235v-236r. Somewhat similar rubrics occur in a text to be found in Pistoia, Bibl. Capit., ms. 70, Troparium Pistoriense sæc. xi-xii, fol. 32r. Here may be placed a text from Monte Cassino recorded, from an unidentified manuscript, by E. Martene (*De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, Lyons, 1788, Vol. iv, p. 147):

Processione finita, vadat Sacerdos post altare, et versus ad chorum dicat alta voce, *Quem quæritis?* et duo alii Clerici stantes in medio chori, respondeant: *Jesum Nazarenum*; et Sacerdos: *Non est hic*. Illi vero conversi ad chorum dicant: *Alleluja*. Post hæc alii quatuor cantent tropos, et agatur Missa ordine suo. Cf. Lange, No. 23, p. 23; Chambers, Vol. II, p. 12, note 1.

ly adduced from two chief sources: (1) the history of the Christian altar, and (2) patristic symbolism.

During the years immediately following the Crucifixion, the altars used in commemoration of the Last Supper were probably mere tables of wood (*mensæ*) in the houses of the faithful.⁸⁹ Later, during a century or two of persecution, the Commemoration was often observed in special and remote places, such as the catacombs about Rome, and similar places of burial. In such burial places the altar was inevitably placed, in some manner, over the body of a martyr or saint. It may have been constructed in a grave chapel above ground,⁹⁰ or it may have been the very cover of a sarcophagus, in a chamber under ground.⁹¹ Whatever its particular form, the Christian altar very early became closely associated with the tomb of a martyr or saint. In the well-chosen words of Hirn, "The *arca*, *i. e.*, the chest which contained the martyr's bones, became an *ara*, *i. e.*, a table bearing the flesh and blood of the divine man."⁹² It was natural, then, that with the erection of altars in churches, after the Peace of the Church, the identification of tomb and altar should have been piously maintained, and that the church altar should have been built, normally, over the tomb of a saint, or, to reverse the relation, that the relics of a saint (*Sancta Sancti*) should have been buried under the altar.⁹³ Thus it happens that to

⁸⁹ C. Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe: Études archéologiques sur ses monuments*, Vol. I, Paris, 1883, pp. 103, 237; Parenty, *Recherches sur la Forme des Autels in Congrès Scientifique de France*, Session XX, 1853, Vol. II, pp. 201-202.

⁹⁰ Y. Hirn, *The Sacred Shrine*, London, 1912, pp. 14-18.

⁹¹ Rohault de Fleury, Vol. I, pp. 103-109, 237; Parenty, p. 202.

⁹² Hirn, p. 23.

⁹³ J. Mallet, *Cours élémentaire d'Archéologie religieuse*, Vol. II, Paris, 1900, pp. 13-14; J. Corblet, *Essai historique et liturgique sur les Ciboires et la réserve de l'Eucharistie*, Paris, 1858, pp. 77-78; Parenty, p. 202; Hirn, p. 26.

this day, under the main altar of many an historic church edifice, may be found the tomb of a saint, the saint's place of rest being variously called *Confessio*, *Martyrium*, or *Testimonium*.⁹⁴

As the number of churches increased throughout the Christian world, however, it became impossible to provide for each altar the entire remains of a saint, and a subdividing of relics became necessary. Instead of resting upon the body of a saint, the altar could now be associated with only a small particle, or small particles. These relics were sometimes placed in an appropriate reliquary under the altar,⁹⁵ or, as was more common, in an excavation in the top of the stone altar-table, the cavity being regularly called *sepulchrum*.⁹⁶ In the *sepulchrum* was placed a closed box (*capsa*),—usually a small, formless envelope of lead,—containing the relics, and the *sepulchrum* cavity was closed with a stone seal (*sigillum*).⁹⁷

For the mediæval worshipper the transition was easy from the use of the altar as the tomb of a saint to the idea of the altar as the sepulchre of Christ. It appears, indeed, that in the *sepulchrum* of the altar the relics of the saint were sometimes actually replaced by “fragments of the Saviour's body,” that is, by pieces of a consecrated wafer.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ De Caumont, *Cours d'Antiquités Monumentales*, Part VI, Paris, 1841, pp. 112-118; *Congrès Scientifique de France*, Session XXII (Puy), 1855, Vol. II, p. 523; X. Barbier de Montault, *Le Martyrium de Poitiers*, Poitiers, 1885, *passim*; Parenty, p. 202.

⁹⁵ Parenty, p. 207.

⁹⁶ H. A. Daniel, *Codex Liturgicus*, Vol. I, Leipzig, 1847, p. 375; Parenty, p. 203; Mallet, Vol. II, pp. 13-14; Corblet, p. 77; Barbier de Montault, pp. 45, 53.

⁹⁷ H. Otte, *Handbuch der kirchlichen Kunst-Archäologie des deutschen Mittelalters*, Vol. I, Leipzig, 1883, pp. 131, 134.

⁹⁸ See Hirn, p. 68.

In such a case the altar became literally the grave of Christ.

Whether or not the altar was often recognized as *Sepulchrum Christi* through such *material* means, we have ample evidence that the altar was so accepted *symbolically*.⁹⁹

In the *Theoria* of Germanus I, Patriarch of Constantinople († 733), we read:

Altare est Propiciatorium in quo offerebatur pro peccato, iuxta sanctum monumentum Christi in quo altari victimam se Christus obtulit Deo et Patri, per oblationem corporis sui. . . . Altare est et dicitur præsepe et sepulchrum Domini.¹⁰⁰

A similar interpretation is given by Amalarius of Metz († 837) in his *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*:

Per particulam oblatae immissae in calicem ostenditur Christi corpus quod jam resurrexit a mortuis; per comestam a sacerdote vel a populo, ambulans adhuc super terram; per relictam in altari, jacens in sepulchris.¹⁰¹

Again, in his *Eclogæ de Officio Missæ* Amalarius writes the following verse:

Ecce habes hic tumulum Christi quam conspicias aram.¹⁰²

Simeon Thessalonicus († 1430), in his *Expositio de Divino Templo*, speaks of the altar as *magni sacrificii offi-*

⁹⁹ See Rohault de Fleury, Vol. I, pp. 107-109, 239; *Annales Archéologiques*, Vol. IV, pp. 238, 241-242, 246-248; F. X. Kraus, *Real-Encyclopädie der christlichen Alterthümer*, Vol. I, Freiburg, 1882, pp. 39, 89-90; J. B. E. Pascal, *Origines et Raison de la Liturgie Catholique*, Paris, 1863, col. 96-97; *De Processionibus Liber*, Paris, 1641, pp. 181-191.

¹⁰⁰ *Bibliothecae Patrum et Veterum Auctorum Ecclesiasticorum*, Vol. VI, Paris, 1610, col. 116.

¹⁰¹ Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. CV, col. 1154-1155.

¹⁰² Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, Vol. CV, col. 1326.

cina and *Christi monumentum*,¹⁰³ and concerning the relics under the altar-table, writes as follows:

Sub mensa deinde repositæ sunt reliquiæ, utpote quorûm spiritus Christo magno martyri semper adsint. Præterea tanquam Ecclesiæ fundamenta hos altare continet, quæ primo Christi, postea per ipsum martyrum sanguine condita est.¹⁰⁴

Further testimony as to the symbolism of the altar, and final confirmation of our surmise that the altar serves as the *sepulchrum* setting for the *Quem quæritis* dialogue in the texts given above, are found in the famous *Rationale* of Durandus (1237-1276), Bishop of Mende:

Nec omittendum, quod in quibusdam Ecclesiis in his septem diebus *duo in albis superpelliciis* incipiunt responsum: Hæc dies; et in aliis quosdam *tropos retro altare*,—quod repræsentat *sepulchrum* pro eo quod corpus Iesu in eo sacramentaliter collocatur, et consecratur,—gerentes *typum duorum angelorum*, qui stantes in *sepulchro* Christum resurrexisse retulerunt.¹⁰⁵

This description of *tropos retro altare* seems to apply precisely to the texts printed above from Oxford ms. Douce 222 and Piacenza ms. 65, and it proves definitively that in such cases the altar serves as a *sepulchrum* for the dialogue. From Durandus' words *duo in albis superpelliciis . . . gerentes typum duorum angelorum* we might, indeed, infer that in such versions of *Quem quæritis* the characters concerned in the dialogue were actually impersonated; but the evidence on this point is not quite conclusive.

¹⁰³ Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, Vol. clv, col. 703.

¹⁰⁴ *Id.*, Vol. clv, col. 706.

¹⁰⁵ Gulielmus Durandus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, Lugduni, 1559, fol. 378r.

V

It cannot be denied that in the group of versions just examined, the advance toward drama is considerable. The primitive dialogue has at length been provided with a *mise en scène*, and in some cases the sentences have been distributed among the singers with dramatic appropriateness. None of these versions, however, can be definitively identified as true drama, for no dramatic piece can be so identified unless the characters concerned in the action are unmistakably impersonated. Our search for a version providing such impersonation is rewarded in the following text:

IN DIE PASCE CANTORIA ACCIPIANT DUAS DOMINAS ET PONANT POST ALTARE MAIUS IN LOCO ANGELORUM, ET CANTENT ISTAM TROPHAM, sic:

Quem queritis?

ET CANTORIA ACCIPIANT TRES DOMINAS QUE HABEANT SINGULA UASSA ARIENTEA IN MANIBUS, et CANERE DEBEANT IN MEDIO CHORO AD MODUM TRES MARIE, ET RESPONDEANT ANGELIS sic:

Ihesum nazarenum.

RESPONDEANT ANGELI:

Non est hic, sur<r>exit.

TRES MARIE ET CANTE<n>t ADHUC TROPHA<m>, sic:

Alleluia, resurrexit.

ET HOC FACTO EBDOMODARIA EPISTOLE ¹⁰⁶ TENEAT SEPULCRUM EBORIS IN MANIBUS IN MEDIO CHORO DONEC EXPLEAT EPISTOLAM, et INCIPIAT OFFICIUM ¹⁰⁷ MISSE:

Resur<r>exi, et adhuc tecum sum.

ET TRES MARIE RESPONDEANT ISTAM TROPHAM:

Qui dicit Patri propheti<c>a uoce.

¹⁰⁶ MS. epla.

¹⁰⁷ MS. offitiū.

ET CHORUS *respondeat sic*:

Posuisti *super* me *manum tuam*.

TRES MARIE *respondeant*:

Mirabilem laudat Filius Patrem.

CHORUS *respondeat*:

Mirabilis facta est scientia tua.

ET TRES MARIE UADANT DEORSUM TUNC AD ALTARE MAIUS
AD OFFERENDUM SUA ¹⁰⁸ UASA ARGENTEA, ET CHORUS DICAT
uersum:

Domine probasti me.

ET CHORUS INCIPIAT OFFICIUM: ¹⁰⁹

Resurrexi. ¹¹⁰

ET ALIUS CHORUS DICAT:

Gloria Patri.

¹¹¹ ET HOC DICTO UENIANT TANTUM TRES ¹¹¹ MARIE
<quae> *respondeant* SUPERIUS IN MEDIO CHORO *et*
DICANT ISTAM TROPHAM, *sic*:

Hodie *resurrexit*.

ET HIIS FINITIS TRES MARIE REUERTANT AD LOCA SUA; ET
EBDOMODARIA INCIPIAT ADHUC OFFICIUM ¹¹² MISSE:

Resurrexi. ¹¹³

ET CHORUS EXPLEAT, ET CANTORIA INCIPIAT *prosam sic*:

Domine redemptor.

ET EBDOMODARIA INCIPIAT: Kyrie. ¹¹⁴

Although a blundering scribe has cruelly mutilated this
text, ¹¹⁵ the essentials of this play can be easily recovered.

¹⁰⁸ MS. tua.

¹⁰⁹ MS. offitiū.

¹¹⁰ MS. Resurrexit.

¹¹¹⁻¹¹¹ MS. Et hoc dicto ueniant tantum hoc dicto tres.

¹¹² MS. offitiū.

¹¹³ MS. Resurrexit.

¹¹⁴ Brescia, Biblioteca Civica Quiriniana, MS. H. vi. 11., Ordinarium
Ecclesiae Sanctae Juliae anni 1438, fol. 30r.

¹¹⁵ I have tampered as little as possible with the hideous Latinity
of this text, and have, in every case, indicated my alteration.

The two nuns behind the altar certainly impersonate angels,—*in loco angelorum*,—and the three nuns in the middle of the choir, who carry silver vessels, avowedly impersonate the three Maries,—*ad modum tres Marie*. The fact that the Maries offer their vessels at the altar suggests that the altar is regarded as *Sepulchrum Christi*. The rubrics do not fully explain the significance and use of the *sepulchrum eboris* which is held in plain sight by the nun who reads the Epistle, until the reading has been finished. The ivory sepulchre may be merely a part of the altar *mise en scène*, a stage-property appropriated by the *Hebdomadaria Epistolæ* during her reading. It is interesting to observe that at the conclusion of the dialogue, the *tres Mariæ* take part in the singing of the internal trope of the Introit, the choir singing the liturgical text, and the Maries, the trope.

The text from Brescia appears to be the only one yet published which presents a completely dramatized form of the *Quem quæritis* trope in its attachment to the Easter Introit. Although this particular text is late and corrupt, it seems to represent the inevitable culmination of the earlier developments of *Quem quæritis* that we have been examining, and it appears to demonstrate that the trope evolved into true drama in its original position as an introduction to the Easter Mass.

VI

For the sake of completeness,—even at the risk of anticlimax,—it behooves us to consider two other manifestations of *Quem quæritis* in connection with the Mass of Easter: (1) in the processional before Mass, and (2) as part of an Easter sequence.

In our review of the texts printed above we have already observed that in some cases the *Quem quæritis* dialogue is detached from the Introit proper, or is, at least, attached to the Introit only tenuously.¹¹⁶ In the text from Monte Cassino ms. 127, for example, at the end of the dialogue occurs the rubric *Post hec incipiatur tropos. Sequitur Introitus: Resurrexi.*¹¹⁷ This rubric seems to indicate that *Quem quæritis* is not closely bound to the Introit, being separated from it by another trope. In some of these cases in which the dialogue appears to be independent, it may possibly be serving as a processional, or even as an independent dramatic ceremony *ad sepulchrum*. The use of it as a processional seems to be explicitly indicated by the introductory rubric in the following text:

IN PROCESSIONE DOMINI

Hora est, psallite; iubet dominus canere; eia dicite!

INTERROGATIO: Quem que<fol. 70^r>ritis in sepulchro, o
Xpisticole?

RESPONSIO: Ihesum nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole.

Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat;

ite, nuntiate quia surrexit, dicentes:

Surrexit enim <sicut dixit Dominus: Ecce precedet
uos in Galileam; ibi eum uidebitis, alleluia, alleluia>.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Examples may be seen above from the following manuscripts: Zürich, Rheinau ms. 97 (see p. 15), Turin ms. G. v. 20 (see p. 31) Turin ms. F. iv. 18 (see p. 32), and Rome, Angelica ms. 123 (see pp. 32-33).

¹¹⁷ See above, pp. 35-36. See also the text from Benevento ms. 27, above, pp. 37-38.

¹¹⁸ Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Selden supra 27, Troparium Heidenhemense sæc. xi, fol. 69v-70r. The text above is followed immediately, in the manuscript, by the rubric *In Die Sancto Pasche*, introducing a series of tropes of the Introit *Resurrexi*.

Here the processional text consists solely in a form of the trope with which we are already familiar.¹¹⁹

The use of *Quem quæritis* as an incidental element in a longer processional is shown in the following:

DOMINICA *Sancta* PASCAE AD PROCESSIONEM

In die resurrectionis meae dicit Dominus, aeuia: Congregabo gentes et colligam regna et effundam super uos aquam mundam, aeuia.

Vidi aquam egredientem de templo a latere dextro, aeuia, et omnes ad quos peruenit aqua ista salui facti sunt et dicent aeuia, aeuia.

Interrogatio: Quem queritis in sepulchro, Xp̄icticolę?

Responsio: Iesum nazarenum crucifixum, o caelicolę.

Non est hic, surrexit sicut prædixerat;

ite, nuntiate quia surrexit de sepulchro.

Surrexit enim sicut dixit Dominus; ecce præcedet uos in Galileam; ibi eum uidebitis, aeuia, aeuia.

Sedit angelus ad sepulchrum Domini stola claritatis <p. 107> coopertus; uidentes eum mulieres nimio terrore perterrite substiterunt a longe. Tunc locutus est angelus et dixit eis: Nolite metuere; dico uobis quia illum quem queritis mortuum, iam uiuit, et uita hominum cum eo surrexit, aeuia. *Versus*: Recordamini quomodo prædixit quia oportet Filium hominis crucifigi, et tertia die a morte suscitari, aeuia. *Versus*: Crucifixum Dominum laudate, et sepultum propter nos glorificate, resurgentemque a morte adorate. Nolite <metuere; dico uobis quia illum quem queritis mortuum, iam uiuit, et uita hominum cum eo surrexit, aeuia>.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ See above, p. 17.

¹²⁰ St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS. 339, Graduale-Sacramentarium Sangallense sæc. x, pp. 106-107. Reproduced in photographic fac-

A similar text from Hartker's famous *Liber Responsalis* appears as follows:

IN DIE RESURRECTIONIS AD PROCESSIONEM

Antiphona: In die resurrectionis meae dicit Dominus, aeuia: Congregabo gentes, et colligam regna, et effundam super uos aquam mundam, aeu<i>a.

Antiphona: Vidi aquam egredientem de templo a latere dextro, aeuia, et omnes ad quos peruenit aqua ista salui facti sunt et dicent aeuia, aeuia.

Interrogatio: Quem queritis in sepulchro, Xpicticole?

Responsio: Ihesum nazarenum crucifixum, o celicolae?

Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat;

ite, nuntiate quia surrexit de sepulchro.

Antiphona: Surrexit enim sicut dixit Dominus: Ecce praecedet uos in Galileam; ibi eum uidebitis, aeuia, aeuia.

Antiphona: Sedit angelus ad sepulchrum Domini stola claritatis coopertus; uidentes eum mulieres nimio terrore perterritae substituerunt a longe. Tunc locutus est angelus et dixit eis: Nolite metuere, dico uobis quia illum quem queritis mortuum, iam uiuit, et uita hominum cum eo surrexit, alleluia. *Versus:* Recordamini quomodo predixit, quia oportet Filium hominis cruci<p. 38>figi et tertia die a morte suscitari. Nolite metuere.

Antiphona: Et recordate sunt uerborum eius, et regressae a monumento nuntiauerunt hec omnia illis undecim et ceteris omnibus, aeuia. *Versus:* Crucifixum Dominum

simile in *Paléographie Musicale*, Vol. I, Solesmes, 1888-90, pp. 75-76. The text as printed above is followed immediately by the rubric: In Die ad Missam, introducing the Introit: *Resurrexi*. With the text from ms. 339 may be listed the similar text, in St. Gall ms. 387, Breviarium Sangallense saec. xi, pp. 57-58. Lange (no. 4, p. 22) exhibits the *Quem quæritis* dialogue from ms. 387; but since his text is isolated from the surrounding processional antiphons, it is quite misleading and useless.

laudate, *et* sepultum propter uos glorificate, resurgentem-
que a morte adorate, alleluia.¹²¹

The presence of this text in the *Liber Responsalis*, and its consequent association, externally, with the Canonical Office, might, at first sight, suggest that this processional was designed for use in some part of the *Cursus*, rather than as an introduction to the Mass. The rubric *Ad Vesperas*, which follows the processional text in the manuscript, might seem to indicate that the procession was celebrated as part of Vespers. The liturgical content of the text, however, and its resemblance to the processional from St. Gall ms. 339,—a processional indisputably associated with the Mass,—these considerations identify our text as a stray from the *Missale*, only accidentally lodged in the *Liber Responsalis* of the *Cursus*.

In connection with the next version, special considerations arise:

IN DOMINICO DIE SANCTI PASCAE
IN PROCESSIONE AD SEPULCRUM <p. 197>

Quem queritis in sepulcro, o Xpicticolę?
Iesum nazarenum crucifixum, o caelicole.
Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat;
ite, nuntiate quia surrexit de sepulcro.

¹²¹ St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 391, *Liber Responsalis* Hartkeri sæc. x, pp. 37-38. This text is shown in photographic facsimile in *Paléographie Musicale*, Deuxième Série, Vol. I, Solesmes, 1900, pp. 231-232. A mutilated version of the passage given above is printed by J. M. Thomasius, *Opera Omnia* (ed. Vezzosi), Vol. IV, Rome, 1749, p. 238. The text printed above is immediately preceded by the last antiphon of Lauds, and is immediately followed by the rubric: *Ad Vesperas*. Lange (No. 3, p. 22), extracts the *Quem queritis* dialogue from this text, printing it in useless isolation from its context. The same may be said of Lange's treatment of *Quem queritis* from St. Gall mss. 374 and 378 (Lange Nos. 2 and 5, p. 22), each of which contains a processional essentially similar to that printed above.

Surrexit enim sicut dixit Dominus: Ecce precedet uos in Galileam; ibi eum uidebitis, aeuia, aeuia.

Sedit angelus ad sepulcrum Domini stola claritatis coopertus; uidentes eum mulieres nimio terrore perterritæ substituerunt a longe. Tunc locutus est angelus et dixit eis: Nolite metuere, dico uobis quia illum quem queritis mortuum iam uiuit, et uita hominum cum eo surrexit, aeuia.

Recordamini quomodo predixit quia oportet Filium hominis crucifigi et tertia die a morte suscitari.

Crucifixum Dominum laudate, et sepultum propter nos glorificate, resurgentemque a morte adorate, aeuia.¹²²

Although this text seems to constitute a processional for use before Mass, the introductory rubric *In Processione ad Sepulcrum* indicates that the procession included a station at a regular Easter Sepulchre,—a station which may account for the presence of *Quem queritis* in this text and in other processional texts of which the rubrics are less explicit. For the existence of some sort of Easter Sepulchre at St. Gall as early as the eleventh century, we have independent evidence.¹²³

A brief version of the processional appears, finally, in the following form:

IN PROCESSIONE

Sedit angelus ad sepulchrum Domini stola claritatis coopertus; uidentes eum mulieres nimio terrore perterritæ

¹²² St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS. 376, Troparium Sangallense sæc. xi, pp. 196-197. This text is followed immediately by the Introit: Resurrexi.

¹²³ See an article by the present writer entitled *The Harrowing of Hell in Liturgical Drama*, in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, Vol. xvi, Part II, pp. 897-898.

astiterunt a longe. Tunc locutus est angelus et dixit eis: Nolite metuere; dico uobis quia illum quem queritis mortuum iam uiuit, et uita hominum cum <fol. 60^v> eo surrexit, alleluia.

Quem queritis in sepulchro Xpisticole?

Iesum nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole.

Non est hic, surrexit sicut locutus est;

ite, nuntiate quia surrexit, dicentes:

Alleluia, resurrexit Dominus.

Nolite.¹²⁴

From our examination of the dramatic dialogue as an element in the processional of Easter Day we pass, finally, to a brief consideration of a special form of the *Quem queritis* formula as it appears in certain sequences of Easter Week. This use is seen in the following text:

*Sequentia.*¹²⁵

Quem queritis, mulieres, ad sepulchrum regem? Alleluia.

Versus: Hiesum querimus, et non inuenimus ubi erat positus.

Versus: Si tu tuleris, hoc dicito¹²⁶ mihi, ubi erat positus.

Versus: Cum fletu et stridore¹²⁷ dentium ubi uadam? Eum tollam positum.

Versus: O quam gloriosus fuit ille mortuus!

Versus: O quam gloriosa erit uita ubi se reuiscerat!

Versus: Stabat angelus ad dextris Patris: Noli flere, Regina Coeli, quia mortuus fuerat, et reuixit.

Versus: Si mihi non creditis, operibus credite et uidete, in dextra Dei sedens.

¹²⁴ Monza, Bibl. Capit., MS. K. 11., Graduale-Troparium sæc. xii ex., 60r-60v. The text given above is followed immediately, in the manuscript, by the rubric: *Trophi ad Introitum Misse.*

¹²⁵ The Sequence for Easter Monday (*Feria ii^a post Pascha*).

¹²⁶ MS. *dicit*.

¹²⁷ MS. *stridor*.

Versus: Stella clara, lux magna uita, regem sedere Deo uidi.

Versus: Deo gratias, Deo gratias, quia surrexit leo fortis.
<fol. 74^v>.

Versus: Deo gratias, Deo gratias, de magna tristitia reuertimur in letitia.

Versus: Deo gratias, Deo gratias; Amen dico uobis. Alleluia.¹²⁸

A somewhat different version of this sequence appears in the following form:

<SEQUENTIA>

Ad sepulcri custodes descenderat angelus ualde iam diluculo.

Mulieres ueniunt inuisendum sepulchrum ad quas dixit angelus:

Quem queritis, mulieres, ad sepulcrum Domini?

Responderunt et dixerunt cuncte unanimiter:

Iesum quaerimus, et non inuenimus <fol. 138^r> ubi erat positus.

Si tu tuleris, dicito michi ubi uadam; eum tollam Dominum.

O, quam gloriosus fuit ille mortuus!

O, quam gloriosa erat uita ubi se reuixerat!

Stabat angelus ad sepulchrum:

¹²⁸ Ivrea, Bibl. Capit., ms. 60, Troparium Eporediense sæc. xi in. (1001-1011), fol. 74r-74v. The text above, with variants from the text of D. Georgius (*De Liturgia Romani Pontificis*, Vol. III, Rome, 1744, pp. 492-493), is printed in *Analecta Hymnica*, Vol. XL, Leipzig, 1902, p. 15. Variant texts, are to be found also in Benevento, Bibl. Capit., ms. 27, Troparium Beneventanum sæc. xii, fol. 58r-58v (Feria v^a post Pascha); *Ibid.*, ms. 28, Troparium Beneventanum sæc. xii, fol. 41v (Feria v^a post Pascha); *Ibid.*, ms. 29, Troparium Beneventanum sæc. xii, fol. 37v-38r (Sabbato post Pascha); and Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. Nouv. Acq. 1669, Graduale Eugubinese sæc. xii ex., fol. 96r-96v (Sabbato post Pascha).

Noli flere, Regina mundi, quia mortuus fuerat, et reuixit.
 Deo gratias, Deo gratias, Deo gratias.
 De magna tristitia uertit in laetitia.
 Deo gratias, Deo gratias, Deo gratias.
 Amen dico uobis, Alleluia.¹²⁹

Although the appearance of the *Quem quæritis* interrogation in these sequences is interesting, it seems to have no important bearing upon the dramatic development of the Easter trope in its association with the Mass. The importance of these sequences will appear, rather, in another connection: in a study of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* of Easter Matins.

In the pages above, the developments of *Quem quæritis* in its association with the Easter Mass are, I believe, for the first time presented with considerable fulness. From this examination of the materials, then, we are in a position to draw one or two conclusions.

In the first place, it appears that even as an appendage of the Introit, the trope achieved a considerable textual development, and that this growth continued until long after the time when the trope of the Introit became also a trope of the responsory or of the *Te Deum*, and began its productive dramatic career as a *Visitatio Sepulchri* at the end of Easter Matins. The question as to how much one line of development influenced the other must be dealt with at another time. It may be observed in advance, however, that the textual accretions to the Introit trope are, in general, quite different from the accretions embodied in the texts of the *Visitatio Sepulchri*.

¹²⁹ Benevento, Chapter Library, MS. 25, Troparium Beneventanum sæc. xii, fol. 137v-138r. This text constitutes the sequence for the Mass of Thursday in Easter Week (Feria v^a post Pascha).

The textual growth of the Introit trope was due to what we may term *free composition*. Like the sentences of the simplest form of *Quem quæritis*, the accretions are, as a whole, not mere borrowings from the liturgy or the Vulgate, but are rather the original creations of a succession of liturgical poets.¹³⁰

Still more important is the fact that the trope actually developed into true drama in its original position at the Introit. Since the only text that unequivocally records this final stage is presented in a late manuscript,¹³¹ one might surmise that this development was due to the influence of the more fruitful *Visitatio Sepulchri* of Matins. Although, for the moment, the matter must be left undecided, the variety of dramatic stages displayed above seems to indicate that the final dramatic result of the trope at the Introit was an independent achievement.

KARL YOUNG.

¹³⁰ The sentence *Pascha nostrum Xpystus est, immolatus agnus est, etenim Pascha nostrum immolatus est Xpystus*, which is found in the Turin manuscripts G. v. 20 and F. iv. 18 (see above, p. 31), and which may or may not be considered part of the trope proper, rests, in part, upon the Alleluia-verse of Easter Day, *Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus* (see Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 678), or upon the Vulgate *Etenim Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus* (1 Cor., v, 7). The sentence *Surrexit Dominus, surrexit Cristus; iam non moritur; mors illi ultra non dominabitur, alleluia*, seen in MS. 123 of the Angelica Library in Rome (see above, p. 32), is based, in part, upon the *Communio* of the Mass for Wednesday in Easter week, *Christus resurgens ex mortuis jam non moritur, alleluia; mors illi ultra non dominabitur, alleluia, alleluia* (see *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 679), or upon the Vulgate *Scientes quod Christus resurgens ex mortuis jam non moritur; mors illi ultra non Dominabitur* (Rom. vi, 9). For the added sentences as a whole, however, no such sources can be pointed out.

¹³¹ Brescia MS. H. vi. 11., of the fifteenth century. See above, pp. 47-48.

II.—A STUDY OF THE METRICAL USE OF THE INFLECTIONAL *e* IN MIDDLE ENGLISH, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO CHAUCER AND LYDGATE

I. INTRODUCTION

The object of this investigation is to make a study of the metrical use of the inflectional *e* in Middle English, and to ascertain, as far as possible, the relation between metrical apocopation and grammatical decay. Although a few pre-Chaucerian texts will be examined to indicate dialectical variations, the chief emphasis will be placed upon the works of Chaucer and of Lydgate. These works will be treated chronologically, with a view to explaining the linguistic conditions existing in the transitional period during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

In this brief introduction, it will be impossible to refer to the contributions already made to this subject. They may, however, be roughly divided into two classes: (1) the intensive study dealing with a single author, or more often, a single text, and (2) the less technical, more comprehensive treatment which appears in the average historical grammar. The first does not pretend to draw any general conclusions about the language; the second consists mainly of such conclusions. Morsbach's *Mittelenglische Grammatik* may be taken as typical of the latter; and his view may be regarded as the orthodox one. He has stated ¹ that the inflectional *e* was treated most conservatively in the South, especially in Kent, that in the

¹ § 75.

Midland it became silent in the fifteenth century, and that in Scotland and the North it was silent as early as the second half of the fourteenth century.

The careful scholarship of the one method has been combined with the broader outlook of the other in Professor Child's *Observations on the Language of Chaucer*,² a pioneer work in genuine criticism of Chaucer to which this investigation is deeply indebted. As Professor Kittredge has said, "In this brief treatise Professor Child has not only defined the problems, but provided for most of them a solution which the researches of younger scholars have only served to substantiate. He also gives a perfect model of the method proper to such inquiries—a method simple, laborious, and exact."³ This model has been followed in many subsequent linguistic studies (though generally extending over a more limited field), its first and most significant successor being Professor Kittredge's own *Observations on the Language of the Troilus*, appearing in 1891.⁴ In the following section I shall refer in detail to my obligations to this and to ten Brink's *Chaucers Sprache und Verskunst*, both of which have proved invaluable to me.

Turning from Chaucer to Lydgate, we find numerous monographs on individual poems, but nothing dealing with Lydgate's work as a whole, in any way comparable to Professor Child's treatment of Chaucer. The desirability of such a treatment becomes obvious when we see the conflicting views that are held. Steele, for instance, in the introduction to the *Secrees* (rather a slovenly and

² In *Memoirs of the American Academy*, 1863.

³ *Intro. to Engl. and Scotch Popular Ballads*, Vol. I, p. xxvi.

⁴ Cf. also J. M. Manly, *Observations on the Language of the Legend of Good Women*, 1893; and H. C. Ford, *Observations on the Language of the House of Fame*, 1899.

inaccurate piece of work, to be sure) is impressed by the modernness of the language, and claims⁵ that "the final *e* is rarely sounded in words of English and still more rarely in those of French origin."

Schick,⁶ on the other hand, in the *Temple of Glas* concludes that "Lydgate still pronounced the *e* in the main as Chaucer and indeed Orm pronounced it,"—and that "Lydgate stands decidedly in point of language, as in everything else, on the mediæval side of the great gulf that intervenes between Chaucer and the new school of poetry that arose in the sixteenth century." His figure of speech is picturesque and also significant because it deals with a matter of the utmost importance. For it is only by clearly defining Lydgate's position with regard to Chaucer and his successors, that we can hope to understand the linguistic conditions of the transitional period—the period when the inflections were being lost.

The matter which I have undertaken to treat may, I believe, be resolved into three questions:

- (1) What per-cent. of *e*'s historically justified (in each document) are apocopated within the line?
- (2) What are the factors determining apocope? Is apocope merely a metrical license, or is it in some way related to inflectional decay, reproducing the contemporary conditions of the language?
- (3) What is Lydgate's relation, with regard to inflectional forms, on the one hand to Chaucer, and on the other, to the "new school of poetry which arose in the sixteenth century"?

⁵ R. Steele, *Secrees of Old Philisoffres*, p. xx.

⁶ *Temple of Glas*, p. lxxiii.

II. METHOD

The three questions already stated must be answered in the order in which they stand, and the first one is fundamental:

What per-cent. of e's historically justified are apocopated within the line?

It is the purpose of this section to explain the methods employed, in order to ascertain the exact per-cents of apocopated forms. The specimen of the *Canterbury Tales* appearing at the end of this section is given as an illustration of the method.

The inflectional *e* at the end of the line, in rime, has been left out of account; for such *e*'s open up new problems and require independent treatment. This investigation, then, concerns itself only with the *e within the line*. [In each text I have noted all cases of *e* retained (that is, having syllabic and metrical value) and all cases of *e* apocopated (that is *not* having syllabic value) unless followed by a vowel or *h*, in which case elision naturally occurs.]

In the desire to avoid all unnecessary impedimenta and to deal with only significant cases, I have disregarded two large classes:

I. *All Ambiguous Cases, Comprising:*

1. Words with double forms: *wil, wille*;
-self, selve;
wey, weye;
al, alle (irregular)⁷
cler, clere

⁷ Cf. Prof. Kittredge's *Troilus*, § 180.

2. Words with mute *e* in two successive syllables, where we may assume either syncope or apocope: *hevene*, *owene*, preterites in *-ede*.
3. Words with syllabic consonants; cf. *table*, *temple*, *morwe*.⁸

II. *All Cases of Syncope*.⁹

Eliminating these two large categories which at best can give evidence of only doubtful value, I have proceeded to divide the remaining cases into two classes according to the usage of Chaucer.

Whether or not this Chaucerian basis is arbitrary is beside the point. Some one standard *must* be taken by which to measure the various texts, and at present we understand the forms of Chaucer far better than we do those of any other Middle English poet. In defense of this method, I may anticipate to the extent of saying that the standard has proved adequate in all cases where it has been applied.

On the assumption that all words do not lose *e* with equal frequency, I have formed two classes: Class I includes all words where apocope is the rule; Class II all other words, where we may look for either apocope or retention. We might be inclined to seek a third class, in which *e* would always be retained; but, as a matter of fact, we find no group of forms and no single word which has uniformly withstood the levelling process of apocope.

⁸ If the word with syllabic consonant is followed by a word beginning with a vowel, the final *e* is silent, and the consonant is pronounced with the following syllable; if, however, the next word begins with a consonant, the extra syllable is inevitable.

⁹ In *es*, *ed*, *en* (except in cases where *en* is interchangeable with *e*, as in verb inflection and a few adverbs. In such cases *ēn* retained is merely a variant of *ē*).

Class I has then been subdivided as follows:

1. *Words with recessive accent.* In accordance with both ten Brink and Kittredge¹⁰ I find the *e* to be regularly silent in such words.
2. Certain special words, most of them in frequent use.¹¹
 - a. *Pronouns* and pronominal adjectives: *hire, oure, youre, here, mine, thine, thise.*
Adjectives: *none, ten.*
 - b. *Adverbs:* *here, where, there, eke, thanne, whanne, sauf* (preposition).
 - c. Verbs in plural: *wil, shal, mot, may, can, are.*
In inv. plural *lat.*
 - d. Participles and verbals in *-ynge.*
 - e. Strong preterites in second person singular.

In determining the words which should be included in this class I have been guided by the combined statements of ten Brink and Kittredge, but, as will be observed, I have made certain modifications and additions to which my own investigations have led me.

In Class I, exceptions only have been noted, and they are so few as to be negligible. The statistics, then, will be drawn always from Class II, which includes all words with inflectional *e* and nominative *e*¹² which have been left after the processes of elimination already described.

In drawing up the statistics, however, one is immediately beset by pitfalls of a metrical nature. So at the

¹⁰ *Troilus*, § 133; ten Brink, § 135.

¹¹ Cf. t. B., § 133; *Troilus*, § 135.

¹² In case of some words in Chaucer, inorganic *e* occurs so regularly that it has been included with nominative *e*; cf. *hewe, pryme*, suffix *-hede*, etc.

outset I will indicate my treatment of four or five of the most puzzling metrical problems.

1. *The epic cæsura* or extra syllable before the cæsura has not been admitted. When a word with inflectional *e* stands in the cæsura, and would give the extra syllable in question, if the *e* were pronounced, apocope has regularly been assumed.
2. *The headless line*, on the other hand, undoubtedly exists in both octosyllabic and heroic verse.
3. *Reversal of accent* should, I think, be conceded. In the following line:

That no drope ne fille upon hire breast

there are two alternatives—the headless line,

Thāt no drópe ně

or with reversal of accent *Thāt nó drópě*. The first seems more natural to the modern ear, but the second is perfectly possible. Moreover, in view of the fact that the accent in Chaucer's time was much lighter and more shifting than it is now, I consider it preferable to give the line its full number of syllables.¹³ If, however, the accent were badly "wrenched" by such reversal, I should, of course, regard the line as "headless."

4. *Trisyllabic foot* undoubtedly occurs, but should be admitted only when necessary. I have never considered the inflectional *e* as "retained" when such a retention made a foot trisyllabic. Cf. for example *Prol.* 260:

With a thredbare cope as is a poure scholer.

¹³ Cf. French also, *R. R.* 1: *Maintes gens dient que en songes.*

The first foot, *with ã thréd*, is trisyllabic indubitably; there is, however, no occasion for making the last one such. *Poure* I should read as a monosyllable and consider a case of apocope.

5. *Lydgatian type C* ("the peculiarly Lydgatian type in which the thesis is wanting, so that two accents clash together")¹⁴ has been the battle ground of Lydgate critics. Whether we take sides with Bergen¹⁵ who says that some of the most effective lines of the *Troy Book* are of this type, or with Saintsbury¹⁶ who brands it as "incurable, intolerable, hopelessly characteristic of a doggerel poet without a sensitive ear for rhythm," we must admit that it exists and even thrives in the Lydgatian line. Occasional reconstruction will obviate a C line, but most cases seem "incurable."

The matter of *reconstruction* in cases of inadequate texts is a delicate one. The best mss. of Chaucer convince us not only of the poet's mastery of metrical form and sureness of touch, but also of his grammatical regularity. Thus, in dealing with his works, I have—with the less reliable texts—supplied *e* (in brackets) whenever it is grammatically correct and metrically necessary. With Lydgate too the case is comparatively simple, but in the metrical romances where we have no evidence whatsoever that the writer aspired to a fixed number of syllables, reconstruction becomes precarious.

In a line like the following, *Amys and Amiloun* 788:

That hath don min hert[e] gref,

¹⁴ Schick, *T. of G.*, p. lviii.

¹⁵ *Troy Book* I, p. xiii.

¹⁶ *Hist of Engl. Prose*, Lond., 1906, § 224.

the *e* in brackets is essential and inevitable, but I have rarely ventured to supply it in cases less obvious than this. Perhaps my reconstruction was unwarranted even here, but inasmuch as the *e* (to which *herte* is entitled) might perfectly well be pronounced, should not even the "jog-trot" romancer have the benefit of the doubt?

This section is too brief to deal with all the metrical difficulties that may arise, but the great majority of them fall under one of the categories above mentioned. Occasionally, to be sure, a line has been omitted as absolutely unreadable from a metrical standpoint; such a line occurs never in Chaucer and seldom in Lydgate, but with some frequency in the metrical romances. In general, when rules have conflicted, I have tried to read the line in question in the most natural and intelligent way, always taking into consideration the peculiarities of the writer and the metrical structure of the poem as a whole.

APOCOPATION IN THE FIRST 100 LINES OF THE *Prologue to the Canterbury Tales*

(Words belonging to Class I are italicized; in such cases the form without the *e* is the normal one. In the statistics only exceptions are noted (*i. e.*, words with syllabic *e*). Words belonging to Class II are also italicized, but are to be distinguished from those of Class I by the fact that the final *e* is always marked; *ē* denoting *e* retained; *ɛ* denoting *e* apocopated. The figures at the right indicate the cases of apocope and retention in each line.)

	Ap.	Ret.
1. <i>Whan</i> that <i>Aprillē</i> with <i>hise</i> shoures soote	..	1
2. The droghte of March hath perced to the roote
3. And bathed every veyne in swich licour

	Ap.	Ret.
4. Of which vertu engendred is the flour
5. <i>Whan</i> Zephirus <i>cek</i> with his <i>swetē</i> breath	..	1
6. Inspired hath in every holt and heeth
7. The tendre ¹⁷ croppes and the <i>yongē</i> sonne	..	1
8. Hath in the ram his half(ē) cours y-ronne	..	1
9. And <i>smalē</i> fowles <i>makēn</i> melodye	..	2
10. That <i>slepēn</i> al the nyght with open ye	..	1
11. So prikketh hem nature in <i>hire</i> corages
12. <i>Thanne</i> <i>longēn</i> folk to goon on pilgrimages	..	1
13. And palmeres for to <i>sekēn</i> <i>straungē</i> strondes	..	2
14. To <i>fernē</i> halwes kouthe in sondry londes	..	1
15. Ans specially from every shires ende
16. Of Engelond to Caunterbury they wende
17. The holy blisful martyr for to seke
18. That hem hath <i>holpēn</i> <i>whan</i> that they <i>werē</i> seke	1	1
19. Bifl that in that seson on a day
20. In Southwerk at the Tabard as I lay
21. Redy to <i>wendēn</i> on my pilgrimage	..	1
22. To Caunterbury with ful devout corage
23. At nyght <i>werē</i> come into that hostelrye	1	..
24. Wel nyne and twenty in a companye
25. Of sondry folk by aventure y-falle
26. In felawshipe and pilgrimes <i>werē</i> they alle	1	..
27. That toward Caunterbury <i>woldēn</i> ryde	..	1
28. The chambres and the stables <i>werēn</i> wyde	..	1
29. And wel we <i>werēn</i> esed atte beste	..	1
30. And shortly <i>whan</i> the <i>sonnē</i> was to reste	..	1
31. So hadde I <i>spokēn</i> with hem everichon	..	1
32. That I was of <i>hir</i> felaweshipe anon
33. And <i>madē</i> forward erly for to ryse	..	1
34. To take <i>oure</i> wey ¹⁸ ther as I yow devyse
35. But natheles whil I <i>havē</i> tyme and space	1	..
36. Er that I ferther in this <i>talē</i> pace	..	1
37. Me thynketh it acordaunt to resoun
38. To <i>tellē</i> you all the condicioun	..	1
39. Of ech of hem so as it <i>semed</i> me
40. And which they <i>werē(n)</i> and of what degree	..	1
41. And eek in what array that they were inne

¹⁷ This is disregarded as ambiguous. In such words *e* is regularly syllabic before a consonant, but not before a vowel.

¹⁸ Disregarded as ambiguous. *C.* has double forms—*wey*—*weye*.

	Ap.	Ret.
42. And at a knyght <i>than</i> wol I first bigynne
43. A knyght <i>ther</i> was and that a worthy man
44. That fro the <i>tymē</i> that he first bigan	..	1
45. To <i>ridēn</i> out he <i>loved</i> chivalrie	..	1
46. Trouthe and honour fredom and curtesye
47. Ful worthy was he in his lordes werre
48. And therto hadde he <i>ridēn</i> no man ferre	..	1
49. As wel in Christendom as in Hethenesse
50. And evere honoured for his worthynesse
51. At Alisaundre he was whan it was wonne
52. Ful <i>oftē</i> tyme he <i>hadde</i> the bord bigonne	1	1
53. <i>Abovēn allē</i> nacions in Pruce	..	2
54. In Lettow hadde he reysed and in Ruce
55. No cristen man so ofte of his degre
56. In Gernade at the seege eek hadde he be
57. Of Algezir and riden ¹⁹ in Belmarye
58. At Lyeys was he and at Satalye
59. <i>Whan they werē</i> wonne and in the <i>gretē see</i>	1	1
60. At many a noble armee hadde he be
61. At <i>mortal</i> batailles hadde he been fifteene
62. And <i>foughtēn</i> for <i>oure</i> feith at Tramysse	..	1
63. At lystes thryes and ay slayn his foo
64. This <i>ilkē</i> worthy knyght <i>hadde</i> been also	1	1
65. <i>Somtymē</i> with the lord of Palatye	..	1
66. Agayn another hethen in Turkye
67. And evermoore he hadde a sovereyn prys
68. For though that he <i>werē</i> worthy he was wys	1	..
69. And of his port as meeke as is a mayde
70. He never yet no <i>vilanyē</i> ne saide	1	..
71. In all his lyf unto no maner wyght
72. He was a verray parfit gentil knyght
73. But for to <i>tellēn</i> you of his array	..	1
74. His hors weren <i>goodē</i> but he was not gay	..	1
75. Of fustian he wered a gypon
76. Al besmotered with his habergeon
77. For he was late <i>y-comē</i> from his viage	1	..
78. And <i>wentē</i> for to doon his pilgrimage	..	1
79. With hym ther was his sone a yong squier
80. A lovee and a lusty bacheler
81. With lokkes crulle as they <i>werē</i> leyd in presse	1	..

¹⁹ *Riden*, syncope; so not noted.

	Ap.	Ret.
82. Of twenty yeer of age he was I gesse	..	..
83. Of his stature he was of evene lengthe	..	..
84. And wonderly delyvere and of gret strengthe	..	..
85. And he <i>hadde</i> been somtyme in chyvachie	1	..
86. In Flaunders in Artois and Pycardie	..	..
87. And born hym wel as of so litel space	..	..
88. In <i>hope</i> to <i>stondēn</i> in his lady grace	1	1
89. Embrouded was he as it were a meede	..	..
90. Al ful of <i>fresshē</i> floures, whyte and rede	..	1
91. Syngynge he was and floytynge al the day	..	..
92. He was as fressh as is the month of May	..	..
93. Short was his <i>gowne</i> with sleves longe and wyde	1	..
94. Wel koude he sit on hors and <i>fairē</i> ryde	..	1
95. He <i>koudē</i> songes make and wel endite	..	1
96. Iuste and <i>eek</i> daunce and wel purtreye and write	..	..
97. So hoote he <i>loved</i> that by nyghtertale	..	..
98. He <i>slepte</i> <i>namoorē</i> <i>than</i> dooth the nyghtingale	2	..
99. Curteis he was lowely and servisable	..	..
100. And carf biforn his fader at the table.	..	..
Percentage of apocopation: 29.0% ²⁰	16	39

III. PRE-CHAUCERIAN POETRY

In studying the linguistic forms of Chaucer it is, of course, necessary to take into consideration the state of the language as he found it. But when we turn to the Middle English poetry written in the century before Chaucer—chiefly metrical romances—it becomes evident, at the outset, that no *accurate conclusions* can be drawn; the best that we can hope for is to detect certain *general tendencies*. For it is not only the imperfect condition of the texts and the vagueness of chronology that baffle us, but even more the confusion of dialects, the rhythmical ineptitude, and the uncertainty of accentuation, all pointing to a language in a state of transition—chaotic and well-nigh formless.

²⁰ The apocopation of the whole *Prologue* is 28.1%.

That apocope began as soon as Middle English began ²¹ we may rest assured. It is clearly seen in the *Poema Morale* c. 1160-70 and *Owl and Nightingale* c. 1220—both in the Southern dialect, though in these two poems it apparently followed no fixed rule. The words which in Chaucer lose *e* most frequently, show no such tendency here—a fact which convinces us that at this date in this dialect, the *e* was not regularly lost in such words. Not very much later, however, c. 1250, in the East Midland we find, in the *Debate of the Body and the Soul*, 23.9% apocopated forms, and moreover apocope occurring in general under the same circumstances as in Chaucer. A few years later, perhaps, is to be dated *Floriz and Blanche-fleur* in about the same dialect with 35.4% of apocopation.

The relation of the dialects to one another may be suggested by the following table: ²²

	c. 1250	
	E. Midl.	
	(c. 1250) <i>Debate</i> , 23.9%	
	(c. 1258) <i>Floriz and Bl.</i> , 35.4%	
	c. 1300	
South	N. E. Midl.	North
<i>R. of Glouc.</i> , 29.4%	<i>Amys and Amiloun</i>	<i>Sir Tristrem</i> , 62.7%
<i>Richard</i> (Kentish),	60.2%	
37.5%		
	c. 1350-1400	
	E. Midl.	Northern
	<i>Ipomedon</i> , 67.6%	<i>Sir Isumbras</i> , 76%

These statistics bear out Morsbach's ²³ statement that apocope began in the North, then spread to the Midland,

²¹ Indeed the slurring of vowels in unaccented syllables in late A. S. mss. suggests possibility of syncope or apocope as early as the 10th century.

²² In longer poems, the first 1000 ll. have been examined.

²³ Cf. *supra*, p. 59.

and finally reached the more conservative South. They also show that the increase of apocope in all dialects was rapid; take for example the 23.9% of the *Debate* and the 67.6% of the *Ipomedon*, barely a hundred years apart.

The text of the *Havelok*, which has 16.6% of apocopated forms, might be mentioned at this point. Without attributing undue importance to my statistics, I might suggest that if the poem were written c. 1302²⁴ as has generally been stated, in accordance with a supposed historical reference,²⁵ it would be half a century later than *Floriz and Blanchefleur* (in the same dialect); in which case the small amount of apocope would be extraordinary. If, on the other hand, we date it, with Skeat,²⁶ considerably earlier, the conditions would be easily explained.

It is worth while to note, for future reference, two things:

- (1) In all these texts the classification according to Chaucer can be used, for the forms which apocopate *e* in Chaucer, do likewise in these poems.
- (2) There is a slight tendency for the weak adjective to retain the inflectional *e* more often than the other parts of speech.

IV. CHAUCER

To understand the history of the inflectional *e* in Chaucer, it is important to have a clear idea of the order in which the poet's works were produced; but unfortunately

²⁴ Cf. Holthausen's edit., p. x.

²⁵ L. 1006 refers to Parliament. Often held to be the first Parliament, of 1301.

²⁶ Skeat (edition Oxf., Clar. Press, 1902, § 13, p. xxvi) considers the reference to parliament a late interpolation.

anything like a definite chronology of Chaucer is at present out of the question. I shall make no attempt to propose a system of my own, or to summarize the chronological schemes already propounded. I shall merely refer in passing to the most familiar theories and see how far my statistics are in accordance with those which have been most widely accepted.

I have examined in full all the longer poems of Chaucer—the *Troilus*, *Legend of Good Women*, *House of Fame*, *Book of the Duchess*, *Parlement of Foules*, and all the *Canterbury Tales*. Fortunately we can begin on safe ground with the *Book of the Duchess*, which is generally conceded to have been written 1369-70.²⁷ In this poem the per-cent. of apocopation is 55.1%. When we place this beside the *Ipomedon* with 67.6% apocopation (in a dialect slightly more Northern; for Chaucer's dialect was that of London,—E. Midland with a tendency toward Southern) we may conclude that Chaucer, at this period, treated the *e* much as his predecessors had done, with, however, a slight amount of conservatism.

The *Parlement of Foules* is claimed to have been written in 1381-2 and to have referred to the marriage of Richard and Anne of Bohemia.²⁸ In this poem the apocope is 35.2%. What is responsible for the decrease?

A comparison with Chaucer's famous contemporary, Gower, may throw some light on the subject. Gower wrote French verse voluminously, and in accordance with the invariable rule of French poetry, *always* retained the feminine *e* with syllabic value. His English works too show the same scrupulous regularity; in the *Prologue*

²⁷ After the death of the Duchess; cf. Kittr., *Date of Troilus*, Ch. Soc., second series, No. 42.

²⁸ Koch's *Chronol. of Chaucer's Writings*, *Ibid.*, No. 27, p. 37, § 120.

to the *Confessio Amantis* only 4.7% of the words apocope *e*. Gower, then, appears to have transferred the French treatment of *e* into English verse. It is hardly probable that a language exerting so considerable an influence on Gower should not leave some mark on an impressionable young poet like Chaucer. Is not this mark to be seen in the increased retention of the *e* in the *P. F.*? To be sure, this influence might have been expected in the *B. D.*, but the strong accentual character of the lines suggests that Chaucer had not at that date broken away from the older English versification. In the twelve years that followed, however, he had an excellent opportunity to be evolving a style of his own. Now any poet with a sensitive ear for cadences could hardly have failed to note the vast superiority of French over English verse in point of rhythm. The increased retention of *e* in *P. F.* may indicate either the unconscious influence exerted by his study of foreign models, or a definite purpose on Chaucer's part to reproduce the French rhythm by the most obvious means—frequent use of feminine *e*. It is characteristic of his habitual moderation and good sense that he adapted the system to his own language, and did not, like Gower, cramp the English verse after the fashion of Procrustes, by forcing it into the French mold.

Proceeding with the texts, we are confronted with problems in *Troilus* and the *House of Fame*, which are generally considered together and variously dated with reference to each other. For *Troilus*, we may as well assume Lowes's ²⁹ date 1383-5 and grant with him and Professor Kittredge ³⁰ that the *H. F.* precedes it. I am inclined to believe that *H. F.* follows *P. F.* and that it was written

²⁹ *Publ. M. L. A.*, xx, pp. 823-833.

³⁰ *Date of Troilus*.

in about the same period as the *Troilus*, perhaps even while the *Troilus* was in the making; in which case the poet's interest in his more extensive and much greater poem would easily account for the unfinished condition in which the *H. F.* was left.

My reasons for this date are mainly linguistic. The *H. F.* has 20.3% apocope, the *Troilus* 17.6%. If the *H. F.*, written in the octosyllabic couplet, the metre of *B. D.* (which has 55.1% apocope), were composed shortly after *B. D.*, or at any rate were the next considerable poem, the situation would be almost inexplicable. If, on the other hand, we assume that *P. F.* intervened and that in this poem in decasyllabic line (a metre which may have been borrowed directly from Machault) Chaucer was becoming familiar with the increased use of the *e*, it is easy to imagine that he would experiment with it soon in an octosyllabic poem, and for a time employ the *e* with more and more frequency. At any rate, the 17.6% of the *Troilus*, which shows the high-water mark of retention, would bear out such an assumption.

With the *Legend of Good Women* we are again on uncertain ground. The legends themselves may have been written at any time between 1381-6. The earlier *F* prologue, according to Lowes,³¹ came in 1386—the *G* in 1394.³² The apocope for the legends themselves is 24.7% for the *F* prologue 28.2%, and for *G* 32.3%. These figures seem to point to a reaction,—a breaking away from we may call the "French system." To be sure, the differ-

³¹ Lowes, *Publ. M. L. A.*, xix, pp. 595-7, shows influence of Machault, Froissart, Deschamps.

³² *M. Ph.*, 1910, pp. 165-187; 1911, pp. 23-30: influence of Deschamps' *Miroir de Mariage*, which could not have reached Chaucer before 1393.

ence between 28.2 and 32.3 is not great in itself; but when one considers the number of identical lines in the two prologues, the increase becomes significant. We shall have to look to the *Canterbury Tales*, however, to see whether this is merely fortuitous, or whether it indicates a definite purpose on Chaucer's part.

The *C. T.* extend over such a considerable period that they are of all Chaucer's works the most difficult to deal with. For purposes of simplification I shall make use of a division suggested by Miss Hammond.³³ She treats the tales in the following three classes:

1. Those which Chaucer had previously written, assigned to a pilgrim whom he created later, after the idea of the pilgrimage had occurred to him.
2. Those written with the pilgrim in mind.
3. Those written after the poem was in progress, and forced upon a pilgrim.

In the first group I should place *Second Nun* and *Monk*, which have always been regarded as early, and the *Knight*, which is probably to be dated c. 1381-2³⁴—not far at any rate from the time of the *Troilus*. The apocopation—*Monk* 28.7%, *Knight* 28.1%, *Nun* 25.4%—is not unnatural, if we consider these as roughly contemporaneous with *P. F.*

The second group is simplified by subdivision into:

³³ Chaucer, *A Bibliogr. Manual*, pp. 250 ff.

³⁴ Lowes, in *Publ. M. L. A.*, xix, sees reference to Tempest of Dec. 1381. Emerson, in *Studies in Honor of J. M. Hart*, N. Y., 1910, pp. 203 ff., finding reference to Richard's parliament and the alliance of England and Bohemia, suggests 1381-2, giving evidence corroborative to Lowes.

(a) earlier	and	(b) later	
<i>Gen. Prol.</i> ,	28.1%	<i>Nun's Priest</i> ,	33.3%
<i>Miller</i> ,	29%	<i>Pardoner</i> ,	36.4%
<i>Reve</i> ,	27.8%	<i>Clerk</i> ,	33.6%
<i>Physic.</i> ,	24.3%	<i>Squire</i> ,	35.7%
		<i>M. of L.</i> ,	38.5%
		<i>C. T.</i> ,	35.7%
		<i>Shipman</i> ,	35.4%

It is extremely probable that the earlier tales of the second group were composed at about the same time. The *Physician* has been regarded by Tatlock³⁵ as the first tale to be written for the Canterbury scheme. *Prioress*, 25.5%, *Thopas*, 41.4%, *Manciple*, 28.2%, all belong to the main group, but are rather too short to give important statistical evidence. We should expect greater apocope in *Sir Thopas*, since it is a parody of the metrical romance, which apocopated with great frequency. With no proof to the contrary, the greater maturity of treatment which can be detected in the remaining tales of this group makes a later date seem reasonable.

In the third main group would fall:

<i>Wife of Bath's Prol.</i> ,	43.8%
<i>Wife of Bath's Tale</i> ,	39.1%
<i>Frere's Tale</i> ,	42.5%
<i>Somnour's Tale</i> ,	37.0%
<i>Merchant's Tale</i> ,	32.7%
<i>Franklin's Tale</i> ,	44.9%

All of these which form the so-called "marriage group" are intimately related and show the influence of Deschamps, *Miroir de Mariage*,³⁶ also discernible in the *G* Prologue of *L. G. W.* This *Miroir*³⁷ could not have reached Chaucer before 1393.

³⁵ *Devel. and Chron.*, pp. 155-6.

³⁶ and ³⁷ Lowes, *M. Ph.*, 1910, p. 165-187; and 1911, pp. 23-30.

The head and end links which have been treated together offer interesting testimony. They are presumably made up from material of widely divergent dates; some from the time of the general prologue, others from the latest period. The apocope is 38%, which is just about what we should expect; for an average of the per-cents of the *Prologue* and the *Franklin's Tale* is 36.5% (and these poems may be taken as representing the extreme chronological limits of the links).

It is, of course, unsafe to attach very great importance to statistics of individual tales. Yet, as a whole, *those which have been generally agreed upon as early apocope considerably less than those which are indubitably late.* We can see, then, in the *C. T.* distinct marks of an increase of apocope, the first suggestion of which appeared in the *L. G. W.*

We may now hypothecate a chronological sequence which will be something as follows:

<i>Book of Duchess,</i>	55.1%
<i>Parlement of Foules,</i>	35.2%
<i>House of Fame,</i>	20.3%
<i>Troilus,</i>	17.6%
Bk. I,	21.0%
Bk. II,	23.7%
Bk. III,	14.6%
Bk. IV,	16.5%
Bk. V,	14.1%
Individual "legends" between <i>H. F.</i>	
and <i>F.</i> prologue,	24.7%
<i>F</i> Prologue <i>L. G. W.</i> (1386),	28.2%
<i>G</i> Prologue <i>L. G. W.</i> (1394),	32.3%

Canterbury Tales:

1. Before scheme was planned (before 1387)

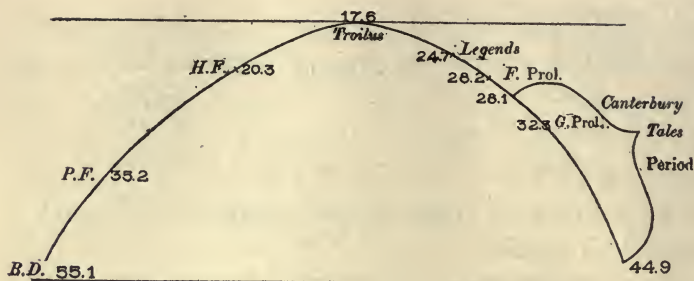
<i>Monk,</i>	28.7%
<i>Second Nun,</i>	25.4%
<i>Knight,</i>	28.1%
2. *Canterbury Tales* period, proper (1387-1391)
 - 1) earlier:

<i>Prologue,</i>	28.1%
<i>Miller,</i>	29.0%
<i>Reve,</i>	27.8%
<i>Physician,</i>	24.3%
? <i>Prioress,</i>	25.5%
? <i>Manciple,</i>	28.2%
? <i>Thopas,</i>	41.4%
 - 2) later:

<i>Nun's Priest,</i>	33.3%
<i>Pardoner,</i>	36.4%
<i>Clerk,</i>	33.6%
<i>Squire,</i>	35.7%
<i>M. of L.,</i>	38.5%
<i>Canon's Yeoman,</i>	35.7%
<i>Shipman,</i>	35.4%
3. After *C. T.* period—Marriage group (1393-6)

<i>Wife of Bath's Prol.,</i>	43.8%
<i>Wife of Bath's Tale,</i>	39.1%
<i>Frere,</i>	42.5%
<i>Somnour,</i>	37.0%
<i>Merchant,</i>	32.7%
<i>Franklin,</i>	44.9%
<i>Links,</i>	38%

Or the same order may be expressed by a diagram, in a curve like the following (the lower line representing greatest apocopation and the upper greatest retention).



Now having ascertained the per-cent. of apocopeation in Chaucer's poem and answered the first question, let us turn to the second.

*What are the factors determining apocope?
Is apocope merely a metrical license, or is it in
some way related to inflectional decay, repro-
ducing the contemporary conditions of the lan-
guage?*

Certain factors clearly do not count, and it will be well to eliminate them at first. The nature of the preceding consonant, or of the vowel in the preceding syllable, does not affect apocopeation. Are we to conclude with Professor Kittredge³⁸ that "the upshot of all this appears to be that apocope, except in the case of a few words . . . , must be regarded as a license for the nonce, and cannot be brought under any rules but those of metrical exigency"?

At the outset we assumed that two kinds of words were liable to lose *e*:

³⁸ *Troilus*, § 135, 4.

- 1) Words with recessive accent (which would correspond to Kittredge's metrical exigency).
- 2) A few exceptional cases—especially words of extreme frequency.

The statistics have proved this assumption to be true. Are there any factors which are not disposed of in the categories "metrical exigency" and "exceptional cases"? Two possible distinctions are worthy of consideration, *origin* and *grammatical function*:

1. *Is the nominative e* ³⁹ *treated in the same way in nouns of Germanic and of Romance origin?* The following table will indicate:

	Germ.	Rom.
	% of Apoc.	% of Apoc.
<i>B. D.</i> ,	56.4	66.4
<i>P. F.</i> ,	29.2	23.3
<i>H. F.</i> ,	11.4	8.9
<i>L. G. W.</i> ,	42.3	32.6
<i>Troilus</i> ,	I 32.7	I 5.2
	II 27.3	II 10.
	III 14.7	III 10.7
	IV 11.1	IV 5.7
	V 13.0	V 4.0

In this table we see at least a tendency for the Romance noun to retain *e* more frequently than the Germanic one. The fact that this is most marked in the *Troilus* and that the only exception is offered by the *B. D.* is interesting and significant; for this is not the first time that the two poems have been diametrically opposed in form. *B. D.* (55.1) represents the greatest and *Troilus* (17.6) the least

³⁹ I have restricted this to nominative *e*; for in verbs and inflected adjectives the *e* indicates not origin but Germanic inflection.

apocope in Chaucer. Does not the treatment of the Romance noun in these two poems lend support to the theory that Chaucer retained *e* through French influence? If he did, we should expect the *e* of Romance origin to be preserved with particular frequency, in order to reproduce the rhythm of the French verse.

2. *Does one part of speech tend to keep e more than another?*

The following statistics have been arranged according to parts of speech to answer this question:

<i>Troilus I</i> 21.0	<i>Troilus II</i> 23.7	<i>Troilus III</i> 14.6	<i>Troilus IV</i> 16.5	<i>Troilus V</i> 14.1
Wk. Adj. 7.8	Wk. Adj. 11.1	Wk. Adj. 7.2	Wk. Adj. 6.3	Wk. Adj. 8.3
Verb 19.6	Adv. 12.3	Noun 13.3	Noun 9.3	Noun 10.1
Noun 25.9	Noun 20.6	Adj. 14.2	Adv. 16.2	Verb 16.0
Adv. 29.4	Verb 28.2	Adv. 14.9	Adj. 16.6	Adv. 17.1
Adj. 30.	Adj. 35.1	Verb 17.3	Verb 22.1	Adj. 22.2
<i>Tr. (wh.)</i> 17.6	<i>B. D.</i> 55.1	<i>H. F.</i> 20.3	<i>L. G. W.</i> 26.6	<i>P. F.</i> 35.2
Wk. Adj. 8.1	Wk. Adj. 20.3	Wk. Adj. 7.5	Wk. Adj. 6.7	Wk. Adj. 16.1
Noun 14.6	Adv. 38.0	Noun 10.3	Adj. 20.2	Adj. 25.
Adv. 17.1	Adj. 40.	Adv. 16.2	Verb 26.3	Noun 26.7
Verb 20.9	Noun 60.	Verb 21.8	Adv. 26.8	Verb 42.3
Adj. 22.9	Verb 63.5	Adj. 41.2	Noun 38.9	Adv. 50.
<i>Kn. Tale</i> 28.2	<i>Miller</i> 29.0	<i>Prologue</i> 28.1	<i>M. of L.</i> 33.5	<i>Monk</i> 28.7
Wk. Adj. 6.7	Wk. Adj. 4.2	Wk. Adj. 8.	Wk. Adj. 16.6	Wk. Adj. 13.8
Adv. 26.5	Adv. 16.6	Adj. 8.5	Verb 39.4	Noun 17.2
Verb 28.6	Adj. 23.0	Adv. 17.8	Adj. 44.4	Verb 32.8
Adj. 33.7	Verb 31.6	Verb 30.0	Noun 46.6	Adv. 40.7
Noun 40.8	Noun 38.8	Noun 44.4	Adv. 50.	Adj. 41.6
<i>Nun's Pr.</i> 33.3	<i>Pardoner</i> 36.4	<i>W. B. Pro.</i> 43.8	<i>Somnour</i> 37.0	<i>Clerk</i> 33.6
Wk. Adj. 7.5	Wk. Adj. 18.4	Wk. Adj. 9.0	Wk. Adj. 5.2	Wk. Adj. 15.1
Adv. 35.2	Noun 27.0	Noun 34.2	Noun 31.5	Noun 24.4
Adj. 37.5	Adv. 28.5	Adv. 39.1	Adj. 36.3	Adv. 36.1
Verb 37.6	Verb 42.0	Adj. 49.8	Verb 44.7	Verb 39.3
Noun 39.6	Adj. 45.4	Verb 51.7	Adv. 53.5	Adj. 53.8
<i>Merch.</i> 32.7	<i>Squire</i> 35.2	<i>Franklin</i> 44.9	<i>Can. Yeo.</i> 35.7	<i>Links</i> 38.
Wk. Adj. 6.2	Wk. Adj. 18.1	Wk. Adj. 12.7	Wk. Adj. 20.6	Wk. Adj. 20.3
Noun 29.5	Verb 32.5	Noun 35.0	Verb 34.7	Adj. 25.
Adj. 32.3	Adv. 39.2	Adv. 50.	Adv. 37.1	Adv. 29.5
Adv. 36.1	Noun 41.7	Verb 52.6	Noun 38.9	Verb 40.7
Verb 40.7	Adj. 50.	Adj. 62.5	Adj. 69.4	Noun 42.6

These per-cents seem to represent every possible permutation and combination, with one exception—the weak adjective which retains *e* more than any other grammatical form. This phenomenon is so striking that there must be some explanation of it. Such an explanation, I believe, is to be sought first on metrical grounds. The regular "definite" construction presupposes a definite article followed immediately by an adjective and a noun. If this adjective were a polysyllable with recessive accent, according to the well-established rule, *e* would be silent; so such cases would not be in point. If, on the other hand, it were accented on the penult and were followed by a noun accented on the first syllable (and the larger proportion of nouns *were* or *could be* so pronounced), then the inflectional *e* would afford just the light syllable necessary to keep the two accents from clashing. In this respect we can see that the M. E. poet had a great advantage over the poet of today. Compare for example the felicity of

To Thebes with his wastē walles wyde

or

Hym thoughtē that his hertē woldē breke

with the Elizabethan Surrey's

For my sweet thoughts sometime do pléasure bring,

where the accents fall awkwardly on possessive and noun, depriving the adjective of its proper stress. To be sure, every inflectional *e* was dependent upon the accents of other words in the line, but in other cases the writer might arrange the words in any order that he desired; whereas the weak adjective has its position determined by its very nature, and removed from its context, loses its identity.

Are we, then, to say that this is not due to "gram-

?

metrical function," but that it resolves itself into another aspect of "metrical exigency" ? Yes and no. Originally the cause was a metrical one, but the frequent retention of *e* for the sake of metre would almost inevitably have reacted upon the grammatical use, so that the arrangement of article, adjective with *e*, and noun became almost a petrified phrase which retained *e* very late. It would probably have received the same treatment in oral speech, owing to the innate love of rhythm which manifests itself so often in language.

Thus we may conclude that, aside from metrical requirements and a few exceptional words of great frequency,

1. *Chaucer retained e more often in nouns of Romance than in those of Germanic origin.*
2. *For reasons both metrical and grammatical, Chaucer retained the e of the weak adjective more than of any other of the parts of speech.*

Skeat ⁴⁰ regards Chaucer's language as intentionally archaic. In *H. F.* and *Troilus* it undoubtedly is, yet in *B. D.* and the *Franklin's Tale* the linguistic conditions of the day are probably reflected,—conditions that did not change materially through Chaucer's lifetime. If they had changed, we should naturally expect more than 38% apocope in the *C. T.* Links which are almost entirely dialogues; for an artificial poetic diction in the mouth of *Cook* or *Manciple* would be preposterous.

If the language did not lose its inflections to any extent during Chaucer's life, we naturally ask how far he himself was responsible for the fact. In some measure both Chaucer and Gower unquestionably exercised a

⁴⁰ *Works*, vi, p. lxxv.

conservative influence; it may even be that without their work, the *e* would have become obsolete by 1400. But it is aside from the point to speculate upon what the conditions might have been had Chaucer not written; let us rather turn to Lydgate and find out what they actually were.

V. LYDGATE

Professor Schick's view that Lydgate, in the main, treated the *e* as Chaucer did is perfectly sound, and for that reason Chaucerian standards may be applied to his work with absolute safety. Unquestionably, Lydgate would feel free to retain or apococate the *e* under practically the same circumstances that determined Chaucer's usage. If there is a distinction to be drawn, it is merely one of degree.

In an author so prolific as Lydgate, it has been impossible for me to make an exhaustive examination. The poems that I have chosen, however, are intended to represent adequately all the phases of Lydgate's development. They cover at least six distinct types and may be classified under the following headings:

- 1) Fable: *Horse, Goose, and Sheep*.
- 2) Love-vision allegory: *Black Knight, Flour of Curtesye, Temple of Glas, Reson and Sensualite*.
- 3) Narrative of Adventure from one of famous cycles: *Troy Book I*.
- 4) Religious work: (a) Allegory—*Pilgrimage* (1000 ll.) (b) Saints' Lives—*St. Margaret, St. Giles, St. Edmund and Fremund*.
- 5) Autobiographical Confession: *Testament*.
- 6) Translation of didactic work: *Secrees*.

My statistics of apocopation are as follows:

1. <i>H., G., and S.</i> , 52.5%	7. <i>Pilgrimage</i> , 30. % ¹
2. <i>Flour of C.</i> , 33.6 "	8. <i>St. Margaret</i> , 37.3 "
3. <i>Black Knight</i> , 29.6 "	9. <i>St. Giles</i> , 47.5 "
4. <i>Temple of Glas</i> , 45.3 "	10. <i>E. and Fremund</i> , 53.6 "
5. <i>Reson and Sens.</i> , 21.2 "	11. <i>Testament</i> , 62.7 "
6. <i>Troy Book (I)</i> , 29.6 "	12. <i>Secrees</i> , 48.4 "

This list is in accordance with the chronology given by Schick in the introduction to the *T. of G.*—a sequence generally agreed upon,—with the exception of the *T. G.* itself,—which Schick assigns to 1403 on account of an astrological allusion in the text. Dr. MacCracken,⁴¹ on the other hand, finds reference to the wedding of William Paston and Agnes Berry, occurring in 1420, and substantiates the later date further by citing the use of heroic couplet, which would argue some time between 1412-1426. Such an arrangement would place *T. G.* between the *Troy Book* and *Pilgrimage*.

The statistics point to a development not unlike Chaucer's. The text of *H. G. S.* is so unsatisfactory that we cannot attach much importance to it. There is every appearance of slovenliness with no attempt at style, and no influence of Chaucer is discernible.

In the *F. of C.* and *Bl. Kn.*, however, we find echoes of Chaucer in subject matter, and with this, greater retention of the *e*. It is probable that, as in Chaucer, the study of French poetry tended to increase the use of *e*, even so in Lydgate the French influence *through the medium of Chaucer* brought about the same phenomenon.

R. and S. represents *e* at its height. After the *T. Book*,

⁴¹ *Publ. M. L. A.*, XXIII.

it is more frequently apocopated. In this regard, the statistics would argue for the later date for *T. G.*

After the completion of *T. Book*, we may mark Lydgate's "conversion," significant from a literary point of view for the change in subject matter—beginning with the translation of the *Pilgrimage*. From this time on, the inflections lapse into the conditions of the contemporary language, stripped of the artificial restraints imposed upon it by French and Chaucerian poetry. This is best represented by the *Testament*, which is autobiographical and would be written, in all probability in a natural, colloquial style.

The *Secrees*, on the other hand, reverts a little to the older style, and is again reminiscent of Chaucer: cf. l. 1327: *So can nature prikke them in their courage*. Apparently the poet is trying to lighten the hopelessly dull texture by occasional purple patches, even though they be borrowed finery.

It is impossible to tell whether Lydgate's gradual disuse of the *e* was due to lateness of date or change of subject matter, for the two coincide. Yet it is natural to believe that after Chaucer's death Lydgate would inevitably have relapsed into the dialect of his day. It is tempting but perhaps unsafe to assume that he took less pains to retain an artificial language when his motive power was spiritual fervor rather than literary distinction. But this we *may* claim, with regard to the religious-didactic work, that for lack of literary models—notably the works of Chaucer—he failed to retain the inflectional *e* to any extent.

In Lydgate's work we see no marked tendency for the Romance word to retain its *e*. In four out of six longer poems the Germanic word retains *e* more frequently. There is, however, a clear evidence that the weak adjective was treated as in Chaucer.

<i>Troy Book</i>	% 29.6	<i>R. and S.</i>	% 21.2	<i>T. of G.</i>	% 45.3	<i>Pilgrimage</i>	% 30.
Wk. Adj.	13.2	Wk. Adj.	16.9	Wk. Adj.	25.	Wk. Adj.	18.6
Adj.	29.0	Verb	19.3	Adv.	41.2	Adj.	24.3
Noun	29.6	Noun	20.5	Noun	46.2	Noun	29.3
Adv.	31.3	Adj.	24.5	Verb	46.9	Verb	31.4
Verb	32.3	Adv.	31.8	Adj.	65.3	Adv.	36.8
<i>Secrees</i>	48.4	<i>Edmund Fr.</i>	53.6	<i>Testament</i>	62.7		
Wk. Adj.	40.7	Wk. Adj.	41.6	Wk. Adj.	52.3		
Verb	46.6	Verb	51.9	Noun	52.6		
Adv.	48.2	Noun	55.9	Adv.	59.3		
Adj.	50.6	Adv.	58.8	Adj.	68.1		
Noun	52.3	Adj.	63.0	Verb	69.6		

This peculiarity, characterizing most of the metrical romances, all of Chaucer and of Lydgate, is seen also in Clanvowe's little poem the *Cuckoo and Nightingale*. May we not then regard this weak adjective as a kind of touchstone for the use of the *e*.

The only striking contradiction that I have found is in Hoccleve. In three out of four of his poems the weak adjective retains the *e* less than any other part of speech. There is, however, something suspicious about Hoccleve. His apocopation is so slight for the time in which he is writing (*Letter of Cupid* 24.1% ; *Male Regle* 9.4% ; *Regement of Princes* 13.7% ; *Lerne to Die* 10.6%) that his use of *e* seems like affectation. A careful examination of the text makes us even more skeptical, for we find words retaining *e*, which in Chaucer were always monosyllabic—cf. *R. of P.* (238) *herë*, (372) *wolë*, (694) *wherë*, (859) *kommë*, *thesë*, (1018, 1583, 1766 etc.). Moreover, the rule of accent is constantly being infringed upon—(l. 1523) *unknowén*, (582) *maistryé*, (1128) *Sicillé*—and ungrammatical *e*'s are added by analogy—as in the imperative plural of strong verbs, (139) *takë*, (1479) *understondë*.

All this convinces us that we are dealing with a highly artificial language written by a man who has little sense

of rhythm, who is imitating not the spirit, but the letter. One gets the impression that Lydgate "with all his imperfections on his head" (and their name is legion) nevertheless belongs to the age and school of Chaucer; whereas Hoccleve betrays by his very zeal, his kinship with a later period.

Lydgate's relation to Chaucer has been made clear. In his early poetry he apocopated to about the same extent as Chaucer, under pretty much the same conditions. Later he broke away from the Chaucerian tradition and showed the actual state of the language—a language which was fast losing all of its inflectional forms. Before we can understand Lydgate's relation to his successors, it will be necessary to glance briefly at the poetry of the following century.

We should naturally look to the "Chaucer-Schule" poetry, if anywhere, for the perpetuation of the "final *e* convention." There proves to be, however, no evidence that this school exerted any real influence. In the *Flour and Leaf*, *Assembly of Ladies*, Ros's *Belle Dame*, an occasional *e* is retained, but the extra syllable is more often supplied by *es*, *ed*, or *en*. In the *Court of Love* the use of *en* has been widely extended by analogy to quite ungrammatical forms. A proof that the inflections when preserved were purely artificial is to be found in Burgh's continuation of the *Secrees*. In the prologue of 98 lines, where the writer is using his own language, there is hardly an instance of an inflectional *e*, but in the first hundred lines of the translation, where he is trying to emulate Lydgate, 28 *e*'s are retained under practically the conditions in which Lydgate would have used them. We might almost compare this to the effort of a modern school boy writing Chaucerian verse. Apparently the last poet to use the *e* intelligently was, strangely enough, Skelton. I say

“strangely,” because Skelton is generally regarded as standing decidedly on the modern side of Schick’s “great gulf”; and he certainly does so stand in his bantering satires in the snappy, doggerel line that has received his name. But in the *Bowge of Court*, a cumbersome allegorical morality, there are thirty-five cases of *e* used correctly. It is doubtful whether *e* was used at all after him, though syllabic *en*’s abound—particularly in infinitives. Cf. Wyatt, Surrey, Spenser, Chatterton, Thomson. We know that from the time of Dryden till the antiquarian researches of Gray, the possibility of the *e* as a metrical resource was not recognized.

Having followed the *e* to its last manifestations, we are now ready to answer the three questions.

1. *What per-cent of e’s historically justified are apocopated in the line?*

The statistics already stated are tabulated below for purposes of reference.

	%
PRE-CHAUCERIAN: <i>Debate</i> ,	23.9
<i>Fl. and Bl.</i> ,	35.4
<i>King Richard</i> ,	37.5
<i>Robt. of Glouc., St. Thom.</i> ,	29.4
<i>A. and A.</i> ,	60.2
<i>Sir Tristrem</i> ,	62.7
<i>Ipomedon</i> ,	67.6
<i>Isumbras</i> ,	76.0
CHAUCER: <i>B. D.</i> ,	55.1
<i>P. F.</i> ,	35.2
<i>H. F.</i> ,	20.3
<i>Troilus</i> ,	17.6
<i>Legends</i> ,	24.7
<i>F Prol.</i> ,	28.2

	<i>G. Prol.</i> ,	32.3
	<i>C. Tales</i> (28.1-44.9) See p. 79.	
LYDGATE:	<i>H. G. S.</i> ,	52.5
	<i>Fl. of C.</i> ,	33.6
	<i>Bl. Kn.</i> ,	29.6
	<i>T. G.</i> ,	45.3
	<i>R. S.</i> ,	21.2
	<i>T. B. (I)</i> ,	29.6
	<i>Pilgrim.</i> ,	30.
	<i>St. Marg.</i> ,	37.3
	<i>St. Giles</i> ,	47.5
	<i>E. and Fr.</i> ,	53.6
	<i>Testam.</i> ,	62.7
	<i>Secrees</i> ,	48.4

2. *What are the factors determining apocope? Is apocope merely a metrical license, or is it in some way related to grammatical decay, reproducing the contemporary conditions of the language?*

In the works of Chaucer and Lydgate we found that the statements made by Child, ten Brink, and Kittredge were borne out and that

- 1) Words with recessive accent lose *e*;
- 2) Certain words of extreme frequency lose *e*.

Aside from this there was in Chaucer a tendency for the Romance word to retain *e* more frequently than the one of Germanic origin. There is no evidence of this tendency in Lydgate. In both, however, the weak adjective retained the *e* longer than any other inflectional form, a situation which we explained upon both metrical and grammatical grounds.

Is metrical apocope related to grammatical decay, and

may the per-cent. of apocope in a given poem be taken as representing contemporary linguistic conditions?

In *P. F.*, *H. F.*, and *Troilus*, Chaucer has introduced a French system of versification and in the *Bl. Kn.*, *Fl. of C.*, and *R. S.*, Lydgate was following both French and Chaucerian models. In these works we are dealing with an artificial poetic diction which does not reproduce the spoken language. But in the average metrical romance, where apocope is determined largely by dialect, in Chaucer's *B. D.*, and the latest of the "Tales," and finally in the poems of Lydgate following the *Troy Book*, the percents assuredly give some indication of the extent of grammatical decay which the inflections have undergone.

3. *What is Lydgate's relation, on the one hand, to Chaucer, and, on the other, to the "new school of poetry which arose in the sixteenth century"?*

The answer to this has already been suggested. In the early work, the imitation of Chaucer was as thoroughgoing as it was within Lydgate's power to compass. The later work, however, shows a relapse into the vernacular; the subject matter, though changed, was still mediæval; whereas the form was *becoming* modern. Lydgate was the last poet in whose works the inflectional *e* was a *living* thing, and it was so only in his earlier productions; after him it was to all intents and purposes dead, and none of the later attempts to revive it could impart to it any real vitality.

Lydgate, then, may be said, in *point of language*, to bridge the gulf between mediæval and modern, or (changing the figure) to stand like a two-headed Janus facing both the past and the future.

III.—CHAUCER AND THE SEVEN DEADLY SINS

Among men of the Middle Ages no theme, religious or secular, was more widely popular than the *motif* of the Seven Deadly Sins. From *summae* and sermons, from “mirrors” and manuals, from hymns, “moralities,” and books of *exempla*, from rules of nuns and instructions of parish priests, from catechisms of lay folk and popular penitentials, and finally from such famous allegories as De Guileville’s *Pèlerinage* every medieval reader gleaned as intimate a knowledge of the Sins as of his Paternoster and his Creed, and hence was able to respond to every reference to these, explicit or implicit. Moreover this theme, which had absorbed the attention of Dante through many cantos of his *Purgatorio*, so familiar to Chaucer, had, in our poet’s own day, won vivid portrayal from Langland in *Piers Plowman* and had claimed eighteen thousand lines of prolix analysis in the *Mirour de l’Omme* of the moral Gower. And even now, while Chaucer’s own *Tales* were in the making, Gower’s *Confessio* was reared high upon the foundation of general interest in this *motif*. No wonder that it made an irresistible appeal to Chaucer too!

Before any discussion of a particular use of the Sins is possible, it is necessary to say a few words of the place of these conceptions in medieval thought. The Vices, unsystematized and unclassified in the writings of the Fathers, and unreduced to a strict sevenfold division in the homilies of early Englishmen, like Aldhelm and Ælfric, who recognize eight principal Vices, were afterwards adapted to rigid categories, and acquired phases and features

which soon became stereotyped.¹ The very order was fixed by convention: Pride, Envy, Wrath, Sloth, Avarice, Gluttony, Lechery. This is the sequence of Dante's circles of Purgatory, of the elaborate analyses in Gower's *Mirour* and *Confessio*, in Wyclif's *Sermons*, in Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*. But evidently this order was not felt to be sacrosanct, as frequent divergences show.²

More formal even than the sequence of the Sins are the traits assigned to each. When Shakspeare inveighs in Ovidian fashion against "that monster Envy" or "pale Envy" or "lean faced Envy in her loathsome cave" or points to "the unyoked humor of your idleness," he is not using stock conventions of the formula; but when Chaucer apostrophises an envious woman as a serpent and her sin as Satan-born (B. 357) or hails Idleness as "the nurse unto vices" (G. 1), he is re-

¹ See Triggs, Introduction to *Assembly of the Gods* (E. E. T. Soc., *Extra Series*, 69), pp. xix f.

² In the Parable of the Castle of Love in the *Cursor Mundi* ll. 10040 F (cited by Triggs, p. lxx), the order of the Sins is Pride, Envy, Gluttony, Lechery, Avarice, Wrath, and Sloth (though in the Book of Penance in the same work the normal order is followed); in the sequence of Tales in the *Handlyng Synne*, Pride, Wrath, Envy, Sloth, Avarice, Gluttony, Lechery (though the lines against Tournaments, 4570 f. respect the normal order); in *Piers Plowman*, B. V., Pride, Lechery, Envy, Wrath, Avarice, Gluttony, and Sloth, but in the feofment of Passus II, 79 f., Pride, Envy, Wrath, Lechery, Avarice, Gluttony, Sloth. The order in the *Mireour du Monde* and the *Ayenbite* is Pride, Envy, Wrath, Sloth, Avarice, Lechery, Gluttony, and the Sins of the Tongue. Jean de Meung's *Testament* (IV, 87) ll. 1692 f. offers two widely divergent orders. Even in ecclesiastical documents appear variations from the norm. In "Peckham's Constitutions" Gluttony is the fourth Sin and Sloth the sixth, while in the "York Convocations" the order is reversed (see *Lay Folk's Catechism*, E. E. T. Soc., 118, p. xvii). In all lists, however, Pride is the first of the Sins. Deference to the alphabet in the example-books, which invariably illustrate the Vices, shatters completely any conventional sequence.

peating traditional commonplaces. Only voluminous reading in the literature of the Sins will enable one to distinguish readily all the branches and twigs of the deadly tree. And such a reader is interested to find that the medieval categories of error often run directly counter to our conceptions. From our point of view it is natural to protest against the inclusion of "the thief on the cross" under Langland's head of Sloth, and yet, as R. W. Chambers points out,³ that dilatory sinner finds a place in every formal description of that vice. It seems reasonable to condemn Chaucer, as Simon and Eilers have done, for his subheads of Wrath in the *Parson's Tale*, but these very traits of "Idle Words" and "Chiding," are features of the Sin in many a collection. A seeming hodge-podge of evil traits in the famous feofment of *Piers Plowman*, Passus II, resolves itself, when scanned through fourteenth-century glasses, into a lucid and time-honored classification of the Vices.⁴ Hence we must not be surprised to find that to Chaucer and his fellows Inobedience of every kind is one of the chief heads of Pride, that Undevotion in worship is very prominent among the phases of Sloth, that Murmuration or "Grucching" against one's own wretched lot belongs as truly to Envy as does Detraction of one's neighbors. It is true that the formula of the Sins is not so fixed as to forbid all variations from its categories, but these variations soon become traditional and cause little confusion. For instance, Swearing or "Great Oaths" is usually classed under the head of Wrath, and yet in Langland more than once it is transferred to Gluttony both as a fault of the mouth and as a feature of tavern-revel. So, too, Chiding as a Sin of

³ *Modern Language Review*, Jan., 1910.

⁴ Chambers, *l. c.*

the Tongue, is sometimes found apart, as in the *Ayenbite* and *Mireour du Monde*, from its category of Wrath. Poverty finds a place under both Pride and Envy, and occasionally under Avarice; yet here there are obvious distinctions in the point of view. Generally the limits of variation are so definitely fixed that an *exemplum* of the Sins, even though its title or tag be lacking, can be referred easily to its appropriate head by the discriminating student of the old formula.

Everyone recalls Chaucer's formal presentation of the Deadly Seven in the *Parson's Tale*, in due accord with the traditional demands of penitential sermons.^{4a} Even the superficial reader cannot fail to remark his casual references to each and all the Vices in the course of the Canterbury stories:—the passing mention of "the sinnes sevene" in *The Merchant's Tale* (E. 1640), of Envy in the Physician's story (C. 144), of Pride in the Second Nun's (G. 476), of Gluttony (Drunkenness) and Luxury in the Man of Law's (B. 771 f., 925 f.); and the incidental discussion of Wrath, Avarice, and Idleness in the *Tale of Melibeus* (§§ 18, 51-52, 57-58). Moreover I have recently discovered that *The Canterbury Tales* offers us yet another treatment of the Sins, not casual but organic; that in several of the stories the poet finds these familiar conceptions of medieval theology so serviceable a framework that he recurs often to the well-known formula as a convenient and

^{4a} Contemporary interest in Chaucer's treatment of the Sins is illustrated by the drawings that accompany the Parson's text in MS. Gg. 4. 27, Univ. Cambr. fols. 416, 432, 433: Envy on his wolf, and his antitype Charity; Gluttony on a bear, offset by Abstinence; and Lechery with goat and sparrow opposed to Chastity. These figures of Vices and Virtues—"being all that were not cut out of the MS. by some scoundrel" (Furnivall)—correspond accurately to the symbolism of the Sins in *The Assembly of the Gods*.

suggestive device of construction. This architectonic use of the *motif*—hitherto unsuspected—it is now my purpose to consider. As there is no better way of convincing others than to trace the steps by which oneself has become convinced, I shall now indicate the stages which led me, during the past summer, to a conclusion that may have large significance for students of *The Canterbury Tales*.

In a recent article in *The Nation* (October 16, 1913) I have pointed out that "the interpolation by the Chaucer Society, of the Tales of the Physician and the Pardoner between the stories of the Nun's Priest and the Wife of Bath is opposed not only by the evidence of the manuscripts, but by the valuable though neglected testimony of the Marriage *motif*." ⁵

When in accord with the Ellesmere or A-type tradition, favored here by Tyrwhitt and Skeat, I placed the Physician's and Pardoner's stories directly after that of the Franklin,⁶ I was struck by a peculiar circumstance. Here together, after the necessary shifting of the B² stories, were the Physician's version of Gower's theme of Lechery in the *Confessio Amantis*⁷—the foul wrong meditated

⁵ The conclusion expressed in my *Nation* article, that, "as 'Group C' the narratives of Physician and Pardoner interrupt the progress of the spirited discussion of women's counsels and the wifely relation begun in the *Melibeus*, etc.," was reached simultaneously by Professor W. W. Lawrence in the pages of *Modern Philology* (October, 1913). This coincidence constitutes an interesting confirmation of the view just presented.

⁶ It seems to me a potent additional argument for the order here adopted, that the Physician's story of oppressed virginity courting death rather than disgrace follows so naturally upon the Franklin's many illustrations of this pathetic theme (F. 1364 f.).

⁷ Gower's use of the story of Appius and Virginia (*Confessio Amantis*, VII, 5131 f.), for which Chaucer was indebted to the *Roman de la Rose*, 5613 f., is ample proof of the fitness of the tale as an *exemplum* of Lechery and its antitype, Chastity. Here is

against Virginia, the gem of chastity, by Appius Claudius and its tragic consequences; the Pardoner's long attack upon Avarice and Gluttony (and its attendant evils) followed by his tale that admirably illustrates both, the story of three rioters who meet death through their covetousness;⁸ and the Second Nun's Prologue on Idleness, introducing that antitype of Sloth, Saint Cecilia,⁹ the "bee"

that phase of Lechery, discussed by Chaucer in the *Parson's Tale*, § 76, ll. 867 f., "Another sinne of Lecherie is to bireve a mayden of hir maydenhede; for he that so dooth, certes, he casteth a mayden out of the hyeste degree that is in this present lyf," and already illustrated by the Franklin's *exempla* from Jerome (*supra*). Virginia's close resemblance to the "consecrated virgin" ideal of patristic treatises, which I shall discuss later, emphasizes the signal fitness of the old tale as an *exemplum* of Lechery.

⁸ Nobody can doubt that the *Pardoner's Tale* is primarily an *exemplum* of Avarice. In variants so far afield as those of Italy and India, the same moral is pointed. In the Italian version *Le Ciento Novelle Antike*, No. 83, Christ warns his disciples against the fatal effects of Avarice. The Buddhist analogue, the 48th *Jātaka* shows, like the English story, that "the passion of Avarice is the root of destruction" (Skeat, *Chaucer*, III, pp. 439-443). So the German variant, Hans Sachs' *Fastnachtsspiel, Der Dot im Stock*, is an "erschrocklich peyspiel" of Covetousness. (*Modern Philology*, IX, p. 19.). The Gluttony element in the Pardoner's narrative (drunkenness with its concomitants of tavern revel, dicing and great oaths) though secondary, is not less obvious, as the rascal himself immediately supplies the application at great length (C. 480 f.). The value of this Gluttony background as *exemplum* material is attested by the striking parallels from the example books cited by Miss Petersen as illustrating the inevitable accessories of the Sin, Gaming and Swearing (*The Sources of the Nonne Prestes Tale*, pp. 98-100). The Pardoner himself notes in his Prologue (C. 435), "Than telle I hem ensamples many oon," etc.

⁹ It is noteworthy that in the *Flores Exemplorum*, VII, xlvi, 1, Cecilia exemplifies Fortitude, which, as the Parson tells us (I, 727 f.), is the "remedy" against the Sin of Sloth:—"Agayns this horrible sinne of Accidie (Sloth), and the branches of the same, ther is a vertu that is called *Fortitudo* or Strengthe; that is, an affeccioun thurgh which a man despyseth anoyous thinges. This

of the medieval homilist,¹⁰ renowned not only for her celibacy but for "hir lasting busnesse" (G. 98, 116-117):—

Ful swift and bisy ever in good werkinge,
And round and hool in good perseveringe.

Here then were four of the Seven Deadly Sins, Lechery, Avarice, Gluttony, Sloth. Had this fourfold treatment (I am not insisting now upon the sequence) of the *motif* any significance? Possibly none, unless it appeared that Chaucer had treated the three other Sins as well. And then I remembered that he had handled Gower's theme of Pride (Inobedience)¹¹ in the Wife of Bath's Tale, Gower's theme of Wrath (Chiding)¹² in the Manciple's,

vertu is so mighty and so vigorous, that it dar withstonde mightily and wysely kepen himself fro perils that been wicked, and wrastle agayn the assautes of the devel. For it enhaunceth and enforceth the soule, right as Accidie abateth it and maketh it feble."

¹⁰ In the *Sermones Aurei* of Jacobus a Voragine (1760, pp. 361-362), to which Professor Lowes draws my attention, Saint Cecilia is likened to a bee on account of her five-fold busyness; her spiritual devotion, humility, contemplation, teaching and exhortation, sagacity. All of these traits are abundantly illustrated in Chaucer's story of the Saint (former material converted to the purposes of the *motif*); and, as we shall see later, the first form of "busnesse," spiritual devotion, is in complete accord with the tone and function of the "Invocatio ad Mariam," that antidote to Sloth which follows the Idleness Prologue. This introductory matter has been wisely retained from an earlier time.

¹¹ Gower's Tale of Florent (*Confessio*, I, 1407-1861), the close analogue of the Wife's story, is directed "against those inobedient to love," and is moreover designed, through the pattern of the obedient knight, to teach the Lover to obey his love, "and folwe hir will be alle weie." It is significant that Chaucer places Inobedience foremost among the divisions of Pride (*Parson's Tale*, 390). Gower makes it the second branch of the Sin. "A few touches of minute resemblance," says Macaulay (*Confessio*, Vol. I, p. 472), "may suggest that one poet was acquainted with the other's rendering of the story."

¹² Gower tells very briefly (*Confessio*, III, 783-817), the story of

and Gower's theme of Envy (Detraction)¹³ in the *Man of Law's*. Here were the other three,—Pride, Wrath, Envy. The entire adequacy of the stories as *exempla* of the Sins was thus established beyond question by Gower's use in four cases, and in the others by their intrinsic fitness for that purpose and by the testimony of analogues. But did Chaucer, like Gower and the *exemplum* writers, intend that these narratives should illustrate the Vices, or did he ignore utterly the very obvious applications? Then I turned to the Tales themselves, and was confronted by twofold evidence that the poet deemed them *exempla* of the Sins.

First, each of the stories was accompanied by a preaching against the Sin in question. The long harangue of the Wife's heroine (D. 1109 f.) against the arrogance which so often attends birth and fortune, but which is fatal to true "gentillesse," has frequently invited comparison with passages in Boethius, Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and the *Roman de la Rose*. But no one seems to have remarked that this excellent sermon is but an expansion of the commonplaces that inevitably appear in all medieval discourses upon Pride. If we set by the side of the Wife's lines, the Parson's discussion of the "pryde of gentrye" and "general signes of gentillesse" (I. 460-

Phoebus and Cornis, to illustrate Chiding or Chestre, the second of his divisions of Wrath. We shall see that his moral is exactly the same as Chaucer's, who derives his story directly from Ovid.

¹³ Gower's story of Constance, told to exemplify Detraction, an important phase of Envy, has in its phraseology so much in common with Chaucer's version (Skeat, III, 413-17) as to suggest that in several places one poet copied the other. If we believe with Lücke (*Anglia* XIV, p. 183) and Tatlock (*Devel. and Chronol.*, chap. v, § 6), that Chaucer was the copyist, we must perforce admit his knowledge of the value of the tale as an *exemplum* of Envy. More of this later.

474),¹⁴ John Wyclif's eloquent chapters upon the folly of pride of birth and pride of riches and prosperity,¹⁵ and Gower's commentary upon true nobility, and upon the relation of rich and poor,¹⁶ we can no longer have the least doubt of Chaucer's purpose. He has introduced a Pride sermon into the fitting environment of a Pride tale. Moreover it is noteworthy that Gower classes the contempt of the rich lord and lady for the poor and humble, under the Inobedience phase of Pride,¹⁷ just as Chaucer does here. The medieval reader, unlike the modern critic,¹⁸ found nothing irrelevant or unseasonable in the Dame's homily against Pride.

The Manciple's Tale, which, as Gower's use of the theme attests, is so well designed to illustrate the Chiding phase of Wrath, is supplemented quite in the *exemplum* man-

¹⁴ Indeed in the prose of Mackaye and Tatlock's version of the *Tales*, it is hard to distinguish throughout many lines the Wife's words from those of the Parson's discourse on Pride. They might well be interchanged.

¹⁵ Arnold, *Select Works of John Wyclif*, III, pp. 125-127. Compare with Chaucer's "Christ wol, we clayme of him our gentillesse, etc.", Wyclif's "Have we nobley of oure fader and moder, that ben Jesus Crist and his spouse, holy Chirche, for by this noble kin we schal be gentil in heven" etc. Strangely enough "Gentillesse" is introduced under Sloth by Gower, *Confessio*, IV, 2200 f.

¹⁶ Cf. *Mirour de l'Omme*, 12073 f., 23380 f. It is a chief phase of Pride to scorn the poor, or as Langland says, B. II, 79, "to be princes in pryde and poverte to despise" (Cf. B. xiv, 215, "Pryde in riches regneth rather than in poverte, etc."). The contrast between the Dame's praise of Poverty here and the "grucching" against Poverty in the Envy Prologue (cf. also *Melibeus*, § 50, B. 2748 f.) is paralleled by the juxtaposition of willing and impatient Poverty in DeGuileville's *Pèlerinage*, (Lydgate), pp. 605 f., 22685-22772. Wyclif, like Chaucer, emphasizes in his Pride chapter (III, p. 126), the dangers of wealth, from which the poor man is free, and points to the Poverty of Christ and his Apostles.

¹⁷ Cf. *Mirour*, 2220 f.

¹⁸ Cf. Macaulay, *Confessio Amantis*, Vol. I, p. 472.

ner ("Lordings, by this ensample I you preye"), by a long "morality" against Chiding, (H. 309-362). For this Chaucer is indebted not only to Albertano of Brescia's treatise, *De Arte Loquendi et Tacendi*, but to his own Parson's sermon, in its section upon Wrath (I, 647 f.).¹⁹ That Chaucer's purpose in both tale and morality is the same as Gower's is, moreover, established by the close resemblance between his "application" and that of his friend (*Confessio*, III, 831-835):—

Mi sone, be thou none of tho,
To jangle and telle tales so,
And namely that thou ne chyde,
For Chestre can no conseil hide,
For Wraththe seide nevere wel.

Significantly enough both Chaucer and Gower deem Chiding one of the divisions of Wrath,²⁰ whereas in many medieval catalogues of the Sins, this fault is classed apart from the Deadly Seven as a Sin of the Tongue. Chaucer, however, seems to have recognized the claim of Chiding to especial treatment, since he had already illustrated the general theme of Wrath in his Friar-Summoner tales; but more of that in due season.

The Man of Law's story, Gower's theme of Envy (Detraction), is prefaced by a Poverty Prologue, which all scholars have deemed irrelevant. It is really in entire accord with the Envy *motif* of the tale that it introduces, since it admirably illustrates typical traits of that Vice

¹⁹ It is interesting to compare the Manciple's lines (H. 343 f.), "A Jangler is to God abominable; | Reed Salomon so wys and honourable," etc., with the Parson's words on the same theme (I, 648), "Now comth Jangling, that may not been without sinne. And as seith Salamon, 'it is a sinne of apert folye.'"

²⁰ So also does Langland, B. ii, 74 (Chambers, *Modern Language Review*, Jan. 1910).

upon which the Parson dwells (I. 483, 489)—grudging against Poverty and sorrow at other men's wealth. That Chaucer's source here, Innocent's famous tract, *De Miseria Conditionis Humanae*,²¹ which gives so large a space to the Vices, supplied him with Deadly Sins material in the Pardoner's Prologue and Tale, is a circumstance not without value as an indication of his present purpose. In the second stanza of the Man of Law's Prologue, the poet goes far beyond his source in the dramatic expression of an envy, at once vehement and vindictive. The Tale, moreover, contains references (B. 358-374)—Chaucer's, not Trivet's—to traditional characteristics of Envy, its Satanic origin and serpent-like nature.²² Can Chaucer's intent be any longer in doubt?

Nothing certainly could be more in the true *exemplum* manner than the Physician's warning to governesses and parents in the Tale of Lechery (C. 72-104). Whenever the dangers of youth are the theme, the medieval moralizer turns him naturally to father and mother; so Jacques de

²¹ Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 217, pp. 701 f. Innocent's tract is cited by Chaucer in the discussion of Poverty in the *Tale of Melibeus*, B. 2758. But Dame Prudence's dispraise of Poverty has in it nought of Envy, since it is characterized by a contempt for ill-gotten wealth (B. 2771-2793), "It is a greet shame to a man to have a povere herte and a riche purs," and by a preference for Poverty with a good name and conscience, "than to been holden a shrewe and have grete richesses" (B. 2820).

²² Every medieval account of Envy, records these traits, traceable, of course, to *Wisdom* II, 24, "Through the envy of the devil came death into the roundness of earth." In DeGuileville's *Pèlerinage* 14768, Envy is a serpent as in *Ancren Riwele*—and is moreover the daughter of Pride and Satan. The adder nature of Detraction is illustrated both in the *Pèlerinage*, 23116 and in *Handlyng Synne*, 4168. Chaucer's Envious Serpent passage is closely paralleled in Occleve's "Letter of Cupid," (l. 358), borrowed from Christine de Pisan. Compare also *Mireour du Monde*, pp. 103, 106.

Vitry takes his stand upon *Proverbs* xxii, 6, "Train up a child in the way he should go, etc."²³ Much more to our purpose is the close resemblance between many lines of the *Physician's Tale* and the well-known patristic tracts on Virginity. The moral traits of Virginia—her humility, her modesty of bearing and array, her abstinence from wine, her discretion in speech, her avoidance of society, her dislike of feasts and dances—are precisely those prescribed to the "consecrated maiden" in Ambrose's famous treatise, *De Virginibus*.²⁴ Ambrose's presentation of the ideal of virginity and of the perils to which the lamb is subjected from wolves (cf. *C. T.*, C. 102) culminates, as in Chaucer, with a solemn warning to mothers and fathers (III, vi).²⁵ And the ten-line "application" at the close of the Tale (C. 277-286), is the traditional ending of an "ensample" of Sin:—

Heer men may seen how sinne hath his meryte!
Beth war, for no man woot whom God wol smyte, etc.

So the moral is driven home.

Thus I found undoubted "moralities" on Pride, Wrath, Envy, and Lechery, accompanying four tales that had been used by Gower to illustrate Pride, Wrath, Envy and Lechery. The conclusion was obvious that Chaucer designed them as *exempla* of the Sins, and that in his treat-

²³ See Crane, Introduction to *Exempla of Jacques de Vitry*, p. xlv. Compare also Bromyard, *Summa Predicantium*, s. v. "Infantia."

²⁴ This likeness, which extends even to verbal parallels, must be discussed elsewhere. Chaucer here seems far closer to Ambrose than to those other homilists upon Virginity, Jerome and Augustine.

²⁵ "What say you, holy women? Do you see what you ought to teach and what also to unteach your daughters?" etc., etc. Ambrose's application was popular in medieval *exemplum*-books; compare *Flores Exemplorum*, s. v. "Castitas."

ment he adhered closely to the strict categories of human errors recognized by all his contemporaries. To maintain that the poet had in these tales no intention of illustrating the Vices and that these closely fitting "applications" are puzzling irrelevancies necessitates not only a disregard of all evidence but an insensibility to the trend of medieval thought.

In the Sins stories that have no analogues in the *Confessio* but are paralleled in the example-books, Chaucer's design is quite as clearly manifest. The Pardoner's long tirades against Avarice and Gluttony and those evils which attend it in many medieval collections, Hasardry and Great Oaths, are largely lifted from the Parson's Tale and from Innocent's tract.²⁶ They offer

²⁶See Koeppel, *Herrigs Archiv*, LXXXIV, p. 405, LXXVII, p. 33-54, and the Notes in Skeat's edition. It is true that, in the *Parson's Tale*, Hasardry is included under Avarice (I, 792) and Great Oaths under Wrath (I, 587); but both the *Ayenbite*, p. 52 and *Piers Plowman*, B. v, link Gluttony and games of chance, and *Piers Plowman* twice associates Gluttony with Swearing: B. II, 92 f. "Glotonye he gaf hem eke and gret othes togydere And alday to drynke at dyverse tavernes" and B. v, 314, "Thanne goth glotoun in and grete othes after" (cf. Chambers, *Modern Language Review*, Jan. 1910). Compare with the Pardoner's discussion of Gluttony and its accessories that of Bromyard in his *Summa Predicantium* s. v. "Ebrietas" and "Gula":—"Alii potus excessu. Alii turpibus verbis et cantilenis . . . et illicitis juramentis . . . et vanis narrationibus. Alii luxuria et incestu, quia ubi ebrietas ibi libido . . . dominatur. Et sicut patet Gen. 19, ubi dixerunt filiae Loth, 'Inebriemus eum vino, etc.'" "Ludi inordinati et prohibiti, sicut taxillorum et hujusmodi, in talibus communiter plus delectantur pleni quam famelici, juxta proverbium quod dicitur, 'Non possum ludere, neque ridere, nisi venter plenus sit.' Exemplum de Samson, Judi. 16; et de Judaeis, de quibus dicitur, Exod. 32, 'Sedit populus manducare et bibere et surrexerunt ludere.'" In the margins of MSS. E., Hn., Cp., Pt., and Hl. (*Pardoner's Tale*, C. 483), is the note, "Nolite inebriari vino in quo est luxuria," quoted from the Vulgate version of Ephesians, v, 18. This is cited by Innocent in his tract, *De Contemptu Mundi*, II,

undeniable evidence that this contribution is an *exemplum* of the two vices.²⁷ As we have already noted, the Second Nun's story of the traditionally busy Saint Cecilia is prefaced by an Idleness Prologue, which is retained by the poet as admirably suited to his present purpose. And in even more definite fashion, Chaucer links the tale with the theme of Sloth. Among the chief phases of that Sin is the fault, antipathetic to Cecilia's peculiar virtue,—Undevotion, through which, to quote the Parson (I. 722 f.), "a man is so blent, as seith Saint Bernard, and hath swich langour in soule, that he may neither rede ne singe in holy churche, etc."²⁸ This Undevotion is definitely represented as neglect of Hymns of our Lord or of our Lady,²⁹ and of the Daily Service.³⁰ Now the

19, and becomes a commonplace of all medieval descriptions of Gluttony. Compare Holkot in his *Lectiones*, 21, "scilicet effective exemplum de Loth, Gen. 19"; *Le Testament de Jean de Meun*, ll. 1748 f.; DeGuileville, ll. 13060 f.; Hoccleve, *Regement of Princes*, 3802 f.

²⁷ In DeGuileville's *Pèlerinage* (Lydgate), ll. 18104 f., Avarice, like the Pardoner, cheats by sham pardon and relics.

²⁸ How large a part Undevotion played in medieval illustrations of Sloth is seen by reference to the example-books. The *Liber Exemplorum ad Usus Predicantium*, ed. by Little, Aberdeen, 1908, thus introduces the theme (p. 38): "Quoniam autem orationis devotio et officii ecclesiastici devota audicio accidie repugnant et torpori probabile sumitur argumentum quod unusquisque quanto se ab orationis devotione et officio ecclesiastico tempore debito subtrahit tanto accidie et torpori cor suum paratum vasculum reddit. Et certe qui se divino officio tempore debito subtrahunt impune transire non possunt." And three out of the four Sloth *exempla* that follow relate to zeal in prayer. So in the fifteenth century *Alphabet of Tales* (*E. E. T. Soc.*, 126, 20), the first *exemplum* under Sloth is that of the monk who would not attend Matins; compare Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances*, III, p. 431.

²⁹ It is significant that Sloth in *Piers Plowman* is identified with Undevotion through his portrayal (B. v, 403 f.) as a lazy priest and parson who knows hymns "neither of oure Lorde ne of oure Lady,"

"Invocacio ad Mariam" of the Second Nun's Prologue is drawn not only from Dante but from the Hours of the Virgin in the *Prymer* or *Lay Folk's Prayer Book*,³¹ and is therefore the most effective sort of protest against Sloth in its phase of Undevotion. Hence there is a fine fitness in retaining this Hymn of our Lady—whatever its time of composition and original function—immediately after the stanzas of Idleness in introducing the type of busyness, Saint Cecilia, whose first trait, according to the sermon of Jacobus a Voragine, was the sweetness of spiritual devotion. Moreover, the lines in the "Invocation" that insist upon the value of works (G. 64-65, 77, 79) are closely akin to the passage on "werkes of goodnesse" in the Parson's discussion of Sloth (I. 690 f.).

A close examination of the Tales under discussion thus revealed the significant circumstance that each story which appositely illustrated a Sin, was accompanied by a morality against that particular Vice. But Chaucer went even farther than this in his use of the Deadly Seven as a framework in these narratives. With delightfully suggestive irony, he opposed practice to precept, rule of life to dogma, by making several of the story-tellers incarnate the very Sins that they explicitly condemn.

Of this surprising perversity, the Pardoner is the frankest example. His attitude is tersely summarized in the words of his Prologue (C. 427-8):—

who neglects the service "till matynes and masse be done" and who "can neither solfe ne synge ne seyntes lyues rede."

³⁰ Cf. *Handlyng Synne*, 4241 f.; Gower, *Mirour*, 5552 f., 5620.

³¹ Carleton Brown has remarked (*Modern Philology*, July, 1911) the liturgical elements in the "Invocation," but he has overlooked its direct indebtedness to the "Hours" in the *Prymer*, with the external history of which book he has elsewhere made us so familiar. All this I shall discuss in another place.

Thus can I preche agayn that same vyce
Which that I use, and that is avaryce.

Who so avaricious as he that rivals the Parson in large citation of Paul's saying, "Radix malorum est Cupiditas" (C. 334, 423, 905)? He who inveighs for a hundred lines against Gluttony and its subordinate vice, Drunkenness (C. 480-590), is himself so gluttonous that he must pause "to drink and eat of a cake" before beginning his story and loves on yon side of idolatry "liquor of the vine" and "a draught of corny ale." Hinckley suggests³² that the wildest indiscretions of the Pardoner's Confession are due to drink. Certainly the Wife of Bath (D. 170) hints that he has been taking too much ale. He who thunders against that concomitant of Gluttony, Great Oaths, is often blasphemous.³³ And his ribaldry is such that it disgusts "the gentles" (C. 323-324). It is an interesting coincidence that in *Piers Plowman* (B-text, Prologue, 76 f.) Pardoners blend Gluttony with their Avarice. I need not labor long to show that the Wife of Bath includes in her complex personality many of the elements of Pride upon which the Parson later dwells: a desire to go first to the offering, vainglory or love of fine clothes, arrogance or lack of humility, scolding or scorning. Yet, while all these traits are sufficiently obvious, they are neither so dominant nor conspicuous as that phase of Pride, which she, the "Venerien," the epitome of worldly affection, proclaims, with all the frankness of the Pardoner, to be her chief fault—"Unbuxomness" or "In-

³² *Notes to Chaucer*, pp. 158-159.

³³ Contrast with his approving comment upon the Second Commandment, "Take not my name in ydel or amis," his frequent oaths, D. 164, "by God and by seint John," C. 320, "by seint Ronyon," C. 457 "by God."

obedience" in love. She is essentially the Inobedient, and the sum and substance of the marital confessions of her Prologue is a full and free admission of Unbuxomness. Gower's description of this trait in his picture of "La quinte fille d'Orguil, laquelle ad a noun Inobedience" fits the Wife like a glove (*Mirour*, 2023 f.):

C'est un pecché, qui fait desplaire
La femme qui n'est debonnaire
Au mary, qui la volt amer.

It is she, the Inobedient, who tells Gower's story of protest against Inobedience. To the medieval reader—particularly to him who knew Gower—the irony of the assignment must have been evident; though to us there seems, of course, little irony in the Wife's implicit plea for the domestic subjection of the male. But even we must admit the irony of a long harangue against Pride (and against a phase of the Sin, which is classed by Gower as Inobedience) on the lips of her who, as many traits attest, is the proudest character among the pilgrims.³⁴

Now for the Manciple. Amusingly enough, the chief feature of the Prologue of this teller of a tale against Chiding is his long revilement of the drunken Cook (H. 25-45). This rebuke is obviously suggested by the Parson's picture, in his paragraph on the chiding phase of Wrath, of the reviler, who dubs his neighbor, "thou holour," "thou dronkelewe harlot" (I. 623 f.). This chiding is reproved by the Host, and the Manciple makes his *amende*. Hence the Manciple is himself guilty of the very fault that he condemns in both his tale and morality. The same delicious inconsistency is found in the representative of Wrath in its larger and more evil aspect, the Summoner, to whose

³⁴ Pride is the only sin personified by Langland (*Piers Plowman*, B. v, 63) as a woman—Peronel Proudheart.

ireful contribution we must later give especial consideration.

The Poverty Prologue to the Tale of Constance shows us clearly that the narrator of this story of Envy is himself tainted by that Sin. This evidence is ample for our present purpose. But it is noteworthy that from the point of view of Chaucer's day, there was an ironical fitness in the final assignment of an Envy tale to the Man of Law, whose profession in the fourteenth century was tainted by Envy as well as by Avarice.³⁵ No Prologue specifically indicates the Physician's peculiar disqualification for his theme of Lechery; but the medieval reader must have been tickled by the praise of purity from a profession notorious in the fourteenth century for its willingness to increase the passions of lovers through the use of philters described in the wicked book of our Doctor's master, "Dan Constan-tyn,"³⁶ and for its eagerness "to gete of love his lusty

³⁵ The Man of Law's contrary qualifications for telling an Envy story are illustrated by many writers: by Gower who uses to describe the Lawyer (*Vox*, vi, 293) the same image of the Basilisk that he employs to picture Envy (*Mirour*, 3748 f.); by Hoccleve, who compares (*Regement of Princes*, 2815 f.) the Law to the venomous spider, which catches little flies and lets big ones go; by Langland, who makes Envy instruct friars "to lerne logik and lawe" (C. xxiii, 273); and by Bromyard of Hereford, who properly discusses the Avarice and Envy of lawyers under the heads of "Advocatus" and "Causidicus" in his *Summa Predicantium*. Many passages in Gower's *Vox* and *Mirour* and in Wyclif's *Sermons* (cited by Flügel, *Anglia*, xxiv, pp. 484-496) and the sorry part played by "Civile" or Civil Law in *Piers Plowman* prove that the legal profession was then infected by covetousness of wealth and contempt for poverty—by Avarice intermingled with Envy. The Advocate is the butt of many *exempla* in such example-books as Jacques de Vitry's and the *Liber Exemplorum*.

³⁶ Cf. *Merchant's Tale* E. 1810. January's use of "letuaries" as aids to love is paralleled in the *exemplum* of the old man who seeks of a physician that prescription called by the doctors, "electuarium

mede" through all the devices of Arabist and astrologer, images, calculations, stars, hours of astronomy.³⁷ This suggestion of satire in the case of the Doctor is only a plausible conjecture. But the objection that we have no hint in the General Prologue of such a trait of the Physician counts for nought, as we hear nothing there of the Gluttony of the Pardoner and of the Chiding of the Manciple, of which so much is made in their special Prologues. Many things appear in the headlinks and prefatory matter of the several tales that were not contemplated by Chaucer in his main Introduction. The elaboration (in the special prologues of Sins tales) of traits that do not occur in the General Prologue merely serves to emphasize the satirical interest of the moment: for instance, the Manciple is made a chider for the nonce to point better the moral through the irony of the situation. Of the Second Nun, who was finally chosen to present the Prologues and Tale against Sloth, we unfortunately know nothing; but, as Professor Tatlock suggests to me, "there may well be some sarcasm in putting praise of diligence into the mouth of a nun, as no charge against the regulars is commoner than that of laziness."³⁸

Because Gower's use attests the value of four of Chaucer's stories as *exempla* of the Sins, and the aptness of others and the testimony of analogues give them

diasatyrionis, quod provocat libidinem." (*Tomus Primus Convivialium Sermonum* by Jean Gast, Basel, 1561, s. v. "Medici.")

³⁷ Cf. *Confessio Amantis*, VI, 1292-1358.

³⁸ Mark DeGuileville's reprobation (*Pèlerinage*, II. 23538 f.) of "the nuns who have liberty to sleep and wake at their pleasure, and who take no heed to keep their observance." Four of the six illustrations of Sloth in Herolt's *Promptuarium Exemplorum* are lazy monks. In *Piers Plowman* Sloth is, as we have seen, a lazy priest; and to the attack upon the Castle of Unity Sloth leads more than a thousand prelates (B. xx, 216-217).

like warrant, because in each of the tales that deal with the Sins Chaucer points at length the moral, and because he assigns with a delightful irony each of these narratives to a fitting representative of the Sin under rebuke, I was led inevitably to the opinion that the Wife of Bath illustrates Pride, the Manciple, Wrath (or rather that Sin of the Tongue, Chiding), the Man of Law, Envy, the Physician, Lechery, the Pardoner, Avarice and Gluttony, and the Second Nun, Sloth. More recently several potent reasons have convinced me that Wrath in its general aspect is represented by the Friar-Summoner Tales:—(1) A wonderfully exact parallel to the angry quarrel between the Friar and the Summoner is furnished in Langland's illustration of Wrath (B. v, 136 f.) by the strife between friars and possessioners or beneficed clergy.³⁹ (2) The Friar's story of the nemesis of hell-pains brought upon a cursing summoner by the heart-felt curses of his intended victim exemplifies most accurately the section on Cursing in the Parson's discussion of Wrath (I. 618 f., § 41):—"Speke we now of swich cursinge as comth of irous herte. Malisoun generally may be seyed every maner power or harm. Swich cursinge bireveth man fro the regne of God, as seith Saint Paul. And ofte tyme swich cursinge wrongfully retorneth agayn to him that curseth"; etc. Compare *Handlyng Synne*, 3757 f. Moreover, this is the very story used by Herolt in his *Promptuarium Exemplorum* to illustrate "Maledicere." Chaucer introduces the element of poetic justice, and thus doubles the story's aptness as an *exemplum* of Cursing (Wrath), by making the curse fall not upon a grasping lawyer, as in Herolt, nor upon a bailiff, as in

³⁹ See Skeat's note to the *Piers Plowman* passage. Compare the parallels of Flügel, *Anglia*, XXIII, pp. 225-239, XXIV, p. 460.

another Latin analogue,⁴⁰ but upon the mouth-piece of the archdeacon's curse, the summoner. The *Friar's Tale* is therefore an *exemplum* of the Cursing phase of Wrath. (3) That the *Summoner's Tale* is also directed against Wrath is indicated not only by the anger of poor Thomas and the boar-like frenzy of the friar, but by the hundred-line homily against Ire, which is put into this same friar's mouth (D. 2005-2090). This sermon is derived partly from the *Parson's Tale*, I. 534, 564 f. (Wrath), but chiefly from Seneca's *De Ira*. (4) Like the other narrators of Sins stories, the Summoner "uses" the very Vice that he condemns. He whose tale and "morality" expose the evils of Wrath "quakes for ire like an aspen leaf." (5) The irresistible attraction of the Sins theme, broached immediately before in the Wife's contribution, explains adequately the abandonment, for the nonce, of the fascinating marriage-debate. That will be resumed, after Wrath has twice received through the same threefold device of prologue and tale and interpolated "morality" a treatment even more ample than the exposition of Pride.

Before completing our list of Sins Tales, a word must be said of the Cook's fragment, which presents an interesting problem. The story itself has certainly some of the earmarks of a tale of Gluttony, for it is told by a glutton (cf. the Manciple's Prologue) and has much in common with the tavern setting of Gluttony and its accessories in the Pardoner's Tale.⁴¹ That this fragment, despite its present position at the end of Group A, was designed after the tales of the Sins, and was originally

⁴⁰ *Originals and Analogues*, pp. 105-106.

⁴¹ Mark in both stories the love of drinking, wenching, dancing, dicing, gay music, and riot.

intended to follow the story of the Manciple, is evidenced by that chiding worthy's Prologue (H. 28-29), where the Cook's story is spoken of as yet untold.⁴² Now a story composed immediately after the Sins narratives could hardly escape this dominant *motif*; and Gluttony would naturally suggest itself not only because it is characteristic of the drunken Cook, but because it alone among the Vices had not received the separate treatment of an entire tale. But on the other hand, the Cook's Tale has nothing of the framework of a Sins story. In his Prologue there is no suggestion of Gluttony, nor does the fragment contain any "morality" against the Vice. The unfinished sketch, therefore, stands apart from the stories of the Sins.

We are now prepared to consider the crowning argument for Chaucer's deliberate use of the Sins *motif* in the Tales under discussion—the close connection between these and Chaucer's own detailed discussion of the Sins in his tract on the Deadly Seven which forms so large a part of the Parson's sermon.⁴³ That this tract was of early composition and was freely used by Chaucer in several of his

⁴² It seems more natural to suppose that this shred of a tale was moved back to the congenial neighborhood of the Miller's and Reeve's Tales than to follow Skeat (III, 399) in thinking that the line in the Manciple's Prologue marks Chaucer's intention to suppress this fragment and to give the Cook another tale.

⁴³ That this tract on the Sins is ultimately traceable to a different source from the rest of the sermon on Penitence has been clearly established by Miss Petersen (*The Sources of the Parson's Tale*, 1901); yet the Parson's combination of the themes is in strict accord with the medieval division of Penance into Contrition, Confession (of the Capital Sins), and Satisfaction, and is justified by the large space given to the Deadly Sins in numerous *summae* and penitentials. But in the linking of the Sins with the rest, a certain awkwardness suggests original separation.

stories Koeppel long since put beyond question.⁴⁴ But the true significance of this undeniable indebtedness of the tales to the tract has been hitherto overlooked. When into story after story our poet introduces freely borrowings (both of thought and word) from his treatise upon the Seven Deadly Sins, the conclusion is irresistible that such a borrowed treatment of each Sin is neither unconscious nor casual, but deliberately designed. This conclusion becomes firm conviction, when there are other strong grounds for associating the tale with the Sin upon which the pilgrim narrator is made to moralize almost in the words of the Parson's sermon. The burden of proof certainly rests upon him who dares claim that Chaucer has no intention of illustrating Pride, when he tags the Wife's Pride *exemplum* with the edifying commonplaces (on Gentil-esse) with which, in much the same language, the Parson has preached against the first of the Vices; nor that he has any design of exemplifying Wrath, when he draws upon the Parson's discourse on Anger both for the exact *motif* of the Friar's tale of retribution and for the angry Summoner's morality against Ire. What else can the large plunderings of the Pardoner from the Parson's reflections on Avarice and Gluttony and its auxiliary vices betoken save that the rascal is formally illustrating those Deadly Sins? After a comparison of the Parson's section on Sloth with the Prologue of the Second Nun's Tale, who can miss the present purport of the Idleness stanzas⁴⁵ or ignore

⁴⁴ *Herrig's Archiv*, 87, pp. 33-54; cf. Miss Petersen, *l. c.*

⁴⁵ Between these stanzas and the Parson's sermon, there is a slight verbal connection. In both appear the conventional epithets of Sloth, "Norice into vyces (harm)" and "gate of delices (alle harmes)"; and they share other ideas (Skeat, v, 402), which indicate a common purpose. But there is here no proof of direct borrowing.

the formal intent of the zest of devotion and zeal of good works in the "Invocation"—all this as a prelude to the story of a typically busy saint? With what aim does the chiding Manciple conclude his tale of Chiding by a copious use of the Parson's words against that fault, save to make the ensample's mission clear? And why should we hesitate to regard the Poverty Prologue to the Man of Law's Envy *exemplum* as a studied presentation of the Envious mood, when the Parson himself assures us that the *motif* of these stanzas, 'grucching agayns poverty' and "sorwe of other mannes wele" are among the chief traits of this Vice? Only one of the Sins tales—that of the Physician (Gower's *exemplum* of Lechery)—confesses in its moralities no indebtedness or close resemblance to the Parson's discussion of the corresponding Vice;⁴⁶ but this omission seems the less striking, when we remark the generous use of the section on Lechery in the so-called Marriage Group, particularly in the Merchant's Tale. The Parson's portrayal of the Vices thus enters into the framework of the Sins Tales and makes obvious the "application" of each.

The Parson's elaborate treatment of the Deadly Seven, wrought into a penitential sermon, now stands at the close of the Tales "to knitte up al this feeste and make an ende." Is it a thought too bold that this last of the Tales is not a thing apart, but closely connected with all those

⁴⁶ That the Physician probably knows the Parson's Tale is suggested, however, by his casual citation of Augustine's definition of Envy, presented in practically the same words in the Sermon. The association of wine and Venus (*Physician's Tale*, 58-59), is a commonplace, as old as *Ephesians*, v, 18, (*supra*) and is used not only by the Parson but by the Wife and the Pardoner. Of course the *leit-motif* of the Doctor's story receives from the Parson due stress (I, 867-872).

stories that have plundered it so freely? The Parson's tract—in some earlier form, perhaps—was certainly before Chaucer when he wrote many of his Sins narratives. Of that relation we have just had ample evidence. Why is it then unreasonable to suppose that Chaucer had in mind the other Tales, when he finally conducted the Parson through his homily against the Vices they illustrate? To me the conclusion seems unavoidable that this division of the Parson's sermon is but the culmination of the frequently recurring *motif* of the Seven Deadly Sins.

All the evidence seems to show that the Sins *motif* belongs to the latter part of our collection. There is no recognition in the General Prologue of certain of the Vice characteristics upon which so much stress is laid in the special prologues. The Gluttony of the Pardoner, though a traditional trait of that tribe, and though afterwards made so conspicuous by Chaucer, and the Chiding of the Manciple, to which he later gives so much space, were apparently as far from Chaucer's mind when he first introduces those figures to us as the Merchant's unhappy experience in marriage or the Franklin's ill-luck as a father or the Cook's drunkenness. Nor do I believe that, at the first presentation of Friar and Summoner, Chaucer had any thought of illustrating the Sin of Wrath, as Langland had done, by a quarrel between these worthies. At any rate, we have in the General Prologue no suggestion of these things, though the Pride of the Wife, the Anger of the Summoner, and the Avarice of the Pardoner, which later play so perverse a part, accord well with the earlier sketches of these characters. The device of the Sins apparently came to the poet late. If the order of the Tales in the pilgrimage corresponded closely to the order of composition, we could speak with large assurance of the time

of this *motif*, for all the stories of the Sins, with one exception—and that only a seeming one—belong in the latter half of the Canterbury series.

It has already been recognized by scholars that the Poverty (or let us say, Envy) Prologue was written at the same time as the Tale of Constance, on account of the use in both of Innocent's famous tract, *De Miseria Conditionis Humanae*—not interpolated, but inextricably woven into the stuff of the stanzas. It now appears highly probable that Prologue and Tale were written at the same time as certain others of the Deadly Sins stories, not only because Chaucer adheres to the ironical design so successfully pursued in them by making an envious man (the anonymous speaker of the Prologue, later identified with the Man of Law merely, through the context) furnish in his narrative large evidence against Envy, but because the other Canterbury pilgrim that employs freely Innocent's tract is the teller of a Sins story (and a story generally regarded as late),⁴⁷ the covetous and gluttonous Pardoner. That this time of composition was later than that of the Introduction to the Man of Law (B. 1-98) is obvious, since the Prologue and Tale of Envy were carried back from the companionship of the Sins stories in the latter part of the collection—perhaps because among the few pilgrims still silent no fitting narrator was available,—and thrust in here awkwardly as an appropriate substitute for the prose tale once assigned the Lawyer. As the Introduction,

⁴⁷ This second argument for the late date of the Poverty prologue is somewhat weakened by the citation of Innocent's comment upon Poverty, in the *Tale of Melibeus*, B. 2758, but such a second-hand allusion has small significance. Very striking, however, is the similar use of Innocent's Drunkenness passage (ii, chap. 18) in *The Man's of Law's Tale* (B. 771-7) and in that of the Pardoner (C. 551-560); cf. Skeat, III, 408, 444, 445.

thus demonstrably earlier than the Tale, refers to Gower's incestuous stories, we are led to the conclusion that the resemblance between Chaucer's and Gower's versions of the Tale of Constance must be explained by the indebtedness of the greater poet to the less.

Something more must be said immediately of the relation between the very similar tales of the two contemporaries. That in such synchronous collections as the *Confessio Amantis* and the *Canterbury Tales* there should be some coincidence in the use of material is not surprising and that four stories of the one appear in the other also (in three cases in quite different versions) would of itself indicate no direct connection. But the circumstance that the four stories are made, in the two works, to serve the same purpose of illustrating four well-defined divisions of the Deadly Sins—Pride, Lechery, Wrath (Chiding), and Envy⁴⁸—would dispose conclusively of the theory of coincidence, even though there were no close verbal parallels between Gower's Tale of Constance, and Chaucer's Man of Law's story. Is it to be believed, for instance, that Chaucer and Gower were independent in their common use of a Woman's Wiles story, like that of the Manciple, to illustrate Chiding and in their similar moral tags to the tale? One poet is then indebted to the other. Now even if Gower were demonstrably the debtor in the use of these themes, his evidence to the fitness of Chaucer's *exempla* as illustrations of the Sins would be neither more nor less potent than if we accept the contrary view of the relationship. But there is the evidence that Chaucer and not Gower borrowed in the Tale of Constance. (Here I am quite at one with Lücke and Tatlock). And more-

⁴⁸ As we have seen, prologues and moralities attest the likeness of Chaucer's design in these four stories to that of Gower.

over it seems much more likely that Chaucer was indebted for the suggestion of fitting themes for the Sins—the relation in three cases is hardly more than that—to Gower's methodical and admirably ordered classification of the Vices than Gower to Chaucer's intermittent and irregular use of the formula. My own opinion is that Gower's *Confessio Amantis* not only suggested to his contemporary the themes of the four *exempla*, but also revealed to him the possibilities of a combination between Sin theme and Love theme within a collection of stories (for where else save in Gower is such a combination to be found?).⁴⁹ It was possibly under the influence of his "moral" friend that Chaucer realized the feasibility of employing for the lessons of many stories his own adaptation of a Deadly Sins homily, now an important division of the Parson's Tale. As Miss Hammond has pointed out,⁵⁰ "Chaucer's treatment of material used by Gower (taken in connection with the Headlink's allusion to stories told by Gower) does not warrant us in arguing a date later than the 'publication' of the *Confessio*. For we cannot assert that either poet was unaware of the plans and perhaps the details of the other's work; the relations between them, for aught we know, permitted an interchange of opinions and of manuscripts."

However that may be—and the matter of the exact relation between the two poets, though interesting, does not vitally affect my main contention—it is instructive for us to compare the methods of Gower and Chaucer in their respective uses of the Sins *motif*, or rather the

⁴⁹ The conversion of the seven nymphs of Boccaccio's *Ameto* into Seven Cardinal Virtues at the close of that pastoral, has no effect upon their stories of love, to which Professor Tatlock has recently drawn the attention of students of Chaucer (*Anglia*, xxxvii, pp. 80 f.).

⁵⁰ *Chaucer*, p. 262.

method of the one with the other's lack of consistent design. To Gower the familiar formula is the scaffolding upon which, with all regard to system and traditional categories, he constructs every stage of his elaborate edifice. To Chaucer the *motif* is merely a device which appealed at intervals through its popular effectiveness, its potent suggestions of irony, and its value as a framework in separate instances. In this article I have avoided speaking of the Sins tales as a "Group," because this would seem to indicate an ordered sequence, a coherence between these stories, which is entirely lacking. It is evident that Chaucer makes small account of the conventional order of the Sins—Pride, Envy, Wrath, Sloth, Avarice, Gluttony, Luxury—which is so accurately observed in the *Parson's Tale*. If, as I believe, the Wife of Bath's is the first of his Sins stories, his order (which is, of course, more or less doubtful) seems to be this—Pride, Wrath, Luxury, Avarice and Gluttony, Sloth, Chiding (Wrath or a Sin of the Tongue), with Envy moved back towards the beginning of the collection in total disregard of all categories.⁵¹ And while in Chaucer's treatment of the Sins *motif*, there is certainly this much of consistency, that prologues and moralities effectively supplement the purpose of the *exemplum*—still these are introduced with the freedom of him who is the master, not the slave of his plan. In the stories of the Wife of Bath and the Summoner, the Pride and Wrath moralities are put into the mouths of the chief persons of the tales, while in the contributions of the Pardoner and the Manc-

⁵¹ As we have seen, divergence from the normal order of Sins is not uncommon in medieval collections. Pride is always first, however, and Avarice and Gluttony are almost always in succession. In *Handlyng Synne* and in Dunbar's *Dance of the Sins*, Wrath follows Pride in the list of Vices, as here in Chaucer.

ple, which resemble each other in structure, and of the Physician and the narrators of the tales of Sloth and Envy, the pointers of the moral are the story-tellers themselves. All the prologues are alike in their ironical connection with the stories; but the Wife's Inobedience is conveyed through her own direct confession, like the Avarice and Gluttony of the Pardoner; while the Wrath of the Summoner, the Chiding of the Manciple, and the Envy of the "Constance" narrator are unconsciously revealed by act or word.

After the Sins *motif* has once entered the Canterbury collection in the Wife's Tale, Chaucer seems to develop it in one of three ways. First, he blends it skilfully with the Love *motif* in his four Gower stories (as does Gower himself in these very tales) and in the Tale of the Second Nun. The tale of Florent is directed against not Inobedience merely but Inobedience in love; and in the story, as told by the Wife, the *motif* of marriage is welded with that of Pride. The Tale of Lechery, Appius and Virginia, proclaims by its likeness to the Franklin's *exempla* of distressed virginity, its close relation with the prevailing Love theme. The Manciple's Tale is not only an *exemplum* of Chiding, ("Kepe wel thy tongue and thenk upon the crowe") but, as I have pointed out elsewhere, is a return to the cuckold *motif* of the earlier stories, though the woman's sin is now a theme for censure (H. 211 f.) rather than for ribald mirth, and the relation of man and wife is gravely discussed and vividly illustrated. It is significant that this story of the Crow which Gower employs to exemplify a phase of Wrath is really one of a Woman's Wiles cycle of stories.⁵² The Man of Law's Tale, though primarily of Envy (as the little Prologue

⁵² Clouston, *Originals and Analogues*, p. 439.

shows), exalts the loyalty and strength of the stately wife and mother. As Gower says in the application to his version (*Confessio*, II, 1599 f.):—

And thus the wel meninge of love
Was ate laste set above;
And so, as thou hast herd tofore,
The false tungen weren lore,
Which upon love wolden lie.

Saint Cecilia is not only the type of busy-ness but the married celibate representing the ascetic ideal as opposed to the delights of the flesh, and is hence antipodal to the Wife of Bath. Thus the Sins *motif* and the Love *motif* are artfully combined.

Secondly, Chaucer makes the Sins *motif* the dominant element in the contributions of Friar, Summoner, and Pardoner, neglecting for these illustrations of the Vices his Love theme, as Gower neglects it in many *exempla* of the *Confessio*.⁵³ The eager discussion of marriage is well under way, and the Wife's views call loudly for refutation; yet so strong is the claim of the Sins formula that Chaucer temporarily abandons the insistent woman-question, in order to illustrate Wrath by the Friar-Summoner quarrel and Tales. From this point of view the D group forms a Sins cycle of Pride and Wrath. It is noteworthy, however, that the mention of the wife of Thomas in the Summoner's Tale compels a momentary return (D. 1980-2005) to the all-absorbing theme of the relation between the sexes. The temporary dominance of

⁵³ Such stories as the Trump of Death (*Confessio* I, 2010-2253), Nabugodonosor (I, 2785-3043), the Travelers and the Angel (II, 291-364), Demetrius and Persius (II, 1631-1861), Pope Boniface (II, 2803-3084), etc., despite their place in an amorous cycle, are as remote from the *leitmotif* of Love and as full of the theme of the Sins as the contributions of Friar, Summoner, and Pardoner.

the Sins *motif* explains adequately the poet's departure from the ruling *motif* of the collection—the many-hued theme of Love—not only in these stories, but in the Tale of the Pardoner. It is true that this rascal's attitude to women is revealed in his Prologue (C. 453, cf. D. 163) and through contraries in his tale (C. 480 f.), but in his exposition of the two Sins of Avarice and Gluttony, both by precept and practice, there is little opportunity for any intrusion of other elements.

Thirdly, Chaucer abandons the Sins *motif* in the marriage stories provoked by the Wife. In the so-called Groups E and F—the Tales of Clerk, Merchant, Squire, and Franklin—it finds no place. But (if we follow the modified Ellesmere order) the device is again revived in the Tale of the Physician and carried through the collection, barring the Canon Yeoman's episode. The formula could be dropped and resumed at will. It was to the poet not a crutch but a staff.

To the view that the Parson's treatment of the Sins is a culmination of this frequently recurring *motif*, a friendly critic offers the seemingly valid objection that the *Canterbury Tales* is only a fragment representing but one fourth of Chaucer's original design and that the addition of a hundred other stories would not only have minimised his use of the Sins formula, but would have shattered any seeming connection between the stories of the Vices and the concluding sermon of the Parson. This objection overlooks entirely Chaucer's later modification of the Host's scheme in the General Prologue. The Parson's Prologue makes it very clear that the author not only gave over all intention of accompanying the pilgrims on their return to London, but decided to restrict the number of stories on the outward journey to one a

man.⁵⁴ The tales left untold are therefore not a hundred, but some seven—to be exact, those of the five Burgesses, the Yeoman, and the Plowman, only these and “namo,” for in the part assigned to the Nun’s Priest in Group B, his two shadowy companions of the General Prologue are completely forgotten. What would have been the themes of these seven tales and what place they would have found in the collection, are interesting speculations. We can reasonably conjecture, with the stately wives in mind (A. 374-378), that the Citizens would have made interesting contributions to the marriage question. “Chaucer,” says Alfred Pollard,⁵⁵ “no doubt intended to retell the Tale of Gamelyn as a woodland tale exactly suited to the sturdy Yeoman.” And the Christ-like Plowman could not have been made the representative of a Vice. Indeed Chaucer’s treatment of the Sins *motif* is already complete.⁵⁶ That Chaucer probably carried back the Cook’s Tale from the end of the collection to the company of the Reeve and Miller stories shows that other supplementary tales might well have been inserted without marring the connection, such as it is, between the later Tales and the Parson’s sermon.⁵⁷ Thus the objection, based upon the fragmentary condition of the *Canterbury Tales*, to

⁵⁴ Cf. Parson’s Prologue, I, 16, 25, “Now lakketh us no tales mo than oon” and “For every man save thou hath told his tale.”

⁵⁵ *Chaucer Primer*, p. 112.

⁵⁶ All the Sins are presented by precept and example. Chaucer’s phase of Wrath (Chiding) in the last tale of the collection might seem to some superfluous after the elaborate exemplification of Wrath in the Friar-Summoner quarrel and tales. But as we have seen, the Sins of the Tongue well deserve specific exposition. Compare their place in *Le Mireour du Monde* and the *Ayenbite*.

⁵⁷ Pollard guesses (*Primer*, p. 112) that the Yeoman and the five Burgesses were the narrators during the afternoon of the First Day, as no tales are provided for that time.

the presence and prominence of the Sins *motif* completely collapses under scrutiny.

Another objection made with emphasis by certain friends, doubtless lovers of "art for art's sake," is this,—that Chaucer was "not intrigued by the homiletic side," that he was occupied with solidly concrete figures and not with finely spun webs of allegory, that his purpose was artistic and that, therefore, he never started out to preach. This protest, even if we omit its question-begging epithets, seems to me founded entirely upon *a priori* conceptions and to bear about the same relation to facts as the assured comment of the gazing countryman upon the hippopotamus, "Thar ain't no sich critter! It is impossible." He who denies that Chaucer does preach and with a definite purpose must either close his eyes to the many obvious "moralities" in the several tales, or else eyeing them askance must proclaim, as has been often done, their utter aimlessness and irrelevancy. That the "moralities" are there, he who runs may read. That they are "moralities" of the Sins, no one can doubt who takes the trouble to compare them with Chaucer's own formal description of the Vices (*Parson's Tale*) or with the traditional traits of these evil passions in medieval theology. That these teachings are direct applications of the tales that they accompany is attested not only by Gower's use of several of these stories to illustrate the very Sins under rebuke, but by the close logical coherence between the *motif* of the story and the appended lesson. And yet "thar ain't no sich critter!" "Gower's Tales," I quote from a recent student of "The Exemplum in England,"⁵⁸ "embrace a wide range of classic and medieval themes, which were treated by such men as Boccaccio and

⁵⁸ Mosher, Columbia University Press, 1911, pp. 125-126.

Chaucer with little if any thought of the *exemplum*." Yet Chaucer supplements one of these Gower stories, that of Chiding, with the *exemplum* formula (H. 309 f.) :—

Lordings, by this ensample I you preye
Beth war and taketh kepe what I seye.

And then follows an "application," very close to Gower's. At the end of another Gower story, that of Lechery, Chaucer says plainly (C. 277 f.) :—

Heer men may seen how sinne hath his meryte!
Beth war, for no man woot whom God wol smyte.

Evidently Chaucer was quite in the dark about himself! Being of the fourteenth century he utterly failed to recognize that, as an artist, he was absolutely debarred from pointing the moral—that is in his tales of the Sins—and obviously he did not share the modern tenet that, while illustrations of masculine or feminine submissiveness in the married state are entirely worthy of a poet's art, pointed revelations of the cardinal emotions must be deemed degrading to his genius. Fallacious indeed is the reasoning that declares Chaucer an artist on the ground that he did not do these very things which he may be proved to have done most frequently. But a truce to false premises! The poet of the *Canterbury Tales* is no less the true "maker" in his examples of the Vices than the poet of the *Faery Queen* in his allegories of the Virtues. In both poems the shaping power of the imagination is so vividly present that the joy of creation transcends even avowed purposes of moral instruction.⁵⁹ Chaucer's supe-

⁵⁹ Professor Crane's description of the *Liber de Apibus* of Thomas Cantipratensis (*Exempla of Jacques de Vitry*, p. xciii) is applicable to Chaucer's tales of the Sins: "The moralisation does not at all affect the story, but serves simply as a framework in which to enclose it."

riority to Gower in the Sins stories lies not in his avoidance of "moralities," for he uses them with the greatest freedom, but in the artistic dexterity of his escape from the fetters of his formula, and in the humanizing of his teaching through the ironical association of the Sins with flesh and blood figures, and through the universal appeal of his sometimes satirical and always dramatic presentation of elemental passions. Robert Greene builded far better than he knew when he represented in his *Vision*⁶⁰ Chaucer and Gower, "the accepted representatives of the pleasant and sententious styles in story telling," as competing with one another in tales upon a given subject (the cure of jealousy).

The medieval mind was wont to revolve about the time-honored formula of the Vices; and Chaucer completed the circle in some seven or eight of his stories. In four of these he used themes that had served the same purpose in Gower's most famous work. In three others he availed himself of *exempla* that had pointed like morals elsewhere. He tagged his Sins tales with prologues that all readers of his time would con aright; and bound these to their narratives with pungent satire. He added, too, fitting "applications" derived in part from a sermon on the Deadly Seven and set this same sermon at the culmination of the Canterbury series. And despite all the author's care we sand-blind moderns grope helplessly about in the high noon of his "ensamples"; because we have hitherto been content to regard as unrelated units these parts of a noble whole and have darkened with the shadows of much up-to-date counsel these characteristic products of a past leagues away from us in both its morality and its humor.

FREDERICK TUPPER.

⁶⁰ Cited by Macaulay, Introduction to *Confessio Amantis*, p. ix.

IV.—THE “CORONES TWO” OF THE *SECOND NUN’S TALE*: A SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

In an earlier article in these *Publications*¹ I pointed out that the roses and lilies brought by the angel to Cecilia and Valerian symbolized martyrdom and virginity, and so focussed in themselves the significance of the story. My illustrations, however, were all drawn, as it happened, from the *Sermones aurei* of Jacobus de Voragine. It is perhaps worth while to put beyond any possible doubt the fact that the symbolism which permeates the *Sermones* was both widespread and familiar. I shall, accordingly, round out the argument presented three years ago by a number of additional passages drawn from a variety of sources.

In that curious *mélange*, the *Miroir de Mariage* of Eustache Deschamps, Repertoire de Science, after inveighing against “le delit de femme estrange,” and moralizing at length upon woman’s beauty, that passes as the passing of the rose, (with a digression on the subject of Job’s wife), instructs Franc Vouloir regarding the Fountain of Compunction, and the garden that surrounds it. The setting is as remote as may be from that of the passage in Jacopo’s sermon-book. But among the flowers of the garden, along with “l’olive de misericorde” and the “palmes de justice,” are found, as in the sermons,

... la rose ensemment
De martire, et semblablement
De chasteté le tresdoulz lis.²

¹ Vol. xxvi, No. 2 (June, 1911), pp. 315-23.

² Lines 6135-37 (ed. Raynaud, Vol. xi, p. 201).

It is in a very different poem, however,—the *Miserere* of Renclus de Moiliens—that the most striking elaboration of the theme occurs. I shall quote the pertinent stanzas in their immediate context:

Li tormenteur s'esbaïrent
 Quant tel vertu en fames virent.
 Hom, tu dis fame est fraisle et lente;
 Mais ches virges t'en desmentirent
 Quant double offrande a Dieu offrirent.
 Et l'une et l'autre fu mout gente;
 Le premiere est caste jovente,
 Et le seconde est le torment
 De le mort ke por Dieu soffrirent.
 Ou est ore hom ki se presente
 De Dieu sivre par tele sente
 Ki ches pucheles le sivirent?

Jhesus, ki en tous biens foisonnes,
 Ki toutes coses asaisonnes
 A droit, et reus justes merites
 Bien sont asseür, quant tu tones,
 Ichès toies amies bones,
 Virges, martires beneïtes.
 Bien sont de tes menaches quites,
 Ne n'ont pas coronnes petites.
 Eles claïment doubles coronnes
 De toi, et tu bien t'en aquites.
 En l'escriture sont escrites
 Queles et por coi tu lor dones.

Virge ki de carneus delis
 Garda sen cors pur et alis,
 Quant, por haper, le faulosa
 Li mondes fartilliés, polis,
 Digne est de corone de lis.
 Et quant soffrir martire osa,
 Ke sans se car virge arosa
 Li vermaus le blanc enrosa.
 Por chou li capeliens eslis
 Sen capel li entrerosa;
 Le lis meslé o le rose a
 S'en est li capiaus plus jolis.

Bele sanlanche est et doucete
 Dou lis a le car virge et nete
 Et de le martire a le rose.
 A virge afort blanke florete
 Et au martir le flour rougete.
 Offrande fait de bele cose
 Ki por Dieu sen virge sanc pose;
 Et por chou Dieus li entepose
 Au blanc lis le rouge rosete:
 Ch'est double joie ou el repose.
 Mais virge ki l'ame despose
 Sans sanc n'a fors le flour blankete.³

Four centuries before Chaucer, Ælfric, who also tells in English verse the story of St. Cecilia,⁴ explains elsewhere the symbolism of the lily and the rose:

Godes gelaðung hæfð on sibbe lilian, þæt is clæne drohtnung; on ðæm gewinne, rosan, ðæt is martyrdōm.⁵

Dæra rosen a blostman getæcniað mid heora rēadnyssse martyrdōm, and ðā lilian mid heora hwitnesse getæcniað ðā scīnendan clænnysse ansundes mægðhādes.⁶

Two centuries earlier still Alcuin wrote the following:

Cæcilia, Agathes, Agnes et Lucia virgo:
 Hæc istis pariter ara sacrata micat,
 Lilia cum rosis fulgent in vertice quarum
 Et lampas rutilat luce perenne simul.⁷

³ *Li Romans de Carité et Miserere de Renclus de Moiliens, Poèmes de la fin du xii^e siècle*, ed. A.-G. Van Hamel, Paris, 1885, stanzas exciii-vi, pp. 238-40.

⁴ *Lives of the Saints*, xxxiv, E. E. T. S., 114, pp. 356 ff.

⁵ *Homilies*, II, 546, 2: "On the Nativity of the Holy Martyrs."

⁶ *Homilies*, I, 444, 13: "On the Assumption of the Blessed Mary."

Professor Frederick Tupper—who has indicated the mystical meaning of the two flowers in the notes to his *Riddles of the Exeter Book*, p. 166—has been kind enough to call my attention to these two passages.

⁷ *Alcuini (Albini) Carmina (Monumenta Germaniæ Historica, Poetarum Latinorum medii ævi, Tom. I, 310)*; No. IX (Ad aram sanctorum virginum) of the "Inscriptiones ecclesiæ sancti Vedasti in Pariete."

Still more explicit is the reference in the *débat* of the rose and the lily by Sedulius Scottus:

Tu, rosa, martyribus rutilam das stemmate palmam,
Lilia, virgineas turbas decorate stolatas.⁸

But it is in the hymnology of the church that one finds the fullest recognition of the symbolism which gathers up and concentrates, in the two fadeless crowns, the "glorious lyf and passioun" of St. Cecilia—as the dower of Crashaw's St. Theresa finds its emblem in the magnificent hyperbole of the eagle and the dove. The first lines of a few of the hymns in Chevalier's great *Repertorium* will show how thoroughly the conception had pervaded mediæval religious thought:

Rosa vernans charitatis | lilium virginitatis; ⁹
Rosa florens martyrii | ; ¹⁰
Liliis candens Emerantiam | et rosis martyr rubra purp.; ¹¹
Rosa rubens et candens lilium | in beatâ refulget Aureâ; ¹²
Lilium vernat niveo colore | et rosæ florent simul; ¹³
Rubra defluxit rosa, sed coronam | martyrum poscit cap; ¹⁴
Virgineus flos, lilium, | cruore fusus roseo. ¹⁵

⁸ *Sedulii Scotti Carmina* (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Poet. Lat. med. æv., III, 231); No LXXXI, ll. 41-42, "De rosæ liliique certamine idem Sedulius cecinit."

⁹ Chevalier, *Repertorium hymnologicum*, No. 32994. So No. 32993, with the substitution of *castitatis* for *virginitatis*.

¹⁰ No. 32990.

¹¹ No. 10628.

¹² No. 40556.

¹³ No. 10631.

¹⁴ No. 32998.

¹⁵ No. 21647; cf. No. 21646. A somewhat different turn is given to the symbolism in another hymn, quoted in the *Analecta Bollandi-ana*, VI, 395 (*Hymni, Sequentiæ aliaque carmina sacra hactenus inedita*, Cod. Brux. 9786-90, *f. 238va, xv cent.):

Ave, virgo gloriosa,
Toti mundo gaudiosa,
Beata tu Cecilia;
Rubens sicut florens rosa,
Tota dulcis et formosa
Candore vincens lylia.

Finally, in the stirring lines of an eleventh-century poet, the roses and lilies are bestowed upon Rome itself:

O Roma nobilis, orbis et domina,
Cunctarum urbium excellentissima,
Roseo martyrum sanguine rubea,
Albis et virginum liliis candida.¹⁶

The symbolism, then, which Chaucer explicitly recognizes—

Thou with thy gerland wrought of rose and lillie;
Thee mene I, mayde and martir, seint Cecilie!—¹⁷

was without question clear to his contemporary readers.

JOHN LIVINGSTON LOWES.

¹⁶ Quoted in Taylor, *The Mediæval Mind*, II, p. 200. I am indebted to Professor H. M. Belden for this reference. Traube's study of the poem (*Abhand. Bairish. Akad. Philos.-philol. Klasse*, 1891) I have not been able to consult.

¹⁷ G 27-28.

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V.—THE RENASCENCE OF GERMANIC STUDIES IN ENGLAND, 1559-1689

About the close of the first year of Elizabeth's reign, the Primacy of all England fell upon a man peculiarly fitted by habit of mind and by previous experience to employ the vast prerogatives of the archbishopric for the revival of ancient knowledge. Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and twice Vice-Chancellor of the University, Matthew Parker had already shown during the reigns of Henry VIII and his son that boundless zeal for the promotion of academic culture of which one of the later fruits was to be the education of Christopher Marlowe.

When reluctantly obliged, in December, 1559, to exchange for the cares of the archbishopric of Canterbury the 'delightful literary leisure' of his years of disgrace under Queen Mary, Parker found about him a darkness of ignorance regarding the early history of the English church and nation, which the revival of interest in classic and romance civilization rendered only the more complete.

An analogy, not unfair, might be drawn between the situation faced by Archbishop Parker at this period and that in which King Alfred had found himself seven centuries before; and Parker set about the restoration of the ancient learning of the kingdom by the same steps which Alfred had employed: first, by diligent search after scattered and forgotten Saxon books; second, by attracting into his household all scholars with any inkling of the old tongue; third, by personally inspiring the translation and publication of the most vital documents.

Already in the second year of his consecration, Parker was in correspondence with Matthias Flacius Illyricus, 'a great Collector of Ecclesiastical Antiquities,' who on May 22, 1561 wrote him a long Latin letter from Jena, 'Exhorting the Archbishop, and shewing how profitable it would be, if he would make it his Business, that all mss. Books more rare, should be brought forth out of more remote and obscurer places in this kingdom and in that of Scotland; and be put into surer and more known places (that they might be the better preserved from perishing).' (Strype's translation, *Life of Parker*, Book II, ch. ix.)

Acting in accordance with a suggestion in this letter, Parker made haste to secure the papers of John Bale upon the latter's death in 1563. About the same time he wrote to Scory, Bishop of Hereford, and Aylmer, then Archdeacon of Lincoln, requesting that careful search after ancient books be made among their cathedral archives. At Lincoln, surprisingly enough, nothing could apparently be found; but three Saxon books, the titles unrecorded, were discovered at Hereford.

On January 24, 1566, Parker's voluminous correspondence with Sir William Cecil touches upon Saxon translations of the Bible, a matter on which the admirable Cecil's

mind seems to have been as completely at home as on all others.

"I return to you your book again," Parker writes, "and thank you for the sight thereof. I account it much worth the keeping, as well for the fair antique writing with the Saxon interpretation, as also for the strangeness of the translation, which is neither the accustomed old text, neither St. Jerome's, nor yet the Septuaginta." (*Correspondence of Parker*, Parker Society, 1853, p. 253.)

From the same letter we learn that Parker has in his employ one Lyllye, who is skilful at mending torn and defective manuscripts, and that Cecil has a 'singular artificer' of the same sort.

A couple of months later Parker was communicating with Bishop Davies of St. Davids and William Salisbury, the Welsh antiquary, concerning a manuscript in an unknown tongue, and in regard to the contents of the St. David's Cathedral Library. On neither point did he gain much satisfaction. Salisbury could make nothing of the manuscript, in which he could find 'neither Welsh, English, Dutch, Hebrew, nor Greek, nor Latin.' As for old books, Bishop Davies writes that 'in the library of St. Davids there is none at all,' while of all such as belonged to his private store, 'Mr. Secretary (Cecil) hath them two years ago.' He specifies among the works he had sent to Cecil 'Giraldus Cambrensis, a Chronicle of England the author unknown, and Galfridus Monumetensis.'

Parker replies, 28 March, 1566: 'I thank your lordship for your return of answer to my former letters, which I do consider accordingly, and shall not molest you hereafter, seeing your store is elsewhere bestowed. I pray you thank Mr. Salisbury, whose full writing his conjectures I like well; and as for deciphering my quire in such

a strange charect, it shall be reserved to some other opportunity to be considered. As for those charects wherein some of your records of donations be written, whereof he sent a whole line written, it is the speech of the old Saxon, whereof I have divers books and works, and have in my house of them which do well understand them.' (*Correspondence*, p. 270 f.)

In 1568 the Archbishop received formal authority from the Council for inquiring after antiquities. In January of the same year, in response to his usual demand for information concerning old books in the various cathedrals, he received an interesting letter from the Bishop of Salisbury (Jan. 18, 1568):

'It may please your Grace to understand, that according to my Promise, I have ransacked our poor Library of *Salisbury*, and have found nothing worthy the finding, saving only one Book written in the Saxon Tongue; which I mind to send to your Grace by the next convenient Messenger. The Book is of a reasonable Bigness,' the Bishop continues with amusing simplicity, 'well near as thick as the Communion Book. Your Grace hath three or four of the same Size. It may be *Alfricus* for all my Cunning. But your Grace will soon find what he is.'

Accordingly, the book was sent, with another letter, on Jan. 31. 'These Letters,' adds Strype, who prints them (*Life of Parker*, Book III, ch. xix), 'are found in a Volume in *Folio* in the Publick Library of Cambridge (*sic*), being St. Gregory's Tract, *De Cura Pastoralis* turned paraphrastically into *Saxon*.' The work thus recovered formed one of the number of manuscripts on vellum presented by Parker six years later (1574) to the library of his Cambridge College of Corpus Christi (not to the University Library). The list of Anglo-Saxon works included in the bequest offers good evidence of the importance of Parker's

researches. Besides the *Pastoral Care*, it comprises *Evangelia quattuor Saxonice*; *Bedae Historia Britannica Saxonice Versa per Aluredum*; *Homilia diversa 34 Saxonice*; *Genesis cum Homiliis 51 Saxonice*; *Grammatica & Historia Angliae, Saxonice*.

It was probably the continued personal effort of Archbishop Parker that first gave purpose and effectiveness to the study of Old English Literature. Though a sporadic interest in the subject had, indeed, been manifested by earlier antiquaries, notably by John Leland, it may perhaps be doubted whether any previous scholar had since the twelfth century possessed an adequate reading knowledge of Anglo-Saxon, and it is certain that nothing had been done before the time of Parker to facilitate the systematic study of the language. The only serious rival of the archbishop in his claim to have first surveyed this new province of philology is a probably younger contemporary, Laurence Nowell (d. 1576), celebrated in Camden's *Britannia* as 'vir rara doctrina insignis, & qui Saxonice maiorum nostrorum linguam desuetudine intermortuam, & obliuione sepultam primus nostra aetate resuscitauit' (ed. 1600, p. 151), or as Edmund Gibson's translation (1695) has it: 'who in this age first restored the Saxon language spoken by our Ancestors, before quite laid aside and forgotten.' Nowell is reported to have taught the rudiments of Old English to his pupil, William Lambard, a couple of years before Parker came to the archbishopric. His only known writing on the subject is a manuscript 'Vocabularium Saxonice, or a Saxon English dictionary,' said by Anthony Wood to have been written in 1567. This work, after being used by several early investigators, came into the possession of John Selden, from whom it passed to the Bodleian Library (Seld. Arch. B. supra 63).

Parker's secretaries seem all to have been encouraged in

linguistic research. Besides 'Lylle' already mentioned, we hear of Dr. Thomas Yale (1526?-1577), the archbishop's chancellor, 'a great Reader and a great Collector out of antient Records and Registers,' whose vast excerpts were in Strype's time still preserved in the Cotton Library. Far the most efficient of Parker's linguistic helpers was his Latin secretary, John Joscelyn (1529-1603), lauded in the next century by George Hickes as 'quasi pater omnium, qui linguam majorum ex eo tempore coluerunt.' At his patron's request Joscelyn, like Yale, made collections from Anglo-Saxon documents. His catalogue, 'Libri Saxonici qui ad manus J. J. venerunt,' was printed by Hearne in 1720. In conjunction with Parker's son John, Joscelyn prepared an Anglo-Saxon and Latin dictionary on a scale much ampler than that of Nowell. The manuscript is still preserved in two volumes of the Cottonian collection in the British Museum (Titus A xv and xvi), and though never printed, was for several generations one of the prime sources of inspiration to students of Old English.

Parker's antiquarian interests were, of course, dominated by his theological ardor. Very naturally, therefore, his first publication—the first book ever printed in Old English—was a text of Ælfric's Easter sermon in opposition to the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation. The work appeared about 1567 in an undated octavo volume entitled 'A Testimonie of Antiquitie, shewing the aun-cient fayth in the Church of England touching the sacrament of the body and bloud of the Lord here publicly preached and also receaued in the Saxons tyme; aboue 600 yeares agoe.'

The book opens with a learned and well-written preface, compiled probably by Joscelyn in conjunction with Parker, and signed by Parker and fourteen other bishops who

vouch for the accuracy of the text. The sermon follows: 'A Sermon of the Paschall Lambe . . . written in the olde Saxon tounge before the Conquest, and . . . now first translated into our common Englishe speche.' The method is to print the Old English original on the left-hand pages, with a somewhat inexact modern rendering opposite. 'This Sermon,' the editors announce at the end, 'is found in diuers bookes of Sermons, written in the old English or Saxon Tongue: whereof two bookes be now in the hands of the most reuerend Father the Archbishop of *Canterburie*.' To the foregoing is appended, again in Anglo-Saxon and modern English, a second passage denying the theory of transubstantiation: 'The words of *Elfrike* Abbot of *S. Albons*, and also of *Malmesbury*, taken out of his Epistle written to Wulffine Bishop of *Seyr-burne*.' The Latin version of Ælfric's similar epistle to Wulfstan Archbishop of York, was also in Parker's possession, and he subjoined it as a proof of the accuracy of his translation of the Anglo-Saxon. 'Now because very few there be,' he says, 'that doe understand the olde English or Saxon (so much is our speech changed from the vse of that time, wherein *Elfrike* liued) and for that also it may be that some will doubt how skilfully and also faithfully these words of *Elfrike* bee translated from the Saxon tongue; wee haue thought good to set downe heere last of all the very words also of his Latine Epistle, which is recorded in bookes faire written of old in the Cathedrall Churches of Worcester and Excester.'

The 'Testimonie of Antiquitie' concludes with versions of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments 'in the Saxon & Englishe tounge' and with a list of 'The Saxon Characters or letters that be most straunge.' Strange these characters may indeed appear even to modern students of Old English, for they are accurate repre-

sentations of the actual forms of the Anglo-Saxon alphabet. The types were cut by John Day for the express purpose of Parker's book and, it is said, at Parker's expense. In neatness and beauty, according to Astle, the historian of printing, they far excel any which have since been made.

In the following year (1568) Day employed the same type in the printing of William Lambard's important collection of Saxon laws: *Archæionomia*, 'sive de priscis anglorum legibus libri, sermone Anglico, vetustate antiquissimo . . . conscripti.' Lambard's introductory epistle refers to 'Laurentius Nowelus, diligentissimus inuestigator antiquitatis . . . qui me (quicumque in hoc genere sim) effecit,' and who first suggested to Lambard the publication. The texts reproduced were taken for the most part, Lambard states, from Parker's library. In 1571, the Day-Parker Saxon press brought out an edition of 'The Gospels of the fower Evangelistes' under the editorship of Foxe the Martyrologist. In 1574 followed Parker's edition of Asser's Latin life of King Alfred.

Parker's first work, the 'Testimonie of Antiquitie,' was long a regular text-book for those who sought acquaintance with the Old English language, and it maintained its popularity far longer than any similar publication of its time. In 1623, a second edition was published by William L'Isle, together with 'A Saxon Treatise concerning the Old and New Testament. Written about the time of King Edgar (700 yeares agoe) by AElfricus Abbas. Now first published in Print with English of our times. The Originall remaining still to be seene in Sr. Robert Cottons Librarie, at the end of his lesser Copie of the Saxon Penteteuch.'

L'Isle was one of the most painstaking and accurate of seventeenth-century scholars, and the account in his preface of the manner in which he attained his desire 'to

know what learning lay hid in this old English tongue' illustrates forcibly the difficulties which remained even after Parker, Nowell, and Joscelyn had in some measure blazed the path. 'I found out,' L'Isle says, 'this vneasie way, first to acquaint my selfe a little with the Dutch both high and low; the one by originall, the other by commerce allied: then to reade a while for recreation all the old English I could finde, poetry or prose, of what matter soeuer. And diuers good bookes of this kinde I got, that were neuer yet published in print; which euer the more ancient they were, I perceiued came neerer the Saxon: But the Saxon, (as a bird, flying in the aire farther and farther, seemes lesse and lesse;) the older it was, became harder to bee vnderstood. At length I lighted on *Virgil* Scotished by the Reuerend *Gawin Dowglas* . . . And though I found that dialect more hard than any of the former (as neerer the Saxon, because farther from the Norman) yet with the helpe of the Latine I made shift to vnderstand it, and read the booke more than once from the beginning to the end. Wherby I must confesse I got more knowledge of that I sought than by any of the other. . . . Next then I read the Decalogue &c. set out by *Fraerus* in common character, and so prepared came to the proper Saxon . . . and therein reading certaine Sermons, and the foure Euangelists set out and Englished by Mr. *Fox*, so increased my skill, that at length (I thanke God) I found my selfe able (as it were to swimme without bladders) to vnderstand the vntranslated fragments of the tongue scattered in Master *Cambden* and others.'

In 1638, L'Isle's book was republished with a changed title, 'Divers Ancient Monuments in the Saxon Tongue,' the *Testimony of Antiquity* being again included. Yet a fourth edition of Parker's work appeared ninety-eight years later, in 1736: 'A Testimony of Antiquity. . . .

Written in the old Saxon Tongue before the Conquest.' The Dedication to this last version alludes to the fact that the little book 'had Archbishop Parker for its first Proprietor, who extracted it out of the very Ruins of the Saxon Monuments that lay scatter'd up and down in several Parts of this Kingdom.' The age of Pope troubled itself little about Saxon antiquities, and the 1736 editor is forced to confess: 'I had some little struggle with my Printer for retaining the old English, as it stands in Matthew (*sic*) Day's Edition.' Nor was even this the end of the book. As late as 1877, three hundred and ten years after its first appearance, *The Testimony of Antiquity* again issued from the press, this time with copious notes by W. A. Copinger upon such burning theological questions as 'Real Presence,' 'The Sacrifice,' and 'Wafer bread.'

Parker died in 1575; his disciple Joscelyn in 1603. The two generations which followed saw a wide extension of interest in Anglo-Saxon and cognate subjects. The most eminent continuator of Parker's work was undoubtedly Francis Junius (François Du Jon, 1589-1677), brother-in-law to the elder Vossius and the originator in England, if not in Europe, of the comparative study of Germanic philology. Born at Heidelberg, Junius removed to England about the age of thirty-two (1620) and became librarian to Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, in whose household he spent the next thirty years of his long life. 'In which time,' says Anthony Wood, 'and for about ten years after he made several excursions to Oxon. and was a sojourner there for the sake of the Bodleian and other libraries,' where, as also in the Cotton collection, he found 'divers Saxon books of great antiquity.' 'To this language of the Saxon,' Wood contin-

ues, 'he added a sufficient knowledge of some northern tongues, as the Gothic, Francic (*i. e.*, Old High German), Cimbric or Runic (Norse) and Frisic.'

About the life of this far-wandered scholar, as told by Wood and by his eighteenth-century Latin biographer, Edward Lye (1743), there is a flavor of real romance. After nearly a generation passed among the libraries and private collections of England, he returned to the Continent, where, as Lye records, '*audivit saepius in occidentali Frisia pagos & oppidula esse, Worcomum, Staveram, Molqueram, qui vetere Frisica lingua intaminata uterentur, cujus magna esset affinitas cum Anglo-Saxonica; sed quae ab aliis Belgis non intelligeretur.*' In this remote and barbarous corner of West Friesland, accordingly, the aged adventurer buried himself for two years, emerging only after he had completely mastered the dialect of the natives and worked out a theory of language relationships, which in part foreshadowed the nineteenth-century discoveries of Rask and Grimm and which maintained itself in all details even as late as Joseph Bosworth's *Anglo-Saxon Grammar* of 1823. In Gothic Junius saw the head and source of all the Germanic languages, '*caput fontemq; linguarum Septentrionalium,*' and he recognized clearly at the same time the essential kinship between Gothic and Greek: '*Francicam enim Anglo-Saxonicamq; ex vetere Gothica promanasse, ipsam vero Gothicam (ut quae sola dialecto differat a Graeca vetere) ab eadem origine cum Graeca profluxisse judicabam.*'

It was at this point in his career that Junius received the great joy of his life in suddenly gaining access to the *Codex Argenteus* of Bishop Wulfila's Gothic Bible, recently removed to Upsala, but hitherto known to students only from a few broken fragments printed in 1597 by the Dutch scholar Smets or Bonaventura Vulcanius. Junius's

Latin prose grows almost lyric as he speaks of this wind-fall and describes himself 'ineffabili quadam . . . voluptate delibutus ex repentino inexpectatoq; ipsius Argentei codicis conspectu. Habeo sane quod Coelo hic imputem.'

In 1655, Junius printed some notes on Willeram's Old High German paraphrase of the Song of Solomon, and in the same year an edition of the priceless Caedmon manuscript, which he had received from his friend Archbishop Ussher, and which he in turn later gave to the Bodleian, along with his copy of the Ormulum and his other early English collections. Much attention has been paid by literary historians to the publication of the Caedmon, (so-called) 'Caedmonis monachi paraphrasis poetica Genesios,' twelve years before the appearance of Paradise Lost, with whose author there is some reason to believe Junius was personally acquainted. The fame which the version of Caedmon brought Junius was, however, largely casual and accidental; his true reputation as one of the chief inaugurators of the modern method in philological research rests rather upon a work of ten years later (1665)—upon his critical edition of the four Gospels in Gothic and Anglo-Saxon, produced in conjunction with his disciple, Thomas Marshall: 'Quattuor D. N. Jesu Christi Euangeliorum Versiones perantiquae duae, Gothica scil. et Anglo-Saxonica.' This book was printed at Dort from the famous and beautiful Junian types representing the Gothic and Anglo-Saxon alphabets, which Junius later presented to the University of Oxford. The Old English and Gothic texts are given as far as possible in parallel columns, the whole preceded by an eloquent Latin dedicatory epistle to the Chancellor of Upsala University, through whose favor Junius had been privileged to examine and publish the Codex Argenteus. A second volume, bound up with the first, adds a Gothic glossary

by Junius, preceded by a list of all the then known works in Old English, Old High German (Francic), and Old Norse (Cimbric), together with a discussion of the Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, and Runic alphabets and a very interesting prefatory poem of about three hundred verses in Latin elegiac couplets by Janus Vlitius of Breda.

Marshall's contribution to the work consists in the preparation of the Old English text and, more particularly, in the addition of a hundred and eighty pages of linguistic *observationes*. With reference to the publication of the latter Wood relates that Marshall 'did thereby revive his memory so much in his college (Lincoln College, Oxford), that the Society chose him fellow thereof without his knowledge or seeking, 17 Dec. 1668.' Four years later (1672) Marshall was advanced to the rectorship of the college.

While Germanic studies at Oxford were being prosecuted by Junius and Marshall in close connexion with the Continental movements in the same department, and were extending themselves from Anglo-Saxon to Gothic, Old High German, and even Old Norse, the Cambridge scholars of the early seventeenth century held a much more insular position, restricting themselves in large measure to the problems of Old English lexicography.

The Maecenas of early English learning at Cambridge was Sir Henry Spelman (1564-1641), who, along with Camden and Cotton, had been a member of the famous Society of Antiquaries, disbanded in 1604. Especially interested in the antiquarian side of legal research, Spelman compiled an extensive glossary of Saxon law terms, called *Archæologus*, of which the first volume, to the letter L, appeared in 1626; the second volume posthumously under the editorship of Dugdale in 1664. In 1638, Spel-

man completed his arrangements for endowing a lectureship in Anglo-Saxon at Cambridge, the first chair ever established to promote the teaching of any branch of Germanic philology. The original incumbent of the post was Abraham Wheelocke (1593-1653), an accurate investigator, who published an edition of Alfred's translation of Bede in 1643, and at his patron's suggestion made collections toward a general Old English dictionary. On Wheelocke's death, the annual stipend of the lectureship was transferred by Spelman's son Henry to William Somner, who in 1659 published his great 'Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum,' dedicated 'Universis & Singulis Linguae Saxonicae, Anglis olim Vernaculae, Studiosis, domesticis & exteris, praesentibus & posteris.' Besides his large debt to the Spelmans and to Wheelocke, Somner avows his use of manuscript material in the Cotton library and particularly of the manuscript vocabularies of Laurence Nowell and Joscelyn, the latter known to him from a transcript made by Sir Simonds d'Ewes.

Somner's Dictionary, printed by the Oxford University Press, is a very handsome and ambitious volume, introduced by all the elaborate formality of commendatory verse usual to the period. In refreshing contrast to the conventional Latin eulogia stand the English rimes of a certain 'Ioannes de Bosco, Hodiensis,' a critic unjustly sceptical of the reception likely to await a philological endeavor in the last year of the Commonwealth.

'What mean'st thou man?' Joannes complains, 'think'st thou thy learned page,

And worthy pains will relish with this age?
Think'st that this Treasury of *Saxon* words
Will be deem'd such amidd'st unletter'd swords?
Boots it to know how our forefathers spoke
Ere *Danish*, *Norman*, or this present yoke,
Did gall our patient necks? or matters it

What *Hengest* utter'd, or how *Horsa* writ?
 Last, think'st that we, who have destroy'd what e're
 Our Grandsires did, will with their language bear?'

By the time a century had passed from the publication of Parker's *Testimonie of Antiquitie*—by the close, that is, of the first decade of the Restoration—the study of Teutonic origins in England was, save for a single lack, definitely established. Parker's great gifts to the library of Corpus Christi, Cambridge; the still larger collections of Sir Robert Cotton; and the treasures laid up by Laud, Junius, and others for the Bodleian had made a vast number of the most important early English manuscripts permanently accessible. The Saxon type cast by Day at Parker's order, still more the fine Saxon and Gothic founts later given by Junius to the enterprising University Press of Oxford, had so far encouraged publication in this field as already to have called forth in critical edition some half-dozen selections from Ælfric; the Saxon Laws; the Old English and Gothic texts of the four Gospels; the Caedmonian Genesis; Alfred's translation of Bede; the interlinear Psalter; Asser's Latin life of King Alfred, besides Glossaries of Old English and Gothic and the extensive linguistic observations of Marshall. Nor was the stimulus of academic appreciation at this time lacking. The generosity of the two Spelmans, father and son, at Cambridge, and of the redoubtable Dr. Fell at Oxford had given very substantial encouragement to the cause of Germanic research. Wheelocke and Somner had already received in the one university, Marshall was receiving in the other, a degree of recognition for their achievements in this department not incommensurate with the rewards obtainable by scholars working in the more conventional fields opened up by the earlier classical renaissance.

However, the old Teutonic languages were not yet, and

could not be, the subject of any general academic study for the lack of grammars which might introduce beginners to a knowledge of the elements of the different tongues by a way less devious and heart-breaking than that which L'Isle has described. Hickes estimates that from the time when the dissolution of monasteries rendered the old manuscripts generally accessible till the year 1689, not more than two foreigners (Vossius the Elder and J. Laet of Antwerp) and about twenty Englishmen had acquired any real mastery of the Anglo-Saxon. Bishop Fell, indeed, anxious to increase the study of Old English at Oxford, had urged upon Marshall the preparation of a grammar of that language, offering himself to bear all expenses of publication; but the work, though contemplated, as some fragments in the Bodleian attest, was not carried through. Nor does a reported manuscript grammar by Joscelyn, eagerly sought for during the seventeenth century, appear to be much more than a myth, though its bare title has survived. It remained for a later scholar, George Hickes (1642-1715), to put the capstone upon the edifice of which Parker and Nowell had begun the foundation a century and a quarter before. Hickes's parallel grammars of Anglo-Saxon and Gothic, to which he appended R. Jonas's grammar of Icelandic, were printed at Oxford from the Junian type and published in 1689 with the title: '*Institutiones Grammaticae Anglo-Saxonicae et Moeso-Gothicae.*' This great work, preceded by a Latin historical and critical preface which is a masterpiece in its kind, remained for a hundred and thirty-four years the universal authority in its field. The eighteenth century achieved little in this department: even Hickes's niece, Elizabeth Elstob (1683-1756), owed the repute she yet enjoys rather to her good fortune in arousing the interest of queenly and noble patrons than to any important ad-

vance of scholarship. As late as 1819, the Reverend J. L. Sisson is fain to justify his slight 'Elements of Anglo-Saxon Grammar' as merely 'compiled with a view of offering to the Public, in a compressed Form, the principal Parts of Dr. Hickes's Anglo-Saxon Grammar, a Book now seldom to be met with.' Only in 1823, as the study of Germanic philology was a second time reviving under the influence of Jacob Grimm, was a modest attempt made by Joseph Bosworth to advance the frontier of linguistic science beyond the point at which Hickes and Junius had left it.

C. F. TUCKER BROOKE.

NOTE—Since this paper has been in the printer's hands, I have learned that Miss Eleanor N. Adams has been engaged for several years on the study of Old English Scholarship in England. A number of the matters alluded to in the foregoing article will be treated at much greater length in Miss Adams's monograph.

C. F. T. B.

VI.—THE FRENCH ARISTOTELIAN FORMALISTS AND THOMAS RYMER

That the critical theories of the seventeenth-century French school of rules find numerous parallels in the work of Thomas Rymer has been perceived by various students of literary criticism. But the recognition of general resemblances has not served, apparently, to secure uniformity of opinion in classifying Rymer as a critic, or in determining the extent to which he represented, in English criticism, the French codification of the rules. Professor Saintsbury states that Rymer had a "charcoal-burner's faith in 'the rules.'"¹ On the other hand, Professor Spingarn, who has gone farthest in tracing the parallelisms between Rymer's work and that of preceding critics, regards his work as rationalistic, or based upon common sense, rather than formalistic, based upon rule and precedent.² The one would regard Rymer as a participant in the French tradition; the other, as primarily a continuator of certain previously existing English methods. An analysis of the relationship between Rymer and the French critics of the school of rules, more systematic than has yet been attempted,³ may aid in determining to what extent the critical standards and methods of the French

¹ Saintsbury, *A History of Criticism*, Vol. II, p. 392.

² J. E. Spingarn, *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, Vol. I, Introduction, pp. LXV, LXXI, etc.

³ Certain parallelisms are pointed out by Prof. Spingarn in the second volume of the work cited, in the notes to the Rymer selections. But the notes of course deal only with the selections included in the volume, and for these are not exhaustive, and sometimes seem of doubtful value. Any indebtedness will be acknowledged.

Aristotelian formalists are approximated in Rymer, and what influence the French school had upon one whose criticism, however it may be regarded now, was of great weight and importance for years after it was written.

In carrying out the investigation certain questions demand attention: To what extent do the standards of criticism adhered to by the French formalists find their way into the work of Thomas Rymer? Are their methods of applying these standards followed by him? Then, dismissing for the time general resemblances, is there any evidence that the French critics were known to Rymer? Are there any signs of actual borrowing? Furthermore, to what extent could he have got his critical apparatus from any other likely source? If these questions can be answered satisfactorily, the material will be at hand for forming a conclusion as to the main problem of this investigation.

I

Now the work of the French school of rules was chiefly concerned with two main literary types: the epic, and the drama. Rymer as a critic is concerned largely, although not quite entirely, with the drama. Consequently it is chiefly the dramatic criticism of the Frenchmen that we should expect to find mirrored in Rymer's work, if any be mirrored; although of course in certain respects the French utterances in regard to the epic may find significant analogies in the Englishman's criticism.

If the work of the French critics belonging to the school of rules be analyzed,⁴ certain critical standards are seen

⁴The lectures of Professor Irving Babbitt at Harvard University were my introduction to the study of the French school of rules. Professor Saintsbury's account is striking but is vitiated by his

to guide them all. All alike require that the plot be strictly probable in all of its details, and that the outcome be in strict accord with the demands of poetic justice. All insist that the artificial code of decorum formulated by this school shall be observed in the handling of characters. In regard to the drama, all give their allegiance to the rules of the three unities and especially to that regarding unity of time. These doctrines, developed into a code of minute and systematized rules, characterize the work of the French school. They are formulated and followed by the earliest critics of the group: Chapelain, La Mesnardière, Mambrun, Hédelin. They are accepted in large part by Corneille, whose critical work shows certain marks of their influence. And they are in general adhered to by the latest members of the school at the end of the century: Rapin, Le Bossu, and Dacier.

Let us examine these standards in detail, and see how the French critics formulate them, and how closely Rymer adheres to them.

As might be expected in any system of rules based upon Aristotle, the plot is regarded as of fundamental importance; and in choosing and developing the episodes that go to make up the plot, the requirements of probability must never be forgotten. Aristotle had said that an impossible probability is to be preferred to an improbable possibility, and on this basis was built up by the French formalists a theory of strictly rational verisimilitude, a doctrine of probability to conform not so much to actuality as to the demands of logic.

hostility to neo-classicism in general. M. Brunetière in his *L'Évolution des Genres*, Tome I, pp. 14, 15, etc., does indeed distinguish the period of the rules from what precedes and what follows it, but the treatment of the period is scant and does not even mention some of the critics most important for the purposes of this study.

One of the earliest documents of the school, the judgment of the Academy upon the *Cid*,⁵ a critical document which is generally credited in large part to Chapelain, and which undoubtedly commanded his thorough sympathy, voices this doctrine in no uncertain way. Time and again the play is condemned on the score of improbability, and the rule is laid down that all episodes must appear so probable to the spectators that they unhesitatingly accept them as true.⁶ History may assert the truth of certain improbabilities, but in this case history is not to be followed,⁷ for such events are in the nature of Aristotle's improbable possibilities, which are to be shunned in creative literature. This is echoed by Rymer in his criticism of Fletcher's Duke in *Rollo*: "History may have known the like. But Aristotle cries shame."⁸ Of course Chapelain's remark and Rymer's may be traced ultimately back to one of the principles laid down in the *Poetics* of Aristotle, but the principle has hardened into a rule.

Logical verisimilitude is a doctrine that finds utterance in the works of the other French formalists also. La Mesnardière, for example, takes up the doctrine and expands it into sets of definite rules. We have ordinary verisimilitude and extraordinary verisimilitude; both are defined and copiously illustrated by examples.⁹ The discussion of these matters is concluded by the statement that the

⁵ *Les Sentiments de L'Académie Française sur . . . le Cid* (1638). Published in the edition of Corneille by Marty-Laveaux, Vol. XII, pp. 463 ff. Cf. Armand Gasté, *La Querelle du Cid* (Paris, 1898), appendix, for references to Chapelain's letters showing his attitude in the quarrel.

⁶ Ed. Marty-Laveaux, *op. cit.*, p. 468.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 468, 471.

⁸ *Tragedies of the Last Age*, p. 47.

⁹ Jules de la Mesnardière, *La Poétique*, 1640; pp. 36 ff.

chief fault of writers lies in employing actions which are unreasonable, unbelievable, contradictory, and impossible.¹⁰ Mambrun,¹¹ too, places great stress upon the need for logical verisimilitude,¹² and recommends that the poet strip the action of its names, in order to test its probability according to general conditions. In particular he attacks the medieval romances because they lack probability.¹³ Hédelin's *La Pratique du Théâtre* follows the others; probability is a prime requisite. The dramatist must take particular care to guard "la vraisemblance des choses."¹⁴ All through the sixth chapter of the first book the need of verisimilitude is especially stressed; and in the second chapter of the second book, a chapter entitled "De la Vraisemblance," the first words are, "Voici le fondement de toutes les Pièces du Théâtre."¹⁵ Corneille, on the other hand, is not, in his critical utterances, so thoroughly devoted to the doctrine as the other critics previously mentioned. As between probability and the unities, he prefers to hold fast to the unities. Probability must sometimes be stretched a little to permit the observance of the rules of time and place.¹⁶ Yet in general he accepts the doctrine of logical verisimilitude. It is unnecessary to multiply examples from the later French formalists.¹⁷

¹⁰ *Poétique*, p. 51.

¹¹ Pierre Mambrun, *De Poemate Epico*, 1652. This book unfortunately is not accessible to me, but through the kindness of Professor Irving Babbitt, who put at my disposal his notes, I am able to give some account of its contents.

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 138.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 173.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 31. This work appeared in 1657. I have used the edition published in Amsterdam, 1715.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

¹⁶ Ed. Marty-Laveaux, Vol. I, p. 84.

¹⁷ If other citations are desired, cf. Rapin, *Réflexions sur la Poétique*, *Œuvres*, Amsterdam, 1709, Vol. II, pp. 113, and 149; Le Bossu, *Traité du Poème Épique*, ed. 1677, p. 9; André Dacier, *La*

Enough have been cited to show that the rule of logical verisimilitude is one of the fundamental rules of this school.

And how does Rymer stand in regard to this rule? He, too, holds it to be fundamental. In the preface to his translation of Rapin's *Réflexions sur la Poétique d'Aristote*, which preface marks his entrance into the field of literary criticism, he constantly appeals to this rule. Spenser is condemned because "he makes no Conscience of Probability."¹⁸ Cowley's *Davideis* is censured on the same score; and Rymer adds, "Poetry has no life, nor can have any operation, without probability."¹⁹ Again, in the *Tragedies of the Last Age*, the same rule is stressed. The plot of *Rollo* is condemned for lacking verisimilitude.²⁰ Of *A King and No King* he writes, "What sets this Fable below History, are many improbabilities."²¹ He has a similar opinion of *The Maid's Tragedy*: "Nothing in History was ever so unnatural, nothing in Nature was ever so improbable, as we find the whole conduct of this Tragedy."²² This question of rational probability, it should be noted, is the first which Rymer raises as he takes up each play in turn; and during the course of his examination he subjects the various contributory episodes to this same test. Finally, the *Short View of Tragedy* exemplifies the application of this rule just as rigidly as either of the preceding pieces of criticism. "Nothing," we read, "is more odious in Nature than an improbable lye; and, certainly, never was any Play fraught, like this of *Othello*, with improbabilities."²³ With this standard in mind

Poétique d'Aristote . . . avec des Remarques Critiques, Amsterdam, 1692, *passim*.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 107.

²³ *Op. cit.*, p. 92.

Rymer examines the design of the play carefully, and finds many features which seem to him not in accordance with the demands of logical verisimilitude. It is improbable that the Venetians would make a man of Othello's race their general; it is opposed to human nature that Desdemona would love him; it is not reasonable that Roderigo should so soon have spent the proceeds of the sale of his lands; and so on indefinitely.

Is this rationalistic criticism? Is it merely the application of common sense? In the light thrown upon the case by the practice of the French formalists one is forced to the conclusion that it is the rigid application of one of the most fundamental of the rules. However unenlightened one may regard the method of application, one must conclude that what Rymer is doing is to adopt for his own critical work that same rule of rational probability that the French critics before him so greatly emphasized.

II

But before finally deciding whether in this matter Rymer is formalist or rationalist, let us examine some of the other rules, and observe his attitude toward them. The principle of poetic justice received considerable attention at the hands of the formalists. This doctrine, as a phase of the didactic theory of poetry, naturally appealed to them. If the primary purpose of poetry is to instruct rather than to amuse, then what more desirable than that its instruction should be moralistic? The moral interpretation of the principle of katharsis led to this conclusion. And if this end is to be accomplished, episodes must be so managed as to enforce a moral lesson. Virtue must be rewarded, and vice must be punished.

In view of the fundamental nature of the doctrine, it is not surprising to find the school of rules emphasizing it, formulating it as a definite rule, whereby to guide its criticism. Thus in the commentary on the *Cid*, it is asserted that what seems to be wickedness on the part of Chimène should at the end of the play be punished, not rewarded.²⁴ This early piece of formalistic criticism feels the need of observing poetic justice. Hédelin even goes so far as to hold that the chief rule of the dramatic poem is that virtue be rewarded and vice be punished.²⁵ Corneille himself, although his play was held open to criticism on this score by the Academy, was on the whole a supporter of the rule. The first *Discours* recognizes the desirability of observing poetic justice,²⁶ the better to carry out the didactic purpose of poetry. In the work of Le Bossu this didacticism receives its greatest emphasis, although the writer applies the theory to epic rather than to dramatic poetry. The end of the epic poem, he maintains, is to lay down moral instructions.²⁷ In constructing a plot, the poet must first select the moral he wishes to enforce.²⁸ Around that he is to build his poem. Dacier echoes the others in teaching that the purpose of poetry is didactic.²⁹

Turning to Rymer, we find the doctrine of poetic justice one of the fundamentals of his critical creed. Rymer, no more than the French Academy, would have seen the wickedness of a Chimène go unpunished. Poetic justice "would require that the satisfaction be compleat and full, ere the Malefactor goes off the Stage, and nothing left to God Almighty, and another World."³⁰ It is unnecessary

²⁴ Ed. Marty-Laveaux, Vol. XII, p. 472.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

²⁶ Ed. Marty-Laveaux, Vol. I, p. 21.

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, preface, p. xiv.

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

³⁰ *Trag. of Last Age*, p. 26.

to quote numerous instances of Rymer's application of this rule. Incident after incident is examined in its light, and condemned. The application is not implied, but expressed.³¹ The murder by Iago of his benefactor, Roderigo, is condemned, in common with Shakspeare's disposition of other characters in *Othello*, because it is "against all Justice and Reason."³² The play as a whole is damned, because the audience can carry home with them nothing "for their use and edification."³³ Evidently a play which does not inculcate a plain moral lesson by means of obvious poetical justice is, as he puts it, "without salt or savour."

A third principle systematized into rules by the French formalists is that concerned with the unities. This, it should be noted is, however, a principle much more emphasized by the French critics than by the Englishman. The critics of the *Cid* would restrict the action of a play to twelve hours.³⁴ Corneille, as has been observed, is in his criticism loyal to the doctrine of the unities, particularly unity of time and unity of place. The rules enforcing them must be followed, in order that stage conditions may approximate actual conditions in the world at large. Dacier holds the same opinion, and is most explicit in enforcing it. For him the duration of the action in a tragedy ought to be, not twelve hours, but just equal to the time of representation. Unity of action received less attention from critics; superficially, at least, it was observed by the dramatists.

Although Rymer does not flout the unities, he seems to regard them as of minor importance. Yet if in his criticism he is disposed to slight them, his practice, in

³¹ Cf. *T. of L. A.*, pp. 23, 26, 35, 37, 42, 126, etc.

³² *Short View*, pp. 139, 144.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 471.

his only play, *Edgar*, proves his acceptance of their demands. There he definitely announces that the duration of the action is ten hours. The rule in regard to unity of time, which was the center of conflict between critics and dramatists, he thus accepts. Unity of place is also observed in the play. Nor does Rymer utterly disregard the unities in his critical works. In the opening chapter of the *Tragedies of the Last Age* he alludes to the rules of unity with approval, and in the *Short View*, *Othello* is condemned for not observing unity of place; yet "absurdities of this kind break no Bones. They may make Fools of us; but do not hurt our Morals."³⁵ This represents his general attitude toward the unities; they ought to be observed, but after all they are of secondary importance. As compared with the criticism of the French formalists, Rymer's work shows in this respect a difference in degree, not in kind.

III

Passing from considerations of plot to those of characterization, we enter upon a topic of absorbing interest to the school of rules: the principle of decorum; to observe which a code of minute rules was drawn up, governing the actions of the characters in every detail.

These rules, however, did not attain definiteness for some time. The critics of the *Cid*, for example, merely state that characters should behave in accordance with time, place, age, contemporary customs, and so forth.³⁶ But the matter is not further elaborated, although there are one or two references to breaches of decorum in the detailed criticism of the play.

³⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 106.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 467-8.

La Mesnardière, however, is more explicit. He gives multifold rules. He prescribes the qualities with which a poet ought to endow a benevolent king, a tyrant, a queen, a prince, a chancellor, and so forth.³⁷ He outlines characteristics according to age, sex, fortune, rank, and nationality.³⁸ It is significant that he is driven to the conclusion that a tragic poet ought to be acquainted with court etiquette.³⁹ He gives the whole matter definiteness and system. Conformity to types is prescribed, the characteristics of each type are laid down, and general conformity to the rules of behaviour in royal courts is insisted upon. The Aristotelian idea that a character ought to act consistently has been developed into a series of hard and fast rules. To be sure, Horace, centuries before, had made a beginning of the business, but minuteness and rigidity the rules of decorum owe to the French formalists.

The method of La Mesnardière is followed by Mamburn, who in some respects even surpasses the earlier writer. For example, a hero may weep, but not howl.⁴⁰ In Hédelin's work similar minutiae appear. A king should speak like a king, and nothing ought to be done to offend his dignity.⁴¹ Rapin⁴² and Le Bossu⁴³ enunciate like rules. Dacier does not in general go into such great detail, but his grave discussion whether it is proper in tragedy for a king to come out from his palace to the scene of action,⁴⁴ shows that this critic, like the others, made decorum more or less a matter of court etiquette.

When we turn to Rymer's critical utterances, we find that he, too, has the formalistic attitude toward characterization, and makes use of the same rules of etiquette

³⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 120 ff.

³⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 119 ff.

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 239.

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 206.

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 68.

⁴² *Op. cit.*, p. 116, etc.

⁴³ *Op. cit.*, Part II, Chap. II.

⁴⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 293.

in discussing characters. In his earliest critical work certain characters are condemned because they have "but little of the Heroick in them,"⁴⁵ and dogs are reprov'd for barking in an heroic poem—unless "they bark Heroically."⁴⁶ And in his later work other minute rules are applied. Kings must be of heroic mold,⁴⁷ must combine in their dispositions greatness of mind and generosity.⁴⁸ "Far from decorum is it, that we find the King drolling and quibbling,"⁴⁹ he writes of one of Fletcher's characters. That is a breach of court etiquette! All feminine characters must possess the trait of modesty, for modesty is a typical feminine characteristic.⁵⁰ No woman is to kill a man, no servant a master, no private subject a king. "Poetical decency [*i. e.*, decorum] will not suffer death to be dealt to each other by such persons, whom the Laws of Duel allow not to enter the lists together."⁵¹ Etiquette again!

That phase of decorum concerned with the traits of types finds application again in the *Short View*. Othello and Iago have not the traits ascribed to soldiers by the rules. Of Iago we read that Shakspeare "would pass upon us a close, dissembling, false, insinuating rascal, instead of an open-hearted, frank, plain-dealing Souldier, a character constantly worn by them for some thousands of years in the World."⁵² As in the French critics, a character must be endowed with traits prescribed by calling, age, sex, and so forth, and must act in conformity with the laws of etiquette. Rymer's criticism of characterization is a sweeping application of the rules laid down by the French formalists.

⁴⁵ *Introd. to Rapin*, p. 11.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁴⁷ *T. of L. A.*, p. 61.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

⁵² *Op. cit.*, p. 94.

Thus in fundamental doctrines Rymer's criticism conforms to the criticism of the French school of rules. And the analysis might be extended to include other rules than those considered. A great number of other dicta codified into rules by the French formalists find expression likewise in Rymer's work. The representation of scenes of bloodshed is frowned upon. Mixture of *genres* is condemned. The comic should not be mingled with the tragic. Judgment is a more necessary quality than fancy in creative work. The subject of tragedy should be some great and noble action. Characters in tragedy must be of royal or noble birth. Further multiplication of instances is needless. It is clear that Rymer accepts the code of minute rules promulgated by the French Aristotelian formalists and applies them in his own work. That many of the critical ideas here considered had been held by critics other than the formalists is undoubtedly true. But the French formalists were the ones who codified these critical principles into an elaborate system of minute and definite rules; and these minute and definite rules are the ones taken up and applied by Thomas Rymer. In respect to the rules, then, he is one with the French Aristotelian formalists.

IV

Aside from this similarity in substance, other and more general points of resemblance may be noted, points of resemblance which at least give additional plausibility to the theory that all of these men belong to the same school of thought.

The analogies between Chapelain and Rymer are especially significant in this respect. Both men were considered by their contemporaries exceedingly erudite, and in the

case of each the erudition was particularly displayed in the field of medieval French literature. Of Chapelain Professor Saintsbury remarks that he "almost alone of his time knew Old French literature," and discusses his dialog, *De la Lecture des vieux Romans*, wherein this knowledge is displayed.⁵³ Rymer likewise was regarded as an authority on Old French and what he terms "Provencial" literature, and his eminence in this respect was likewise lonely. Of course, there is little likelihood that Rymer was indebted to Chapelain for his interest in Old French; yet the resemblance is not without significance. It offers a parallelism in mental traits. Both Chapelain and Rymer were regarded as men of sound learning. Moreover, the same general statement may be made of the other members of the school of rules.

Although in craftsmanship Chapelain was decidedly the more finished, in critical temperament there are points of contact between the two men. The opening paragraph of the judgment of the Academy upon the *Cid* furnishes an instance of what is meant. One sentence in particular is significant. "C'est une vérité reconnue," the passage runs, "que la louange a moins de force pour nous faire avancer dans le chemin de la vertu, que le blâme pour nous retirer de celui du vice."⁵⁴ So the criticism frankly sets out to find faults, while professing at the same time—and here it differs from the general run of Rymer's work—not to withhold praise for what seems praiseworthy. The sentence quoted, however, might well have served the English critic as a motto in his crusade against the evils of his native tragedy.

One other trait is shared by Rymer with Chapelain,

⁵³ *Hist. of Lit. Crit.*, Vol. II, pp. 258, 260.

⁵⁴ Ed. Marty-Laveaux, Vol. XII, p. 463.

and in this instance, not only with Chapelain, but also with other critics of the school of rules; and that is, a firm faith in the efficacy of the rules for stimulating and guiding creative work—a faith which several of these critics manifested by writing original poems or plays based on their rules. Thus Chapelain wrote *La Pucelle*, an epic which Boileau irrevocably damned. La Mesnardière wrote *Alinde*. Mambrun wrote his epic on Constantine. And Rymer wrote his play, *Edgar*. These works were not shining successes. They showed the inadequacy of the rules rather than their efficacy. But they do make manifest the faith of their writers, and it is not without significance to find Thomas Rymer following the example of the French formalists in this respect.

Thus we find various analogies between the interests and beliefs of Rymer and the interests and beliefs of the French school of rules, various bonds which join them. But it may be objected, despite this testimony, that Rymer has definitely stated that his criticism is based on common sense, on the use of ordinary reason, and that therefore, although the parallelisms with the French writers may be numerous, they are accidental; that his criticism is fundamentally rationalistic, rather than formalistic. Let us examine this objection for a moment.

The passage that seems to give most basis for the rationalistic theory is found in *The Tragedies of the Last Age*. Rymer has just stated that a plot must conform to the requirements of reason. Then he notes what are the qualities necessary to judge of the reasonableness of a plot. "And certainly there is not requir'd much Learning, or that a man must be some Aristotle, and Doctor of Subtilties, to form a right judgment in this particular; common sense suffices; and rarely have I known the Women-judges mistake in these points, when they have the

patience to think, and (left to their own heads) they decide with their own sense.”⁵⁵

Are we to conclude from this passage that Rymer bases his criticism upon “common sense,” that he is fundamentally rationalistic in his critical method? Far from it. The statement, it should be noted in the first place, is confined to a consideration of plot. “Common sense” is the faculty to be used in judging of the reasonableness of a plot; it confers the ability to discern marked inconsistencies. And the examination of a plot to condemn contradictions and inconsistencies is, as previously noted, nothing in the world but an application of the formalistic rule of logical verisimilitude. All that the passage really conveys is a declaration that knowledge of the rules is not necessary in order to judge of the reasonableness of a plot; ordinary mental equipment is sufficient. “Common sense suffices.” But the very process which involves this use of common sense is that in which is applied one of the chief rules of formalistic criticism: the rule demanding logical verisimilitude. Common sense, every-day reason, is but the servant of the rules.

Of course, the rules themselves are not in conflict with reason. Indeed, they demand our allegiance just because they are rational. In one passage Rymer states that the rules are based on reasons as “convincing and clear as any demonstration in Mathematicks.”⁵⁶ But to hold that is not to make oneself a rationalistic critic. Indeed, the statement only links Rymer the more closely with the French formalists. In the criticism of the *Cid* we find that common sense (*bon sens*) bears out the teachings of the rules.⁵⁷ Hédelin announces that the rules are founded

⁵⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

⁵⁶ *Pref. to Rapin*, p. 4.

⁵⁷ Ed. Marty-Laveaux, Vol. XII, p. 475.

upon reason and common sense—“*depend de la raison et du sens commun.*”⁵⁸ Rapin echoes this sentiment almost exactly,⁵⁹ and Dacier,⁶⁰ too, follows the example of the others. In short, it is a cardinal characteristic of the school of rules to hold that the rules are reasonable; and Rymer is one with the school in this respect as in so many others.

Rymer, then, is not fundamentally a rationalistic critic. He does not bar reason from criticism, but he holds that the demands of reason are formulated in the rules, and he exercises his own reason, not independently, but in the process of applying the rules. In all of this he is doing just what the French formalists advocated before him.

One difference in practice between Rymer and the typical French formalist should, however, be noted. The typical French formalist was a codifier of the rules. He analyzed various Aristotelian dicta in the light of the Italian commentaries, and he wrought them into rules and built them up into definite systems. This is the kind of work done by La Mesnardière, for example; and by Hédelin; and by most of the others in the French group. Rymer did not continue the work of codification; rather, he took the results of the codification and applied them in his own criticism. To this extent he differs from most of the Frenchmen considered. However, the difference is not essential. He bases his criticism upon the rules formulated by the Frenchmen, and by virtue of that practice he is fundamentally a formalistic critic.

V

Since, then, it seems clear that Rymer belongs to the school of La Mesnardière and Mambrun, of Hédelin and

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 20 and 21.

⁶⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. vi and vii.

⁵⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 104.

Dacier, the question of his indebtedness to them individually next arises. Was Rymer acquainted with the work of the Frenchmen? Did he owe his rules to them? Is there any evidence of indebtedness?

That he was in some measure acquainted with the work of the French school of rules seems clear. The mere fact that the Englishman's first venture into literary criticism was his translation of Rapin's book indicates his familiarity with the work of one member of the school and may well suggest an acquaintance with the works of some of the other members. Indeed, there is positive evidence that he knew about the criticism of La Mesnardière; for in the Preface to the translation of Rapin he notes his indebtedness to the earlier French critic for the observation that the French language is "a very Infant" and unsuited for use in the conduct of love affairs.⁶¹ As Prof. Spingarn points out, this is a reference to La Mesnardière's statement on the "Rudesse de la langue Française dans les expressions amoureuses."⁶² One is justified in suspecting that Rymer had read the work of the French critic with care, since he noted a remark of such comparatively small importance in general dramatic theory.

Again, Rymer knew the poetical work of Chapelain,⁶³ and was acquainted with the history of the founding of the Academy;⁶⁴ consequently it is probable that he had read the *Sentiments de l'Académie sur le Cid*, and from it he may have taken some hints as to methods of applying the rules to concrete criticism. Corneille is another whom Rymer cites by name, although not in connection with any very important rule. In the account of the French drama a passage from the *examen* of Théodore

⁶¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

⁶² La Mesn., p. 371.

⁶³ Cf. *Pref. to Rapin*, p. 26.

⁶⁴ *S. V. of T.*, p. 59.

is quoted—in translation—as testimony to that aversion to immoral or questionable plays which was then characteristic of French audiences.⁶⁵ And near the close of the *Short View* there is cited Corneille's avowal, in the *examen* of *Mélite*, that when he began to write plays, he was ignorant of the rules, but common sense and the example of Hardy led him to observe unity of action and of place.⁶⁶ That is, Corneille is here cited as a witness to the essential reasonableness of the rules. The avowed indebtedness is for minor points, but the avowal is important as further indication that Rymer was interested in French criticism and was reading it.

Rymer knew of the existence of the works of Le Bossu and Dacier; for he mentions them in the dedication of the *Short View*; and there is every reason to believe that he read their works.

It is obvious, then, that Rymer, in addition to accepting critical rules identical with those codified by the French Aristotelian formalists, was to some extent acquainted with their work. That there was actual indebtedness seems highly probable, and this probability is greatly increased by the similarities in details between Rymer's work and the works of the French writers. Some of these similarities remain to be pointed out.

Certain parallelisms with Mambrun appear. Early in his work the clerical critic attacks Scaliger for regarding as the material of poetry verses, syllables, "and all that grammatical matter. To pay so much attention to minute poetical detail is the shipwreck of poetry."⁶⁷ One is reminded of Rymer's remark in the course of his *Preface to Rapin*, that "what has been noted rather concerns the

⁶⁵ *S. V. of T.*, p. 60; cf. Corneille, Vol. v, p. 11.

⁶⁶ *S. V. of T.*, p. 160; cf. Corneille, Vol. i, pp. 137 ff.

⁶⁷ *De Poemate Epico*, p. 20 (Prof. Babbitt's notes).

Niceties of Poetry than any the little trifles of Grammar," and of his statement at the beginning of the *Tragedies of the Last Age* that he has not bothered himself with the "eternal triflings of the French Grammaticasters."⁶⁸

Other remarks in Rymer may be echoes of Mambrun, or of some other member of his school. Thus when Rymer accuses Spenser, with Aristo, of "blindly rambling on marvellous Adventures,"⁶⁹ he may have been thinking of Mambrun's stricture on the *Orlando Furioso*, "a mere chaos of romantic adventure,"⁷⁰ or he may have been recalling Rapin, who makes the same criticism. Similarly, the censure of Lucan's *Pharsalia* because it has an historical subject is one not confined to Mambrun and Rymer.⁷¹ But there is a distinct flavor of Mambrun in Rymer's remark in regard to Davenant's *Gondibert*: "And the Emerald he gives to Birtha has a stronger tang of the Old Woman, and is a greater improbability than all the enchantments in Tasso."⁷² Could he have had in mind Mambrun's criticism of a certain medieval romance, because it lacked verisimilitude: "Here again is a wonderful adventure, but one suited for old women's tales"?⁷³

Indeed, Rymer's ideas and phrases sometimes have a "tang" characteristic of what we know of Mambrun; but in the lack of the latter's book further study of detail is impossible.

In any event, since Mambrun was concerned chiefly with epic poetry, and Rymer chiefly with the drama, the influence which it seems probable did exist, must have

⁶⁸ Cf. *Pref. to Rapin*, p. 30, and *T. of L. A.*, p. 4. It seems probable that the latter refers to Malherbe, whose commentary on Desportes might be thus characterized by one impatient of the minutiae of language.

⁶⁹ *Pref. Rap.*, p. 9.

⁷⁰ Mambrun, p. 133; *Pref. Rap.*, p. 15.

⁷¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 67 ff.

⁷² *Pref. Rap.*, p. 12. Italics mine.

⁷³ Mambrun, p. 173 ff. Pointed out by Professor Babbitt.

been confined to Rymer's attitude toward the nature and function of criticism and to a few details concerning poetry in general. In *La Mesnardière* we find a critic whose work would be more likely to influence Rymer in the larger part of his criticism, since both are primarily concerned with the drama.

Certain passages on poetic justice in the earlier work are to a considerable extent paralleled in Rymer. For example, Rymer's remarks on the difference between historical truth and universal truth in exhibiting poetic justice seem an echo of *La Mesnardière*'s utterances. The similarity may be worth exhibiting.

La Mesnardière

Or encore que dans le Monde les bons soient souvent affligés, et que les meschans prospèrent, il faut néanmoins comprendre que le Poème tragique donnant beaucoup à l'exemple, et plus encore à la Raison, et qu'étant toujours obligé de récompenser les vertus, et de châtier les vices . . . etc. (p. 107).

La raison du Philosophe est "Que cette espece de Fables représentant des injustices, ne peut jamais exciter que le dépit et le blasphème dans l'ame des Auditeurs, qui murmurent contre le Ciel, quand il souffre que la Vertu soit traittée cruellement, et que les mauvais triomphent tandis que les justes patissent (p. 167).

Rymer

And, finding in History, the same end happen to the righteous and to the unjust, virtue often opprest, and wickedness on the Throne: they saw these particular yesterday-truths were imperfect and unproper to illustrate the universal and eternal truths by them intended. Finding also that this unequal distribution of rewards and punishments did perplex the wisest, and by the Atheist was made a scandal to the Divine Providence. They concluded, that a Poet must of necessity see justice exactly administered, if he intended to please (*T. L. A.*, p. 14).

"He has just quoted Aristotle, Chap. XIII, to the effect that a good man should not be represented as persecuted.

In these passages both critics use the same arguments in favor of poetic justice, and there is some phrasal similarity.

When we find Rymer, in suggesting changes and improvements in the plot of *Rollo*, carefully providing that the two brothers who are to be involved in tragic doom shall be neither exceedingly wicked nor perfectly virtuous, we are apt to attribute his attitude to the influence of Aristotle. But La Mesnardière deals with the same problem, and it is not without significance that both Rymer and the French critic have in mind the bearing of poetic justice on the matter, which is a factor absent from Aristotle's discussion.⁷⁵

However, it is the rules of decorum rather than the provisions for poetic justice that are most likely to furnish points of resemblance between Rymer and La Mesnardière. The French critic's conclusion, previously cited, that a poet ought to be acquainted with court etiquette in order intelligently to apply the rules of dramatic decorum, seems to find echo in Rymer's statement, "Tragedy requires . . . what is great in Nature, and such thoughts as quality and Court-education might inspire."⁷⁶ To be sure, Rymer is here referring to the sentiments expressed by stage characters rather than to their manners; but how is the dramatist to know what thoughts a court-education inspire, unless he is familiar with the court? Rymer's requirement implies La Mesnardière's. Again, La Mesnardière holds that stage kings should be endowed with virtue, wisdom, courage, and generosity; Rymer puts it that "all crown'd heads" should possess the qualities of heroes.⁷⁷ Rymer's question, "Whether in Poetry a

⁷⁵ Cf. *T. L. A.*, p. 23; *Poetics*, Chap. XIII; La Mesnardière, p. 20.

⁷⁶ *T. L. A.*, p. 43.

⁷⁷ Cf. La Mesn., p. 120; *T. L. A.*, p. 61.

King can be an accessory to a crime,"⁷⁸ may be related to the same passage in the French critic. If a king is to be a model of virtue, naturally he is not to be charged with the commission of crimes. In another place La Mesnardière enjoins the playwright, "il ne permettra jamais que la plus juste colere emporte si fort son Héros, qu'il en perde et le jugement et le respect qui est deu aux Potentats de la terre."⁷⁹ Under this injunction would come Rymer's rule that a subject must not kill a king.

A knowledge of the Frenchman's rules is also revealed by Rymer in many of his concrete criticisms. His effort to make out that the king in the *Maid's Tragedy* ought to have been but slightly or not at all blamed for Amintor's desertion of Aspatia is but an application of the precept in the *Poétique* that a writer ought to hide the faults of princes (on doit cacher leurs défauts).⁸⁰ And when we find the king of Fletcher's *A King and No King* rebuked for "drolling and quibbling with Bessus and his Buffoons,"⁸¹ we are reminded of the injunction in the *Poétique* that characters ought not to indulge in "sentiments abjets," "unworthy of the glory and pride of a great soul."⁸² Melantius, of the *Maid's Tragedy*, is re-proved for his violent and irreverent conduct to the new king; and we find that his conduct does break the rule that subjects should not outrage their sovereigns, or courtiers fail in the observances which are a part of their profession.⁸³ Other examples of this agreement between Rymer's censures and La Mesnardière's rules might be given, but perhaps the above are sufficient to illustrate the

⁷⁸ *T. L. A.*, p. 115. Prof. Spingarn points out this parallelism.

⁷⁹ *La Mesn.*, p. 104. Quoted also by Spingarn, Vol. II, p. 346.

⁸⁰ *La Mesn.*, p. 102.

⁸¹ *T. L. A.*, p. 64.

⁸² *La Mesn.*, p. 304.

⁸³ Cf. *T. L. A.*, p. 122; *La Mesn.*, p. 294.

parallelism between the two authors in regard to the principle of decorum.

In addition, rules on various minor matters, promulgated in the French work, are applied by the English critic. For example, in the *Poétique* we find that the title of a dramatic poem ought to be the name of the hero, or some phrase which will express in a few syllables the principal action.⁸⁴ Patly enough comes Rymer, writing of the *Maid's Tragedy*, "Amintor therefore [*i. e.*, because the action centres around him] should have named the Tragedy, and some additional title should have hinted the Poet's design."⁸⁵ In accord with the same rule are the remarks about *Othello*: "So much ado, so much stress, so much passion and repetition about an Handkerchief! Why was not this call'd the *Tragedy of the Handkerchief*?"⁸⁶ La Mesnardière's opinion in regard to historical characters is, "La principale des Régles qu'il doit observer en ceci, est de n'introduire jamais un Héros ou une Héroïne avec d'autres inclinations que celles que les Histoires ont jadis remarquées en eux." In this connection note Rymer's complaint about the characters in Shakspeare's *Julius Cæsar*, that the dramatist might write over them, "This is Brutus; this is Cicero; this is Cæsar. But generally his History flies in his Face; And comes in flat contradiction to the Poet's imagination."⁸⁷

But enough of citing examples. The points of contact are numerous. And since we have seen that Rymer avows acquaintance with La Mesnardière's work, it seems highly probable that he is indebted to the French critic for many of his ideas.

⁸⁴ La Mesn., p. 47. Cited by Spingarn, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 345, who also cites other critics, much less likely to have been heeded by Rymer.

⁸⁵ *T. L. A.*, p. 105.

⁸⁶ *S. V. of T.*, p. 135.

⁸⁷ Cf. Mesn., p. 114, and *S. V. of T.*, p. 148.

VI

Although La Mesnardière is more closely akin to Rymer than Rapin is, it is not surprising that the English writer also borrowed details of criticism more or less freely from the critic with whom he, as translator, had come into such close contact.

Of course the preface to Rymer's translation of the *Réflexions* is full of echoes of Rapin. The brief account of criticism, as Prof. Spingarn points out, follows Rapin closely. Other resemblances appear. The French writer exclaims, "Dans quelles fautes ne sont pas tombez la plûpart des Poètes Espagnols et Italiens pour les [*i. e.*, "ces règles"] avoir ignorées?" Likewise Rymer calls upon his readers to "examine how unhappy the greatest English Poets have been through their ignorance or negligence of these fundamental Rules and Laws of Aristotle."⁸⁸ Rymer several times cites the opinions of the man whose work he is translating; as, for instance, the belief that the English "have a Genius for Tragedy above all other people," and the related remark on the delight which that nation takes in cruel spectacles.⁸⁹ Other echoes are heard—as in the condemnation of Petrarch's *Africa* and of the *chimerical* nature of the *Orlando Furioso*. In short, as one might expect, Rymer in his preface borrows many ideas from the man whose work he is translating.

It is more significant to find traces of similarity to Rapin's views in Rymer's other pieces of criticism. Thus the English critic's remarks on the necessity of regulating "fancy" by reason, may well have been based upon a

⁸⁸ *Rapin, Œuvres*, Amsterdam, 1709, Vol. II, p. 91; and *Pref. to Rap.*, p. 8.

⁸⁹ *Rapin*, Vol. II, pp. 171, 164; *Pref.*, pp. 5 and 6.

recollection of the passage in the *Réflexions*, "La raison doit être encore plus forte que le genie, pour sçavoir jusques où l'emportement doit aller"—which Rymer translates, "Reason ought to be much stronger than the Fancy, to discern how far the Transports may be carried."⁹⁰ Again, as Prof. Spingarn points out, Rapin's censure of Angelica in Ariosto's poem and Armida in Tasso's as too immodest is paralleled by Rymer's criticism of Evadne in the *Maid's Tragedy*. Rapin concludes his remarks thus: "Ces deux Poëtes ôtent aux femmes leur caractere, *qui est le pudeur*;" and Rymer declares that "Nature knows nothing in the manners which so properly and particularly distinguishes woman as doth her modesty."⁹¹

Similar resemblances are found in the *Short View of Tragedy*. Rapin states that comedy has a moral aim, and commends Aristophanes for his evident didactic purpose in one of his plays, the *Lysistrata*, (which Rapin terms "Les Harangueuses," and Rymer, in his translation, the "Parliament of Women"). In like manner the English critic remarks of Aristophanes, "This Author appears in his Function, a man of wonderful zeal for Vertue."⁹² Moreover, Rymer's remarks on the function and place of love in tragedy seem distinctly reminiscent of passages in the *Réflexions*. He praises the Greeks because in their drama love did not "come *whining* on the Stage to Effeminate the Majesty of their Tragedy." Rapin states, "c'est dégrader la Tragedie de cet air de Majesté qui luy est propre, que d'y mêler de l'amour"; and, a little later, as Rymer significantly translates, "Nothing to me shews so

⁹⁰ *T. L. A.*, p. 8; *Rapin*, II, p. 108; Rymer's trans., p. 23.

⁹¹ Cf. *Crit. Essays 17th Cent.*, Vol. II, p. 346; *T. L. A.*, pp. 112, 113; *Rapin*, Vol. II, p. 117.

⁹² *Rapin*, Vol. II, p. 103; *S. V. of T.*, p. 22.

mean and senseless, as for one to amuse himself with *whining* about frivolous kindnesses.”⁹³

From the above indications it seems clear that Rymer throughout his career in criticism had in mind the injunctions of the man whose work he had translated at the beginning of that career. It is worth noting, however, that the similarities to Rapin are not of the same nature as those to La Mesnardière, or even, so far as we can judge, as those to Mambrun. In the last-mentioned cases the similarities occurred in the use of numerous minute rules which are especially characteristic of Aristotelian formalism. In the case of Rapin the borrowings are of a less distinctive nature.

VII

The similarities in detail between Rymer and the remaining French critics of the group are less weighty and may be dismissed more briefly.

The critique of the *Cid*, with its civilities and its courtesies, is quite different from Rymer's bluff fault-finding; nevertheless there are certain anticipations of Rymer's method, as in the condemnation of Chimène because, contrary to what decorum assigns to her sex, she is too sentimental, a lover and too unnatural a daughter; and in the examination of the probability of Rodrigue's movements after he has killed the Count.⁹⁴ And it may be worthy of note that Chimène is upbraided for forgetting her modesty in the fifth act.⁹⁵ But these features are not of great significance.

⁹³ *S. V. of T.*, p. 62 (italics mine); *Rapin*, Vol. II, p. 165; Rymer's translation, p. 119.

⁹⁴ Ed. Marty-Laveaux, Vol. XII, p. 472; p. 476.

⁹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 481.

Hédelin's *Pratique du Théâtre* furnishes parallelisms which are rather more indicative of Rymer's actual acquaintance with the work. It seems quite probable that the English writer in the general content of his account of the ancient drama, found in the *Short View of Tragedy*, is following the Abbé. The latter goes into the matter in some detail, and gives most of the facts which Rymer uses.⁹⁶ And Rymer's anecdote in *The Tragedies of the Last Age* in regard to the priests of Bacchus, while it may have been taken from some ancient authority, probably came through Hédelin, who writes:

"Aussi quand dans la suite du temps Phrynicius Disciple de Thespis, Aeschyle, et quelques autres à l'exemple de leur Maître insérèrent dans leurs Tragédies des Acteurs récitans des vers touchant quelque histoire qui ne faisoit point partie des loüanges de Bacchus, les Prêtres de ce Dieu le trouvèrent alors fort mauvais et s'en plaignirent tout haut, disans, Que dans ces Episodes il n'y avoit rien qui pût s'approprier, ni aux actions, ni aux bienfaits, ni aux mysteres de leur Dieu: ce qui donna lieu à ce Proverbe, En tout cela rien de Bacchus." Rymer puts it, in his vigorous way, that the priests "mutini'd" against the insertion of these episodes, "thought it ran off from the Text," and finally "roar'd out, Nothing to Dionisus, nothing to Dionysus."⁹⁷

Again, Rymer's statement, "Some have remark'd, that Athens being a Democracy, the Poets, in favour of their Government, expos'd Kings, and made them unfortunate," may refer to Hédelin's comment that the Athenians de-

⁹⁶ Hédelin, *op. cit.*, pp. 153 ff.

⁹⁷ Cf. Hédelin, p. 161; *T. L. A.*, p. 12.

lighted to see the misfortunes of Kings shown upon the stage.⁹⁸

Although it seems probable that Rymer was chiefly influenced by Dacier, as will be seen shortly, in his advocacy of the chorus, nevertheless he is in this matter not without points of contact with the author of the *Pratique*.⁹⁹ It will suffice to mention one. Hédelin urges, after advancing various other arguments for the use of the chorus, that it would insure continuity of action, unity of scene, and unity of time—for how could the chorus be supposed to stay on the scene of action days and weeks without eating or drinking or sleeping? Rymer likewise contends that the chorus is a valuable aid in preserving the unities, "Because the Chorus is not to be trusted out of sight, is not to *eat or drink* till they have given up their Verdict, and the Plaudite is over."¹⁰⁰

All in all, it would seem that Rymer must have been acquainted with *La Pratique du Théâtre*.

We have seen that Corneille's critical utterances were known to Rymer. The detailed indebtedness, however, seems slight. Prof. Spingarn points out the resemblance between Rymer's belief in the didactic purpose of poetry, and Corneille's.¹⁰¹ But the similarity is confined to the general tenor of the statements,¹⁰² and the same doctrine was held by other critics, so no specific indebtedness may be alleged. Another point of contact noted by Prof. Spin-

⁹⁸ *T. of L. A.*, p. 29; Hédelin, Book II, p. 62. The English translation is quoted by Prof. Spingarn (III, p. 341) but not with reference to this passage in the *T. of L. A.*

⁹⁹ Prof. Spingarn (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 347) gives general references to both Hédelin and Dacier.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Hédelin, pp. 190 ff.; *S. V. of T.*, p. 161; italics mine.

¹⁰¹ *Crit. Essays 17th Cent.*, Vol. II, p. 347. No specific reference is given.

¹⁰² Ed. Marty-Laveaux, Vol. I, p. 17; *T. L. A.*, p. 140.

garn concerns the care for the royal prerogative evinced by the two critics. Rymer holds that in poetry a king may not be accessory to a crime; Corneille forbids the dramatist to portray a king in a secondary rôle.¹⁰³ Whether the two critics have in view exactly the same thing may be doubted. The resemblance is in the minute care for the royal welfare and reputation, to which court decorum leads. Rymer's inspiration for his remarks here more probably came from La Mesnardière, as already noted.

Other uncertain echoes might be pointed out. But whereas it seems clear that Rymer knew Corneille's criticism, it does not seem probable that he was much influenced by it. Nor is this strange. Corneille was only in part a formalist. Rymer was thoroughly one, and could obtain elsewhere critical doctrines more fully in accord with his views than Corneille's were.

Le Bossu's work appeared in 1675, but there is nothing to indicate that Rymer made use of it in the *Tragedies of the Last Age*, which appeared two years later. There are indeed a few parallelisms, but these may best be accounted for by assuming a common indebtedness to earlier critics. Thus the idea that the poet's judgment should always control his fancy is found in Le Bossu's book and likewise in Rymer's. But it also appears in the latter's *Preface to Rapin* published before Le Bossu's book, and its probable source is Rapin.¹⁰⁴ The most striking points of similarity between the *Short View* and the French treatise on the epic are such as may well be explained by the theory of a common origin. Le Bossu gives a brief account of the origin of tragedy, and at first it seems pro-

¹⁰³ *T. L. A.*, p. 115; Ed. Marty-Laveaux, Vol. I, pp. 270 ff.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Le Bossu, p. 25; *T. of L. A.*, p. 8; *Pref. Rap.*, p. 5.

bable that Rymer used this in preparing his treatment of the same topic; but Hédelin's account, already mentioned, furnishes closer parallels, and is a more likely source; and it is worth noting that Le Bossu acknowledges his indebtedness to the same writer.

In general, it is altogether more probable that Rymer, concerned with the drama, should have reinforced his ideas from French treatises on the drama, than it is that he should have been influenced by stray remarks in Le Bossu's *Traité du Poëme Épique*. The formalistic resemblances exist; the evidences of indebtedness are doubtful.

The most important feature of Dacier's commentary on Aristotle, for those who seek proof of his influence on the *Short View of Tragedy*, is his advocacy of the chorus. Dacier recommends the use of the chorus because, for one reason, it compels the dramatist to preserve *unity of place*. In addition, it prevents him from placing the action of his tragedy in "*chambers and cabinets*," because the chorus, which must always be on the stage, cannot reasonably be supposed to witness the private transactions of kings and princes. And it is advisable to prevent the appearance of such actions on the stage, because it must be remembered that the audience, too, is always present, and it is essentially improbable that they should be admitted to the cabinets of princes; the dramatist is apt to forget this improbability, but the presence of a chorus would force it upon his attention. So the chorus ought to be re-established, "*qui seul peut redonner à la Tragédie son premier lustre, et forcer les Poètes à faire un choix plus juste des actions qu'ils prennent pour sujet.*"¹⁰⁵

Rymer, like Dacier, looks to the chorus to reform tragedy.¹⁰⁶ Like Dacier he holds that the chorus "is not

¹⁰⁵ Dacier, *La Poétique*, p. 330. Italics mine.

¹⁰⁶ *S. V. of T.*, p. 1.

to be drawn through a Key-hole, . . . nor *stow'd in a garret*, . . . so must of necessity keep the Poet to unity of place." ¹⁰⁷ And of Jonson's *Catiline* he asks, "how comes the Chorus into Catilins *Cabinet*?" ¹⁰⁸ Moreover, if the chorus be employed, "the Spectators are thereby secured, that *their Poet shall not juggle*, or put upon them in the matter of Place, and Time, *other than is just and reasonable for the representation*." ¹⁰⁹

In another place Dacier advances another argument in support of the chorus, which Rymer also uses. Dacier writes that in barring the chorus from tragedy, modern writers have deprived themselves of a great advantage; "*car toute la Musique qu'on peut placer dans les intermèdes de nos pièces et les balets qu'on peut y ajouter ne font nullement le même effet, parce qu'ils ne peuvent être considerez comme parties de la Tragédie; ce sont des membres étrangers qui la corrompent et qui la rendent monstrueuse*." ¹¹⁰ Echoes Rymer, "And the Poet has this benefit; the Chorus is a goodly Show, so that he need not ramble from his subject out of his Wits for some foreign Toy or Hobby-horse, to humor the Multitude." ¹¹¹

With all this similarity, extending even to phraseology, it is quite clear that Rymer derived his arguments for the chorus from Dacier. It should be remembered, of course, that this does not preclude the possibility of his having also referred to Hédelin's arguments on the same subject; as we have seen, it is probable he did consult Hédelin. But the great bulk of his indebtedness in this matter is to Dacier; and, from a consideration of chronological data, it seems certain that Dacier, and not Hédelin, furnished the

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 161. Italics mine.

¹¹⁰ Dacier, pp. 516-517.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

¹¹¹ *S. V. of T.*, p. 2.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

initial impulse for Rymer's advocacy of the chorus. For Hédelin's book had appeared in 1657; had Rymer been much impressed by its arguments in favor of the chorus, he could have introduced the matter in his *Tragedies of the Last Age*, which came out in 1677. But not until Dacier's book appeared, in 1692, do we find Rymer interesting himself in the question.

Aside from the discussion of the chorus, there is little to show that Dacier had much influence upon the English critic. As in the case of Le Bossu, there is resemblance in the formalism of the critical ideas; but the important critical details seem to have been supplied to Rymer by the earlier members of the school.

VIII

From the foregoing survey of the points of contact between Rymer and the members of the French school of rules it is evident that he agrees with them not only in general critical attitude, but also in a great number of detailed rules. And from the phrasal similarities, and, in some cases, from explicit acknowledgment, it seems clear that Rymer was familiar with the writings of this group and derived the most important and essential features of his critical theory from its members.

That he could have derived them from any other school of criticism is impossible, because he resembles no other school so closely as he does the French school of rules. That he could have formulated his method for himself, basing his rules directly upon Aristotle and Horace, is highly improbable. To be sure, his references to these two authorities are constant. Aristotle in particular is cited as the law-giver of literary criticism. But the Aristotelian dicta that Rymer emphasizes are the dicta

emphasized by his formalistic predecessors, and he interprets these dicta as they did. Aristotle's demand for probability was for Rymer a demand for strictly formalistic verisimilitude; and Aristotle's demand for decorum was for Rymer a demand for the observance of court etiquette. The English critic may have been acquainted with the *Poetics*; but he beheld it through French spectacles.

Rymer was probably more directly indebted to Horace than to Aristotle, for Horace tends to enunciate rules rather than principles; is something of a formalist himself. Yet in general the Englishman's relations to Horace resemble those to Aristotle. When we find Rymer comparing those qualities Shakspeare has given Iago with those Horace laid down as typical of the soldier, the indebtedness may be direct.¹¹² But one doubts whether Rymer would have been so insistent on the matter, had not decorum been so strongly emphasized by the French Aristotelian formalists; and of course, as we have seen, the bulk of Rymer's rules regarding decorum comes from La Mesnardière. It is significant that Rymer cites the Latin critic as prescribing the use of the chorus; yet he himself is not won to its advocacy until 1692, when Dacier's book appears; although references in the *Tragedies of the Last Age* reveal his acquaintance with the *Ars Poetica* in 1677. Horace does not move Rymer to action. The English critic emphasizes in Horace, as in Aristotle, only what the French critics have emphasized.

The examination of Rymer's relations with the critics he cites most frequently merely corroborates our previous conclusion that his chief indebtedness is to the French Aristotelian formalists. Rymer's criticism is not closely allied to the compressed discussion of principles in Aris-

¹¹² *S. V. of T.*, p. 93; *Ars Poet.*, line 121.

totle's *Poetics*, or to the brief and graceful dicta of Horace, or to the abstract theorizing of the Italian commentators, or to the unsystematized and parasitic neo-classicism of previous English critics, but it is attached by closest bonds to the practice of the French school of rules.¹¹³ Rymer was not himself a codifier of the rules, but he applies the rules codified by the French formalists. He is predominantly a follower of the French rules.

But this is not all. Certain facts indicate that it was through him that French Aristotelian formalism, as distinguished from the laxer forms of neo-classicism, was introduced into England. It is not necessary to enlarge upon the fact that French literature in general had a decided vogue in England during the last decades of the seventeenth century. M. Charlanne¹¹⁴ has brought together much evidence to prove this point; and indeed, one has but to observe the numerous translations and importations advertised in the Term Catalogues to be convinced. But while this is true of French literature as a whole, the condition in regard to French criticism requires more accurate statement. It is significant that no evidence has been adduced to prove that any works of the French school of rules circulated in England before Rymer translated the *Réflexions* of Rapin. And it is of equal significance that while, after 1674, one finds fairly frequent mention of the later French formalists,—of Rapin, Hédelin, Le Bossu, and finally Dacier,¹¹⁵—the earlier members

¹¹³ Of course this is not to deny that Rymer knew Scaliger, or Sidney and Jonson, or even that he presents resemblances to them in occasional unimportant details.

¹¹⁴ L. Charlanne, *L'Influence Française en Angleterre*, etc., cf. especially pp. 95-120.

¹¹⁵ Charlanne, pp. 309 ff., gives proofs that these critics were known in England at this time. Indeed, Dryden refers to Le Bossu and Rapin as early as 1679, in the Preface to *Troilus and Cressida*. Ed. Ker., I, pp. 213, 228.

of the group seem still to be unknown. The first of these facts supports the view that Rymer introduced Aristotelian formalism into England; that it was not familiarly known by English critics before Rymer's first venture in literary criticism. The second fact shows that when English critics did turn to the French Aristotelian formalists, it was to the later and on the whole less rigid representatives that they turned. No evidence has come to notice to show that Mambrun and La Mesnardière, the critics to whom Rymer was most closely related, were directly known in England at any time throughout the last half of the century. Therefore there is reason to believe that many of the most rigid rules of the French formalistic system were generally known in England only through Rymer.

A glance at the statistics¹¹⁶ of translation supports these views. When a French critic became relatively well known in England, his works were translated. It does not appear that La Mesnardière and Mambrun were translated at all. Moreover, Rymer was the first to translate into English the criticism of any member of the French school of rules, his translation of Rapin appearing, it will be recalled, in 1674.¹¹⁷ Hédelin's book was translated ten years later, and Le Bossu's in 1695. That is, it was well toward the end of the century before even the later critics belonging to the French school of rules became well enough known to warrant translation. And during all this time Rymer's work was exerting its influence on English critical ideas.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Arber's reprint of the *Term Catalogues*. Also, the *Catalogue of the British Museum*, etc.

¹¹⁷ It is true that Rapin's comparison between the eloquence of Demosthenes and that of Cicero was translated in 1672, the comparison between Plato and Aristotle in 1673. But these are not pieces of formalistic criticism.

To corroborate the theory that these facts support it would be necessary to investigate English criticism during the last half of the seventeenth century and analyze in it the appearance of strictly formalistic ideas. If such ideas manifest themselves only after Rymer's work is published, and if the expression of such ideas is often accompanied by explicit acknowledgement of indebtedness to Rymer, the case is well-nigh proved. But that is matter for a separate inquiry.¹¹⁸ It is enough here to note that there is reason to believe that not only is Rymer an English representative of the French formalists, owing his critical ideas to them, but that he was largely instrumental in introducing into English literary criticism the rigid system of the French school of rules.

GEORGE B. DUTTON.

¹¹⁸ An inquiry which I hope to put in shape soon.

VII.—A SOURCE FOR MEDWALL'S *NATURE*

A comparison of Henry Medwall's *Morality Nature*¹ and John Lydgate's poem, *Reson and Sensuallyte*,² makes it plain that the two works exhibit remarkable coincidences of character, situation, and language. The general resemblance is obvious enough. In each of the works the plot is allegorical, and in each the hero, who is entitled "Man" in the *Morality* and, impersonally, "I" in the poem, is a type figure representing mankind. This representative of humanity is in each case approached by the lady Nature, who, after giving him a careful explanation of herself and a thorough list of admonitions, finally sends him away to travel through the world. The allegory which follows is of the familiar type in which the life of man is represented by a journey; but the manner in which this journey is undertaken is carefully specialized in the poem, and in this special form is so strikingly reproduced in the play that one may readily conclude that the former supplied much of the material to be found in the latter.

The most remarkable similarities appear in the opening scenes of both works, where Nature converses with the hero preparatory to sending him on his travels. Before presenting the details of my evidence I shall give a very brief synopsis of this preliminary situation in each case.

In the poem the following plot is elaborated on: As I lay in my bed one April morning I was approached by a fair lady, Nature, who is the queen of all creation. She

¹ Edited by J. S. Farmer in "*Lost*" *Tudor Plays*, London, 1907. The play is assigned to a date between 1486 and 1500.

² Edited by Ernest Sieper in the Publications of the Early English Text Society.

chided me for staying so long abed, and bade me arise and go forth to visit the world throughout its length and breadth, so that I might learn to praise God. The world, she said, was created solely for man, and therefore man should always restrain himself from vices and follow virtues.³ I promised to set out, and besought the lady to instruct me how to keep in the right path. She told me that there were two paths through the world, the Way of Sensuality and the Way of Reason, and urged me to keep to the latter.⁴ I then took leave of the lady and set out on my journey.

In the play the same situation is presented dramatically, and in much briefer and simpler style. Lady Nature appears and addresses Man in motherly fashion. After giving him the necessary advice and information she tells him that he must prepare to visit the World,⁵ and presents him with two guides, Reason and Sensuality, with a warning to keep the latter in his proper place.⁶ Man then sets out to visit the World.

I shall now present a series of passages, from poem and play, dealing with the description of Nature and with her advice to Man. In the poem the author describes and ex-

³ These apparently inconsequential remarks become rational as soon as one considers that the person addressed represents mankind in general.

⁴ There is here, as is usual in allegory, a curious mixture of allegorical and literal language. Nature first likens Reason and Sensuality to two roads, then speaks of the conflict in man's nature between his reason and his sensuality, and finally advises her disciple to start out in the company of the guide and adviser Reason and to ignore the advice of the false guide Sensuality.

⁵ Here the world is personified.

⁶ In both poem and play sensuality is explained by Nature as an essential quality in man, one which enables him to receive many necessary and worthy sensations, but which may easily degenerate into a vice if it is not kept under the control of reason.

plains the lady; in the play she performs the office for herself. As will be seen, the explanation of the functions of Nature, in the two works, is practically the same, corresponding even in minute and unexpected details. The following are only a few of the more striking parallels.

1. Poem (ll. 253-60):

For this is she that is stallyd
And the quene of kynde called,
For she ys lady and maistresse
And vnder god the chefe goddessse
The whiche of erthe, this no dout,
Hath gouernaunce rounde about,
To whom al thing must enclyne.

Play (p. 43):

Th' almighty God that made each creature,
As well in heaven as other place earthly,
By his wise ordinance hath purveyed me, Nature,
To be as minister, under Him immediately,
For th' encheson that I should, perpetually,
His creatures in such degree maintain
As it hath pleased His grace for them to ordain.

2. Poem (ll. 266-283):

 this lady debonayre
Hath sothly syttyng in hir stalle
Power of planetes alle
And of the brighte sterrys clere,
Euerych mevyng in his spere,
And tournyng of the firmament
From Est in-to the Oocydent,
Gouernance eke of the hevene,
Of Plyades and sterres sevene,
That so lustely do shyne,
And mevyng of the speres nyne,
Which in ther heuenly armonye
Make so soote a melodye,
By acorde celestiall,

In ther concourse eternall,
That they be bothe crop and roote
Of musyk and of songis soote.

Play (p. 44):

I am causer of such impression
As appeareth wondrous to man's sight:
As of flames that, from the starry region,
Seemeth to fall in times of the night;
Some shoot sidelong, and some down right:
Which causeth the ignorant to stand in dread
That stars do fall, yet falleth there none indeed.⁷

3. Poem (ll. 283-88):

And she, throgh her excellence,
Be the heuenly influence,
And hir pover which ys eterne,
The elementez dothe gouerne
In ther werkyng ful contrarye.

Play (p. 43):

Atwixt th' elements, that whilom were at strife,
I have suaged the old repugnance
And knit them together, in manner of alliance.

4. In both poem and play Aristotle is mentioned as the wisest mortal in matters pertaining to nature, but in each case it is shown that his knowledge is perforce limited.

Poem (ll. 308-15):

For which this lady in hir forge
Newe and newe ay doth forge
Thyngys so mervelous and queynte,
And in her labour kan not feynte,

⁷The explanation of celestial control is in the play much simplified, and very obviously adapted to the needs of the humble playgoer. The constant tendency of the Moralities was to simplify and rationalize the material drawn from sources.

But bysy ys euer in oon,
 That to describe hem euerychon
 No man alyve hath wytte therto:
 Aristotiles nor Plato.

Also ll. 337-41:

no man koude nor myght anon
 Noumbre hir yeres euerychon,
 Nor covnte hem alle in hys devys,
 Not Aristotle that was so wys.

Play (p. 45):

But, if ye covet now to know th' effect
 Of things natural, by true conclusion,
 Counsel with Aristotle, my philosopher elect;
 Which hath left in books of his tradition
 How every thing, by heavenly constellation,
 Is brought to effect; and, in what manner wise,
 As far as man's wit may naturally comprise.

5. In the poem Nature wears a Mantle of the Four Elements, in which are "wrought in portreyture" all forms in creation. The description of the mantle ends thus (ll. 393-407):

Man was set in the hiest place
 Towarde heven erecte hys face,
 Cleymyng hys diwe herytage
 Be the syght of his visage,
 To make a demonstracion:
 He passeth bestys of reson,
 Hys eye vp-cast ryght as lyne,
 Where as bestes don enclyne
 Her hedes to the erthe lowe,
 To shewe shortely and to knowe
 By these signes, in sentence,
 The grete, myghty difference
 Of man, whos soule ys immortall,
 And other thinges bestiall.

In the play Dame Nature, with a not unwarranted dis-

trust of Man's allegorical ingenuity, presents the above distinction orally (p. 46):

God wondrously gan devise
 When he made thee, and gave to thee th' emprise
 Of all this world, and feoffed thee with all
 As chief possessorer of things mortal.
 In token whereof He gave thee upright visage:
 And gave thee in commandment to lift thine eye
 Up toward heaven, only for that usage
 Thou shouldst know Him for thy Lord Almighty,
 All other beasts as things unworthy;
 To behold th' earth with grovelling countenance;
 And be subdued to thine obeisance.

6. In the poem an important part is played by the goddess Diana. She joins the hero after he sets out on his journey, and gives him good advice, to supplement that already bestowed by Nature. The Moralities did not permit goddesses to appear as *dramatis personæ*, and practically never admitted their names in the dialogue. But in *Nature* occurs the following information, given by Dame Nature herself, concerning the power of Diana (p. 44):

I have ordained the goddess Diane,
 Lady of the sea and every fresh fountain,
 Which commonly decreaseth when she ginneth wane,
 And waxeth abundant when she creaseth again.
 Of ebb and flood she is 'cause certain;
 And reigneth, as princess, in every isle and town
 That with the sea is compassed environ.

7. In the course of the conversation Nature tells the hero that he must prepare to make a journey through the world.

Poem (ll. 513-20):

This lady tho, ful wel spayed,
 Quod she to me: "thow hast wel sayed,
 For which I wil, in sentence,

That thow yive me Audience;
 For more y wil the nat respite
 But that thou goo for to visyte
 Rounde thys worlde in lengthe and brede.

Play (p. 46):

But, as touching the cause specially
 Wherefore I have ordained thee this night to appear.
 It is to put thee in knowledge and memory
 To what intent thou art ordained to be here.
 I let thee wit thou art a passenger
 That hast to do a great and long voyage,
 And through the world must be thy passage.

8. After this command the conversation proceeds to a discussion of the nature of man, and his rank in the ordered scheme of things. In each case it is shown that he is related, on the one hand, to the things of the world, and, on the other, to God Himself.

Poem (ll. 555-69):

For, by recorde of olde scripture,
 Hyt founden ys in hys nature,
 So many propurte notable,
 That man ys sothely resemblable
 Vn-to the worlde, this no doute,
 Whiche ys so grete and rounde aboute.
 For what this worlde dothe contene,
 Parcel therof men may sene
 Within a man ful clerly shyne,
 As nature doth him enclyne
 Lych to the goddys immortal
 That be a-boue celestiall,
 To whom a man, for hys noblesse,
 Ys half lyke through hys worthynesse.

Also ll. 721-31:

The tother vertu, out of drede,
 Myn ovne frende, who taketh hede,
 Ys called, in conclusion,

Vnderstandyng and reson,
 By whiche of ryght, with-oute shame,
 Of a man he bereth the name,
 And throgh clere intelligence
 Fro bestes bereth the difference,
 And of nature ys resemblable
 To goddys that be pardurable.

Play (p. 47. Here Man himself gives the information):

In every place, wheresoeuer I come,
 Of each perfection Thy grace hath lent me some;
 So that I know that creature nowhere
 Of whose virtue I am not partner.
 I have, as hath each other element
 Among other in this world, a common being;

 And, over all this, Thou hast given me virtue
 Surmounting all other in high perfection:
 That is, understanding, whereby I may aview
 And well discern what is to be done;

 And, in this point, I am half angelic;
 Unto thy heavenly spirits almost égal;
 Albeit in some part I be to them unlike.

9. In both poem and play Sensuality is accorded an excuse for existing, since he symbolizes Man's ability to see, hear, feel, and so on. But in each case Nature warns Man repeatedly that Sensuality, if he is shown too much favor, will lead him into evil courses. She exhorts Man, therefore, to keep Sensuality in subservience to Reason, who is the true guide in the journey through the world.

10. Finally, in both poem and play, Nature sends her pupil on his journey, with careful directions to follow the guidings of Reason. In the poem this advice is given at some length; in the play it is considerably reduced in volume. The chief point of difference here is that, in the play, Sensuality is allowed to accompany Man, though in

a subordinate capacity. There is an insistent dramatic reason for this, since the chief purpose of the play is to depict, allegorically, the inevitable strife between Sensuality and Reason in man's nature. In this respect, also, the play is much more consistent and more closely knit than the poem. In the latter, Sensuality and Reason are two guides when Nature is interested in the subject of guidance in life, and two roads when she becomes absorbed in the symbolism of paths. Furthermore, after Man sets out on his journey, the poem dispenses with Reason and Sensuality, whose places in the action are presently taken by Diana and Venus, respectively. The play, by retaining Reason and Sensuality throughout, not only simplifies the allegory, but makes it infinitely more dramatic. The two admonitory passages, similar except for the difference explained, I shall now present in part.

Poem (ll. 788-95, 803-11, 817-21, 842-45, 851-56, 870-75):

But Reyson, that governeth al,
I dar afferme hyt nat in veyn,
Holdeth the weye, most certeyn,
Tourneyng towarde thorient,
Most holsom and convenient
To on entent who haveth grace
Therein to walkyn and to trace.

.
But my counsayl and myn avys
Ys: that thou be war and wys
To leve the wey, this holde I best,
which that ledeth in-to West,
And go alway, lyst thou be shent,
The way toward the orient,
which is a wey most covenable
And to manne resonable.

.
Begynne the weye, ech seson,
First at vertu and reson,

And fle ech thing that they dispreyse,
And vp to god thy herte reyse.

But make thy self myghty and stronge
With all thyn hool entencion
To holde the weye of reson.

Be ryghtful eke at alle dawes
Especial vnto my lawes,
As reson wil of verray ryght
And kepe the wel with al thy myght
Fro thilke wey that ledeth wrong.

Do as reson techeth the,
And thy wittis hool encline
To rewle the by hir doctrine,
whom that y love of hert entere
As myn ovne suster dere.

Play (pp. 46, 48):

Address thyself now towards this journey;
For, as now thou shalt no longer here abide,
Lo! here Reason to govern thee in thy way,
And Sensuality upon thine other side,
But Reason I depute to be thy chief guide.

Now, forth thy journey! and look well about
That thou be not deceived by false proditioun.
Let Reason thee govern in every condition;
For, if thou do not to his rule incline,
It will be to thy great mischief and ruin.
I wot well Sensuality is to thee natural,
And granted to thee in thy first creation.
But, notwithstanding, it ought to be over all
Subdued to Reason, and under his tuition.
Thou hast now liberty, and needest no mainmission;
And, if thou abandon thee to passions sensual,
Farewell thy liberty! thou shalt wax thrall.

Nature now leaves Man, and he goes forth to visit the world. From this point the poem and play show only a general resemblance in motives which are common to nearly

all allegories of the life of man, that is, the vicissitudes of man as the result of his alternate acceptance of good and evil allegorical companions. The latter part of the poem, with its resplendent goddesses, its fair garden, and its great symbolic game of chess, could furnish no suggestions for the Morality, which, given its starting-point, always followed a comparatively severe and definite line of action. But this starting-point was precisely what the Morality playwright sought—this new point of view from which to observe the never-ending conflict between virtues and vices in the heart of man. That Medwall selected his point of view with some care from Lydgate's poem seems reasonably certain.

W. ROY MACKENZIE.

VIII.—THE STORY OF DANTE'S GIANNI SCHICCHI AND REGNARD'S *LÉGATAIRE UNIVERSEL*

In the thirtieth canto of the *Inferno* we find a Florentine called Gianni Schicchi, whom Dante puts in *Malebolge* among the falsifiers for having impersonated Buoso Donati and dictated a false will. Several of the old Commentators ¹ tell the story of Gianni Schicchi (sometimes Sticchi), who, though belonging to the illustrious family of the Cavalcanti, seems to have been a notoriously unscrupulous character and particularly clever at impersonation. The best account of the story is given by the so-called *Anonimo*, and runs, briefly, as follows: Messer Buoso Donati being sick with a mortal sickness, wished to make his will, inasmuch as he thought he had much to return that belonged to others. Simone, his son, delayed the old gentleman until he died. Fearing then that his father might not have left a will in his favor, he sought advice from Gianni Schicchi, who said to Simone Donati: "Have a notary come, and say that Messer Buoso wants to make a will; I will enter his bed, we will thrust him behind, I will bandage myself well, will put his night cap on my head, and will make the will as you wish." Then he added: "It is true that I want to gain by this." Simone agreed, all was done accordingly and Gianni Schicchi in a broken voice began to dictate: "I leave twenty soldi to the Church of Santa Reparata, and five francs to the Frati Minori, and five francs to the Predicatori," and thus he went on distributing for God, but very

¹ Scartazzini mentions Selmi's *Anonimo*, Dante's son Jacobus, Jac. della Lana, the *Ottimo Commento*, Benvenuto, Buti, the Cassinese and Petrus Dantis.

little money. "And I leave," he continued, "five hundred florins unto Gianni Schicchi." At that the son jumped up and said: "We must not put that in the will, father; I will give it to him as you leave it." "Simone," replied Gianni, "you will let me do with what is mine according to my judgment." Simone, out of fear, kept silent. "And I leave unto Gianni Schicchi my mule," for Messer Buoso had the finest mule in Tuscany. "Oh, Messer Buoso," said Simone to his supposed father, "this man Schicchi really does not care for your mule." At which the testator replied: "Silence, I know better than you what Gianni Schicchi wants." Simone began to wax wrathful, but out of fear he kept silent. Gianni continued to dictate: "And I leave unto Gianni Schicchi one hundred florins which are owed to me by a certain neighbor, and for the rest I leave Simone my universal heir with this clause, that unless every bequest be executed within fifteen days, the whole hereditv shall go to the Convent of Santa Croce." And the notaries having departed, Gianni Schicchi got out of bed, the body of Messer Buoso was replaced in it, and Simone began bewailing his father's sudden death.

This version, which is the one usually given by modern editions of Dante, gives us more details and in a better, more finished form than any of the other old commentators. The latter I shall not stop to consider; for they have been treated before, for instance, by Professor Toldo.² It is enough to say that in its essentials the plot remains the

² Pietro Toldo, *La Frode di Gianni Schicchi*, in *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, XLVIII, pp. 113 f. For the value of the various old commentators see C. Hegel, *Über den historischen Werth der älteren Dante-Commentare*, Leipzig, 1878. Unfortunately, Boccaccio's Commentary, which would have been most valuable, did not reach the thirtieth canto.

same,³ and that this seems to be the earliest appearance in literature of this comical and charmingly gruesome story. It is now my object to set forth the supposed sources and a few possible descendants of this story.

Concerning sources, as the Gianni Schicchi story is reported by Dante Commentators only as city gossip, and has not been proved historically true, it has been suggested⁴ that perhaps some unknown Florentine of the thirteenth century, knowing the character and inclinations of Gianni Schicchi, attributed to him a story that was much older. This conjecture is very probable because the mere motive of the substitution to dictate a will is too humanly natural not to have occurred endless times unreported by history or literature. At least in two instances, however, we *do* find a similar occurrence reported by history: First, in the

³ In some of the old commentators, for instance the Cassinese, and Petrus Dantis, the old man is killed by his son and by Gianni Schicchi. This, however, as Scartazzini notes in his commentary, was unknown to Dante. Cf. Scartazzini's *Enciclopedia Dantesca*, Milano, 1896-99, pp. 896 f. Moreover, for the exact relationships of the persons implicated in the story see Isidoro del Lungo, *Una vendetta in Firenze*, in *Archivio Storico italiano*, 1886, Quarta Serie, vol. XVIII, p. 383, and also in his volume *Dal Secolo e dal Poema di Dante, Altri ritratti e studi*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1898, p. 113. See also F. Torraca in *Rassegna Bibliografica della Letteratura italiana*, III, 1895, p. 230; and G. A. Venturi, *I Fiorentini nella Divina Commedia*, in *Rassegna Nazionale*, 16 Giugno, 1898, p. 788; who does not say enough about Gianni Schicchi.

⁴ See *Bullettino della Società Dantesca*, Anno VIII (1900-1901), note at the bottom of p. 284. This was kindly brought to my attention by Professor E. G. Parodi, Editor of the *Bullettino*, in a communication published in the *Marzocco*, Sep. 28th, 1913.

Since in the course of my investigation I have followed various clues kindly given to me, I take this opportunity of thanking Professors J. D. M. Ford, C. H. C. Wright, G. L. Kittredge, A. A. Howard of Harvard University, Dr. Walther Fischer of the University of Pennsylvania, and Professor F. Baldensperger, Exchange Professor at Harvard from the University of Paris, as well as Professor Parodi of Florence.

case of Antiochus Theos, King of Syria, who "married Berenice, the daughter of the Egyptian King. This so offended his former wife Laodice, by whom he had two sons, that she poisoned him, and suborned Artemon, whose features were similar to his, to represent him as King. Artemon, subservient to her will, pretended to be indisposed, and as King called all the ministers, and recommended to them Seleucus, surnamed Callinicus, son of Laodice, as his successor. After this ridiculous imposture, it was made public that the King had died a natural death, and Laodice placed her son on the throne, and dispatched Berenice and her son, 246 years before the Christian era." ⁵ Second, we find in Suetonius's *Lives of the Cæsars*, under Nero, a law that "no person who wrote a will for another should put down in it any legacy for himself." ⁶ If the enactment of this law seemed necessary, there must have been an abuse to be remedied. This fraud must then have been prevalent in the depraved days of Imperial Rome. Though these two instances probably have no direct connection at all with our Gianni Schicchi story, they are worth noting to show that the trick had been invented long before. On the other hand, such a crafty joke as the one perpetrated by Gianni Schicchi suggests very much the ways of the jocose Florentines of the Middle Ages, whose *beffe* or practical jokes form so large a part of the Italian *novella*.

⁵ This is the story as given in Lempriere's *Classical Dictionary*, and taken from Appian's history. See also Echard's *Roman History*, conveniently translated into French by La Roque, and Gayot de Pitaval's *Causes Célèbres*, La Haye, 1738, vol. VII, p. 311, who refers to it.

⁶ I quote from *The Lives of the First Twelve Cæsars*, of C. Suetonius Tranquillus, translated by Alexander Thomson, London, 1796, p. 436.

It is strange to note, then, that this story is taken up by none of the famous old Italian story tellers. Let me remark at once that in so saying I am only talking of this particular form of story. I am not concerned with stories of mistaken identity, such as appear in the Bible, in Oriental stories, in Plautus, Boccaccio, etc.; nor with stories of peculiar wills, such as we find in French *fabliaux*, in the Italian *Novella* and in countless plots ever since; nor finally in stories of pretended sickness typified by Moliere's *Malade Imaginaire* and by its ancestors and descendants through all ages. The skeleton of the plot I am studying is: that a scoundrel gets into the bed of an old man already dead or dying, and, for the benefit of some party claiming heredity, dictates a will, which the said scoundrel, taking advantage of the situation, turns largely to his own profit.

Not until the Sixteenth Century do I find again the Gianni Schicchi type of story in Italy, and even then it is told rather poorly by two writers of *novelle*:⁷ Marco Cademosto da Lodi in the sixth of his *Novelle*⁸ (1544), and Nicolao Granucci in his *La piacevol Notte, et lieto Giorno*⁹

⁷ See John Colin Dunlop, *History of Prose Fiction*, revised by Henry Wilson, London, 1888, vol. II, pp. 191, 192, in which, however, the Gianni Schicchi version is not mentioned at all.

⁸ *Sonetti ed altre Rime con proposte e risposte di alcuni uomini degni e con alcune Novelle, Capitoli e Stanze: in Roma, per Antonio Blado Asolano, 1544*. This edition is very rare. The six stories were reprinted from the original edition, in a limited number of copies, *Novelle di Marco Cademosto da Lodi* (Milano?), MDCCXCIX, p. 70. Three of Cademosto's stories were reprinted by Girolamo Zanetti in his *Novelliero italiano*. A very brief sketch of Cademosto and a translation of the very story in question may be found in Thomas Roscoe's *The Italian Novelists*, London, 1825, vol. II, pp. 129-138.

⁹ *La piacevol Notte et lieto Giorno, Opera morale di Nicolao Granucci di Lucca, indirizzato al molto Magnifico e Nobilissimo Sig. M. Giuseppe Arnolfini, Gentilhuomo Lucchese. Venezia, appresso*

(1574). These are rather obscure writers. Cademosto was a poet, apparently lived in Rome, and held an ecclesiastical office at the Roman Court under Leo X. Six stories, rescued, as he says himself, from the sack of Rome which destroyed twenty-seven others, appeared together with his poems in a volume dedicated to Ippolito d'Este. Granucci was from Lucca, as he says himself at the beginning of his book, which he compiled from a volume given to him near Siena. The sixth story of Cademosto's book and the story that begins on page 157 of Granucci's book both tell how an old man about to die was suspected of not having bequeathed his property to his two sons, and how an old servant came to the rescue by proposing to impersonate the old man and dictate a will which would make void all previous wills, and insure the property to them. In doing this he, of course, leaves a considerable amount of money to himself.

Not only is the situation practically the same as in the Gianni Schicchi story,¹⁰ but these two Sixteenth Century versions are almost identical. For the sake of exactness I shall here enumerate the details that these two later ver-

Jacomo Vidali, 1574. See also Thoms Roscoe, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 225, where a very brief sketch of Granucci is given. The story here translated by Mr. Roscoe is, unfortunately, not the one in question.

¹⁰ The similarity between the Gianni Schicchi story and the Cademosto *novella* was noted by Professor Toldo, *op. cit.*, p. 117, who also noted that neither Zambrini, who published the Anonimo version (in his *Libro di Novelle antiche tratte da diversi testi del buon secolo della lingua*, in *Scelta di curiosità letterarie* etc., disp. XCIII, nov. LXVII, p. 177) nor Reinhold Köhler (in his study *Über Zambrini's Libro di Novelle antiche*, in *Kleinere Schriften*, Ed. Bolte, Berlin, 1900, vol. II, pp. 555-569) say anything about it. I may add that Granucci is mentioned by nobody in connection with the Gianni Schicchi story, and that the latter is overlooked by Dunlop and Landau.

sions have in common, italicizing those that already appeared in the Gianni Schicchi story. 1. Same characters having identical names. 2. *The old man feels remorse for his ill-acquired riches, and wishes to make amends by making bequests to charity.* 3. *There is doubt and suspicion about his having any will.* 4. *It is an outsider, a servant who has been exactly twenty-four years in the service of the family, who suggests impersonating the old man, and writing the will.* 5. *The falsifier gets into the old man's bed, with a night cap carefully pulled over his head. The blinds are closed.* 6. *The notaries are called, the two sons remaining in the next room at the beginning of the will.* 7. *There is, however, an interruption in the dictating of the will, by one of the beneficiaries.* 8. *The falsifier leaves a goodly quantity of property to himself.* 9. *When all is done, the dead man is placed in bed again, lamentations begin for his death.* 10. The moral is that one should be generous to one's fellow-men, and particularly to old servants.

From this pedantically minute list of details the connection between the two later stories is apparent. Moreover, it is the Granucci story which derives directly from Cademosto's, because, apart from the obvious similarity and the fact that Granucci's stories came out thirty years later than Cademosto's, Granucci said himself, at the beginning of his book, that he merely rewrote some stories¹¹ told him by a monk near Siena, who handed to him, about 1568, a volume containing them: "*me ne diede un compendio co' versi, Sonetti, Capitoli e Stanze . . .*" And in fact the title of Cademosto's book is exactly: *Son-*

¹¹ The imitative inclination of Granucci was noted by Landau in his *Beiträge zur Geschichte der italienischen Novelle*, Wien, 1875, p. 98.

etti ed altre rime . . . con alcune Novelle, Capitoli e Stanze. . . . When this detail is added to the rest of the evidence, the derivation of Granucci from Cademosto can hardly be longer doubted.

A peculiar coincidence is here to be noted: Granucci knew his Dante, for he quotes freely from the *Inferno*. He then had surely seen the name of Gianni Schicchi, and might well have read the story from an old Commentary. But if he did, his version does not show the fact. All it shows is unadulterated copying from Cademosto.

Now comparing the Cademosto and Granucci stories as one to the *Anonimo* version, we see that though some details have changed, the story is practically the same, but not as good. Indeed, it has lost its brevity, its freshness, and much of its wit. For instance, a few comical details are overlooked by the *novellieri*: the impersonator does not bequeath with ironical meanness several trifling sums to the Church (a detail, by the way, which is not taken up at all in later versions); nor does he give himself gradually several different properties—a detail that furnishes comical suspense; the sons are not present in the very room at the time he begins to dictate the will, so that we miss the comical embarrassment of the situation due to their forced silence; finally, when they do complain to the false testator for his egotistic prodigality, the latter does not come out, as he does so charmingly in Gianni Schicchi, with the remark (talking about himself): “I know better than you what Gianni Schicchi wants.” The detail that the sons are two instead of one, adds nothing to the plot, and the fact that the villain is not a stranger but the old family servant may have been brought in for the sake of that weak moral, which looks like an after-thought, anyhow. The crafty servant, moreover, is not an infrequent character in the *novella*.

Now if we assume, as we may, that Cademosto's main object was to amuse, it does not seem likely that he had before him the Gianni Schicchi story. And setting aside Cademosto's assertion at the end of his last story that the things he tells actually happened, I am rather inclined to suspect that he retold a story that was already in popular tradition. To sum up, then, I conjecture that the story of the falsified will was probably told popularly before it was settled on Gianni Schicchi, and having received literary form through Dante's Commentators, again entered tradition¹² (particularly perhaps at the time when the Divine Comedy began to lose popular favor), and was gathered in a somewhat changed and weakened form by Cademosto, whose version Granucci rewrote.

So far as I have been able to ascertain, this story does not occur again in Italian literature. It plays, however, an important part in French literature, where it first appears in 1708 as the central episode of *Le Légataire Universel*, which is generally considered the best play of Regnard.¹³ In fact, in Act IV, Scene 6, we have the same in-

¹² Professor Werner Söderhjelm, of the University of Helsingfors, the learned author of *La Nouvelle Française au XV^{ème} Siècle*, would probably not agree with me in this; for he kindly writes me that he considers the Schicchi story to be as true as some of the Sacchetti stories, and that he does not think it came into oral tradition. His opinion is most valuable, but perhaps he had not taken into account the Cademosto-Granucci versions.

¹³ It is interesting to note that though most critics speak of it in terms of praise, Brunetière gives it no credit for originality by calling it (in his *Hist. de la Litt. franc. classique*, Paris, 1904-12, Vol. III, pp. 19, 20.) "*une combinaison du Malade Imaginaire, des Fourberies de Scapin et de Monsieur de Pourceaugnac*"; Claretie (in his *Hist. de la Litt. franc.*, Paris, 1907, Vol. III, p. 334) just calls it a "*curieuse comédie de gaîté un peu macabre*"; and Jules Janin (in his *Hist. de la Litt. dramatique*, Paris, 1855, Vol. II, p. 354) puts it still more strongly by saying: "*Dans cette comédie abominable, si*

cident of the falsified will. To be sure, the plot has undergone some changes. The rich old man insists on marrying a young girl who is loved by his nephew, but whom the latter could not take away from his uncle without being disinherited. Besides the scheming manservant there is the equally scheming servant girl. Thus when the old gentleman, the disposal of whose property keeps everybody wondering, happens to collapse, the crafty servant Crispin suggests the impersonation and carries it out splendidly, making handsome bequests to himself, and even to Lisette, the servant girl, provided she will become his lawful wife. Another new element brought in by Regnard is that behind this rascally trick of Crispin there is apparently a noble end, which is the bringing together of two lovers, kept apart by the whims and stinginess of the old man. This adds the attribute of hypocrisy to our already well provided villain. The final *dénouement* is also changed, and for the worse, it seems to me. For after the false will is made, the old gentleman turns out to be quite alive, having merely suffered a temporary swoon. The heirs then, guided by the wily servant Crispin, convince him that during his "lethargy" he did dictate that very will, and he, finally convinced by the unanimous protestations of all present, lets it stand. This is not a very plausible *dénouement*, and though it forms the most important scene in what is generally called the masterpiece of Regnard, it

vous en ôtez l'esprit, la verve et la gaité, tout ce qui n'appartient pas au gibet appartient à l'apothicaire. Jamais sujet plus triste et cependant jamais sujet plus rempli de gros rire n'avait été inventé; jamais, que je sache, on n'avait fait d'un cercueil un tréteau plus plaisant." Note here that if M. Janin had had in mind Regnard's sources he probably would not have used the word "inventé," nor been so emphatic with his "jamais." Most of these critics give us their own opinion of the play and hardly ever mention the creative originality of the work. Perhaps they are right, though incomplete.

is not convincing, and in subtleness of climax leaves indeed much to be desired.

Concerning the sources of this scene of the *Légataire Universel*, a good deal has been said. There are at least three theories: the first derives it directly from Dante's Gianni Schicchi;¹⁴ the second from Cademosto's story;¹⁵ the third from a fact supposed to have actually occurred in France a few years before Regnard's birth, and reported to him at Bruxelles where he went in 1681.

¹⁴ It is, of course, but a natural coincidence that the Gianni Schicchi story should use the very words "reda universale"; for that is the legal term. Farinelli in a work that practically sums up all previous studies on the subject, *Dante e la Francia*, Milan, Hoepli, 1908, Vol. II, p. 302, in a note, says that the similarity between Gianni Schicchi and the *Légataire Universel* had been noted in France by three Dante scholars of the eighteenth century, namely: Moutonnet de Clairfons, who published a translation of the Divine Comedy in 1776, and who, though mentioning Regnard's play in connection with Dante, states that Regnard took his subject from a contemporary occurrence (see his *Enfer*, p. 515); then Rivarol, whose translation of Dante appeared in 1785 (see *Oeuvres*, III, p. 253); and finally Le Prevost d'Exmes, who wrote a *Vie . . . de Dante*, in 1787, in which he actually states that Regnard's story was taken from Dante (see his p. 94). A short and futile article on this source was published by Mr. Roger Peyre in the *Supplément* of the *Journal des Débats* for Dec. 1, 1912. The writer was unaware of previous studies and made no contribution at all to the subject. Another flimsy article was published under the title of *Coincidenze* by Giovanni Rabizzani in the *Marzocco* of August 31, 1913, which I answered in the *Marzocco* of Sep. 28, and of Nov. 16, 1913.

¹⁵ The one scholar who has contributed real information on this subject is Professor Toldo, of Turin. He was not the first, however, to note the parallel Cadamosto-Regnard, since it was mentioned at least in the edition of Regnard by Garnier Frères, Paris, 1901(?), p. xiii. (Several books on Regnard and editions of his works are inaccessible to me). It was then treated more fully by Prof. Toldo in his *Études sur le théâtre comique français du Moyen Age*, in *Studj di Filologia romanza* publicati da E. Monaci e C. De Lollis, Torino, Loescher, Vol. IX, 1903, pp. 356-358; and in 1906 in his article in the *Giornale Storico* mentioned before.

The one argument against the Gianni Schicchi theory is that it looks unlikely that Regnard should have been sufficiently familiar with Dante to find this story in one of the old Commentators. Regnard had doubtless learned Italian in his adventurous meanderings in Italy; and felt not the slightest hesitation in borrowing plots, as is shown by his *Menechmes*.¹⁶ The one argument in favor is that besides corresponding in general plot, the Gianni Schicchi story and the *Légataire Universel* coincide in several details, such as the false testator's wearing of a large night cap, and his remark when told by the nephew that Crispin is a rascal not worthy of any bequest: "Je connais ce Crispin mille fois mieux que vous." But it is manifestly unfair to a writer of Regnard's calibre not to think him capable of inventing such details. His chief merit was to wring out of a given subject every drop of humor it contained. To cause laughter was the main philosophy of Regnard's work.

The similarity with the Cademosto story is about the same. Regnard has the crafty servant do the trick, and in some details agrees with Cademosto. If Regnard saw the Cademosto version he certainly could not have failed to notice the possibilities of the plot and the feeble way in which they were neglected. Moreover, there is in favor of the Cademosto theory the fact that Italian stories were very popular in France, and that they were very freely used in both French stories and plays; and finally the opinion of Toldo and Farinelli. But if my conjecture that Cademosto derived ultimately from Dante's Gianni Schic-

¹⁶ See Toldo's *Études sur le théâtre comique* . . . mentioned before, and also his excellent *Études sur le théâtre de Regnard*, in *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, x, p. 1. For Regnard's life see the account of Guido Menasci, in his rather inadequate *Nuovi saggi di Letteratura francese*, Livorno, 1908.

chi is correct, it will not make much difference whether Regnard got his idea from Dante or Cademosto, the fact is that even in small details here is the same old story, coming in a vague but plausible sequence from the thirteenth century to the early eighteenth.

The third theory, that Regnard took his plot from an actual occurrence, is the most peculiar of all. It was first launched by a certain obscure dramatist of the eighteenth century called Fenouillot de Falbaire, who wrote a tragedy, *Les Jammabos ou les moines japonais*,¹⁷ a rabid satire on the Jesuits, at the end of which, among various notes, he has one referring to Regnard's *Légataire* and giving its *real* source, which is a fact that actually occurred, says he, in the Franche Comté. Here is the story,¹⁸ briefly:

An old landowner of Besançon to whom the Jesuit brothers of that city paid covetous attentions, having to make a trip to Rome, received from them a letter to their Roman brethren recommending him as a friend whose riches and age made him attractive. This old gentleman, whose exact name was Antoine-François Gauthiot, Seigneur d'Ancier, reached Rome and the Jesuits, but almost immediately got sick and died. Great desolation among the Jesuits. Fortunately, however, one of the monks who had been to Besançon, remembered seeing there a peasant who greatly resembled M. Gauthiot. This monk was sent post-haste to Besançon, where he found the peasant, Denis Euvrard, and told him to come at once to Rome where the

¹⁷ Published anonymously and undated at London—certainly not before 1778, and probably not much later.

¹⁸ This story may also be found in the *Œuvres de J. F. Regnard*, by M. Garnier, Paris, Lequien, 1820, Vol. iv, pp. 15 f. The fact that Regnard took his plot from an actual occurrence is also suggested in the *Dictionnaire portatif des théâtres*, in an article on the *Légataire*.

Seigneur d'Ancier lay sick in bed, eager to see him in order to bequeath to him a large farm. The peasant did not hesitate a moment, and set out. As soon as he arrived in Rome he received the shocking news that old M. d'Ancier had just died, his last words being that he meant to leave his large farm to Euvrard, and the rest of his property to the Jesuit Brethren. Indeed, said the monks, though his will was not actually written, that was a mere formality; for the old gentleman had repeatedly expressed his wishes before God, and these wishes ought to be respected. Arguing thus, it did not take them long to persuade Euvrard to impersonate the old man. Euvrard acquiesced gladly, went so far as to rehearse the part several times with the monks, and then at the crucial moment bequeathed to *himself* the large farm agreed upon plus a mill, a small forest, a fine vineyard, his choice of the best income-paying real estate in Besançon, all the moneys owed on the farm, and finally five hundred francs for his poor little niece! The reverend fathers were left dumfounded and choking with anger. Still, he bequeathed to them all the rest of his property, with the obligation to build a church, wherein a daily service could be celebrated for the repose of his soul. Now when Euvrard reached old age and was himself on the point of death he was suddenly seized by remorse, and confessed this old imposture to his priest. He was at once ordered to return the money to the rightful heirs, which he did, then proceeded to die in peace, leaving the heirs and the Jesuits to fight out the bequest. Law suits were carried through three courts to the final victory of the Jesuit brothers. These facts, says Falbaire, are attested by documents.

I have investigated this.¹⁹ Through the kindness of

¹⁹ This question had been looked into before; see T. de Loray, *Le Légataire de Regnard et les Jésuites*, in *Revue des questions histo-*

Professor Baldensperger, I received a letter of introduction to an eminent lawyer at Besançon, M. Paul Lerch, who most kindly undertook to look up this affair, and after searching the archives wrote to me that the law suits undoubtedly did happen in 1629, but that the story of the previous impersonation is nowhere even mentioned. It is a fact, though, that the Jesuits built their "Collège de Besançon" with the money that came from the estate of M. d'Ancier whom "they had made to testate after his death, by proxy."²⁰ This fact alone would have been enough to suggest to anyone who had previously seen one of the Italian versions of the story or the *Légataire*, to tack it on to this true incident of M. d'Ancier and make a good story of it. This might have been done by Fenouillot himself, who apparently is the first to report it, or he may merely have reported a story well known about Besançon, and invented long before. At all events it certainly looks as if that peculiar bequest of d'Ancier, which occasioned so many law suits, and the gossip inseparable from such things, might well have occasioned the coupling of the old story to an actual episode. Of course, we must not forget that Fenouillot had a personal detestation for the Jesuits, whose Order at the time of his writing had been abolished, so that there could be no official denial of his story; nor must we forget that even if Fenouillot got his story from popular rumor, he could well model it on the

riques, Vol. VII (1869), pp. 614 f., who adds: "Le récit de cette histoire est reproduit jusqu'en 1860, dans le travail que deux érudits bisontins consacrent à la description de leur ville natale, et plus récemment encore, la *Revue Germanique* s'en empare . . . sous la rubrique A. M. D. G." While deploring the vagueness of such references, I may state that it was M. Droz of Besançon, who with scholarly fairness examined this question.

²⁰ See T. de Loray, *op. cit.*, p. 616.

Légataire. All this made me wonder whether this tale ever belonged to popular lore, and whether there were other examples of such a plot being acted out in actual life. For the first question, though some critics insist that Regnard's story contains the typical "esprit gaulois," and that as such it probably belonged to the *fabliau* type of mediæval literature, so far as I know there is no such plot in the *fabliaux*, nor in French tales. Professor Toldo, who is an expert on the subject, also looked for it in vain. As to actual occurrences in France, I found a few which, for the sake of curiosity, I think worth reporting. One is given in the *De l'Art de la Comédie* ²¹ by Cailhava, who says, talking of the *Légataire*: "Quant au fond de la comédie, Regnard n'a fait que mettre en action une aventure arrivée dans le Languedoc. La voici:

Histoire véritable.

Un gentilhomme campagnard étoit à toute extrémité; il envoie chercher un Notaire dans une ville voisine pour écrire le testament qu'il veut faire en faveur de la femme la plus vertueuse, la plus fidelle. Mais, hélas! dépêché un peu trop vite par un Médecin tort expéditif, il prend congé de la compagnie avant d'avoir dicté ses dernières volontés. La veuve jette les hauts cris, quand le précepteur de ses enfans, qui l'avait aidée dans le particulier à soutenir publiquement le caractère de prude, et qui l'avoit souvent consolée des infirmités de son mari, trouve le secret de la consoler encore de sa mort précipitée. Il enlève le défunt, le transporte dans un autre lit, se met à sa place, attend le Garde-note, avec les rideaux bien fermés, et, d'une voix mourante, dicte un testament, par lequel il laisse unique légataire sa chère épouse. Ce titre convenoit à la Dame, à quelques formalités près!"

Now here is undeniably the "esprit gaulois!" The author then adds an interesting remark: "L'aventure que je viens de rapporter est très-vraisemblable dans toutes

²¹ (Jean François) de Cailhava (d'Estendoux), *De l'Art de la Comédie*, Paris, 1786, II, pp. 406, 407.

ses circonstances ; il est même à parier que dans les campagnes elle se renouvelle souvent, parce qu'une telle fourberie peut s'exécuter avec beaucoup de facilité : cependant, transportée sur la scène le principe de l'action manque de vraisemblance."

A somewhat similar occurrence is told by Pitaval in his *Causes Célèbres*.²² Here the victim is a poor old widow, Françoise Fontaine, of Bordeaux, who, hypnotised by a most unscrupulous ruffian, was persuaded to make some bequests in his favor. But before making a regular will she died. This did not disconcert Quiersac, the above-mentioned ruffian, in the least, for he at once found Guillemette Rainteau, a woman extremely poor, in worldly goods as well as in moral scruples, who was ready to help him, and together with another worthy they planned to have Guillemette dictate a will according to their pleasure. When the two notaries were present and the pseudo-Françoise was asked to express her last wishes, she began, with her face turned to the wall and with a hoarse and broken voice, by leaving three thousand francs to herself. Says Pitaval:²³ "Il n'y a pas apparence qu'elle voulut imiter la Comédie de Regnard . . ." and then he actually quotes three pages of the *Légataire* before coming back to the crafty pair. This affair got the two notaries suspiciously implicated, but finally, innocence asserting itself, the guilty were condemned, and Pitaval, after sermonizing on the frequently wicked influence of the stage, comes to the philosophical and resigned conclusion that this crime "est une ancienne fourberie ; on ne soupçonnera pas les acteurs de cette intrigue criminelle de l'avoir imitée d'après les exemples de l'histoire, il y a apparence qu'ils l'ignoroient :

²² *Op. cit.*, pp. 279 f., in the chapter called *La Fausse Testatrice*.

²³ *Op. cit.*, p. 285.

mais le cœur de l'homme est le même dans tous les tems, la cupidité lui suggere les mêmes expédiens et les mêmes artifices pour venir à ses fins."

As late as the nineteenth century we find an echo of the *Légataire* story in a rather unexpected place: the *Mémoires d'un Touriste* of Stendhal.²⁴ Here under date of Nivernais, the 20th of April, (1837), Stendhal says that he heard one evening in a beautiful castle the following story, which actually occurred to a local notary, M. Blanc. One night this notary, who was caution personified, and perpetually afraid of getting into trouble, was called with an associate, to write the will of an old man who was so near death as to have completely lost his speech. The notary therefore wrote the will under the direction of the old man's daughter there present (the son was in another part of the country), and at each bequest received from the moribund gentleman an emphatic nod of approval. It so happened that in the midst of this ceremony a stray hound entered the room barking wildly, and upset everything. In the attempt to run the beast out the notary unconsciously dropped his handkerchief. As soon as the dog was gone, the will was completed, and the notaries dismissed. On his way out our friend M. Blanc saw his handkerchief, and stooping to pick it up noticed under the bed two legs. He was too dismayed to speak, but as soon as he reached the street he reported the fact to his associate. A long discussion followed as to whether they should go upstairs and investigate these two legs, at the risk of incurring the enmity of Madame, or not. For Madame was socially very prominent—which worried the cautious M. Blanc dread-

²⁴ De Stendhal (Henry Beyle), *Mémoires d'un Touriste*, Paris, 1854, pp. 43-47. This parallel was discovered by Mr. Rabizzani, who reported it in the above mentioned article in the *Marzocco*.

fully. But they resolved to return upstairs, ostensibly to enquire about the old man's health. Madame received them coldly and said that her father, fatigued by the ceremony, was asleep. The crestfallen notaries returned downstairs, re-argued the matter at length, and finally, mustering their united boldness, resolutely decided to make a second inquiry. Madame received them still more coldly and said that her father was fully as fatigued and as much asleep as twenty minutes ago. On this trip, however, the embarrassed M. Blanc had time to peek under the bed, where he saw . . . nothing. And he left the house for the third time, still wondering: why those legs? Finally, the two worried notaries determined to take all risks and report the matter to the police, among whom was a young Parisian officer who, upon hearing the case, exclaimed at once: "Why, this is the scene of Regnard's *Légataire*, let me go to the house immediately." As soon as Madame saw the gendarme appear she fainted; and her husband, pressed by the threatening speeches of the officer, soon confessed that his father-in-law having died that very morning, rather than see the estate divided, they had put a trusted peasant under the bed, had taken two slats out, made a hole in the mattress, through which he could thrust his hands and appropriately regulate the nods of the old man. Then Stendhal, in his characteristic manner, adds: "J'ai oui citer dans mon voyage plusieurs faits semblables; souvent, dans les petites villes, il y a des soupçons, mais, au bout de deux ou trois mois, on parle d'autres choses. Ce qui est important en pareille occurrence, c'est d'éloigner les chiens."

Here, then, the story, somewhat changed, though still connected with Regnard's comedy, seems to be in popular tradition. Note that Stendhal suggests having heard similar tales in other places, and also that the Nivernais is not

very far from Besançon, both being north of the Languedoc.

Before leaving Regnard I must say a couple of words about the *Légataire* as a literary source in itself. It was in fact imitated at least twice. Professor Toldo²⁵ mentions an old German scenario of a curious *commedia dell'arte* called: *Anselmo der Kranke in der Einbildung oder Das durch List erzwungene Testament*. As he notes, this play has the stock characters of the improvised plays, Anselmo, Colombina, etc., and among them Hans Wurst, which is the German name for the famous Zanni. Of course it is nothing more than a meaningless coincidence that the original hero of our story should be named Gianni. Let me note also that Regnard's impostor, Crispin, exactly performs the two usual functions of the traditional Zannis of the *Commedia dell'Arte*: namely, getting money out of a stingy old man, and bringing together the pining lovers. It is interesting to find some connection between this story and the *Commedia dell'Arte*, because, knowing how closely Regnard had been connected with the Italian players in Paris—he even wrote several comedies for them—it looks alluringly possible that Regnard should have got from the Italians a hint of this plot of the counterfeit will. Had this been true, the Italians would very plausibly have got their material from the Cademosto-Granucci story, directly from a Dante Commentary or from hearsay. Unfortunately, however, no trace has been found of this plot in the *Commedia dell'Arte*.²⁶

²⁵ See his above mentioned article in the *Gior. Stor. d. lett. ital.*, 1906, p. 123 in a foot note, where he refers to A. Von Weilen, *Eine deutsche Stegreifkomödie*, in *Bausteine zur roman. Phil., Festgabe für A. Mussafia*, Halle, 1905, pp. 108-116.

²⁶ Professor Toldo, who is so familiar with this subject, also searched in vain, and Miss Winifred Smith, of Vassar, who published the excellent book *The Commedia dell'Arte*, (New York, 1912),

Another imitation of Regnard occurs in England. Thomas King, a prominent actor of Garrick's time, wrote a farce entitled *Wit's Last Stake*,²⁷ also called *A Will and No Will*. On the back of the title page is written: "*Le Légataire Universel*, A French Comedy, which furnished many materials for this little piece, may be found among the works of Monsieur Regnard." As a matter of fact it not only "furnished many materials" but everything, for King's "dramatic trifle," as he calls it himself, is nothing but a direct translation, with a few slight changes and a little re-arrangement of scenes, of those parts of the *Légataire* which contain our story. To be exact, King used the following scenes of Regnard: Act I, Sc. 1-9; Act II, Sc. 8; Act III, Sc. 10; Act IV, Sc. 2, 6-8; Act V, Sc. 4. Thomas King²⁸ was an excellent actor, a merry gambler, a friend of Sheridan and Hazlitt (the latter mentions him in his *Dramatic Essays*), and a very interesting personality, but as a dramatist he had nothing to say. This is, therefore, not much of a contribution to literature. King

kindly writes to me that she does not remember ever running into this kind of plot. Nor do I find it even mentioned in such works as Agresti's *Studii sulla Commedia italiana del secolo XVI*, Napoli, 1871, or G. Pellizzaro's *La Commedia del secolo XVI e la novellistica anteriore e contemporanea in Italia*, Vicenza, 1901.

²⁷ Thomas King, *Wit's Last Stake*, a farce, as it is performed at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, London, 1769. This has not been reprinted and is rather rare.

²⁸ For more information on King see D. E. Baker's *Biographia Dramatica*, London, 1812, Vol. I, part 2, pp. 435-440 and the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

As this study is going to press I note a little article by Georges Roth, *Une adaptation anglaise du Légataire Universel*, in *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France*, Janv.-Mars, 1914, pp. 174 ff., in which he discusses this very play by Thomas King. I am glad to see that in his criticism of this farce Mr. Roth agrees with the opinions I here express.

adds nothing to the *Légataire* episode. On the contrary, feeling obliged once or twice to expurgate Regnard, whose humor is notoriously pretty coarse, he makes this English farce much less effective than the French.

I do not think there are other adaptations of the *Légataire*.

The best version of the story in English, and probably the wittiest in any language, is that given by Charles Lever, in *The Confessions of Con Oregan* (1848), a kind of fantastic biography of a rogue. The very first chapter contains the very same Gianni Schicchi story, told in Lever's cleverest humor. With typically Irish style, Lever adds to the elements of the original story, the *Leitmotiv* of whisky. Each time the cheated heir grumbles at the bequests that the impostor is making to himself, the latter begins to cough desperately, and as if he were choking his last, mumbles: "I am getting wake; just touch my lips again with the jug," . . . and here the dying man took a very hearty pull, and seemed considerably refreshed by it. After which, in a still more mournful voice, he added: "Ah, Peter, Peter, you watered the drink!"

Apparently Lever got his plot from one of the Dante Commentaries,²⁹ though he does not say so, nor do his biographers.³⁰ Lever lived for a long time in Italy, in Flor-

²⁹ This had been noticed by W. W. Vernon, see his *Readings on the Inferno of Dante*, Vol. II, p. 499, in a foot-note.

³⁰ E. Downey in his *Charles Lever, His Life in his Letters*, London, 1906, pp. 287, 288, publishes a letter of Lever dated Bagni di Lucca, Jan. 20th (1849?) in which he says: ". . . Have you received *Con Oregan*? Of course its paternity was plain to you." Here Lever is obviously referring to the authorship of the whole book, however, and not to the source of the first chapter. In another letter (p. 291) he remarks "*Con Oregan* is a secret, and I hope it will remain so. It is atrociously careless and ill-written, but its success depending on what I know to be its badness, my whole aim has been to write

ence, Genoa, Lucca, and was British consul at Trieste; so that it is very probable that he should have seen the Gianni Schicchi story. Needless to say that he took full advantage of his source, and neglected none of the humorous possibilities of the original.

I have found no other versions of this plot in English literature.³¹ But Lever's excellent short story was recently dramatized by Mr. Leonard Hatch, for the Harvard Dramatic Club, which presented it successfully under the

down to my public." This is not very clear information. W. J. Fitzpatrick in *The Life of Charles Lever*, London, 1879, Vol. II, p. 169, says: "*Con Cregan* . . . was undertaken at the suggestion of the 'same old school-fellow' of whom Lever makes honourable mention in his Preface to *The Daltons*. 'I happened at the time,' writes Major D——, 'to get a Spanish version of *Gil Blas*, which I preferred very much to the original French; and I wrote to Lever saying so, and adding that he ought to try something in the *Gil Blas* style. It was while he was living at Bregenz . . . It was a regular pot-boiler. *Con Cregan* was therefore a failure." I find nothing more definite than that concerning Lever's sources, and I do not find this story in *Gil Blas*.

³¹ Jonson's *Volpone* has really no connection with the plot in question. I am at a loss to explain why Eugenio Camerini, in his *Divina Commedia*, Milano, 1887, p. 240, commenting on Gianni Schicchi, should quote from *The Rival Twins* of George Farquhar. This play has not the slightest connection with the Gianni Schicchi story, no more than dozens of will-plots. Much closer is the parallel kindly suggested to me by Professors J. W. Cunliffe and J. Erskine, of Columbia University, namely, Thomas Hardy's story called *Netty Sargent's Copyhold* in his *Life's Little Ironies*. Here a young girl places the body of her uncle, who had just died intestate, on a chair by a table and pretending to guide his feeble hand actually signs a will in her own favor, while the notary, who is kept out of the room, watches the scene from the garden, and then ratifies the will. For a similar case, which actually happened, see Maurice Méjan, *Recueil des Causes Célèbres*, Paris, 1810, Vol. IX, pp. 13 f. But as such stories do not have the element of impersonation and mercenary dictation of a false will, they strictly cannot be included in my study.

title of *The Heart of the Irishman* in 1909.³² Finally, I see that in Paris, at the Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier, a play was given at the beginning of February entitled *Le Testament du père Leleu*, in three acts, by Martin du Gard,³³ which has this same old plot. Here again an old peasant dies, succumbing to an overdose of "eau-de-vie" given by his maid, who then calls in a neighbor to make a counterfeit will. This worthy neighbor makes a clean sweep of the situation by bequeathing the whole of the old farmer's property to himself, and upon the departure of the notary, jumps out of the window to escape the rage of the servant girl, who is left to weep out her despair "on the bed which had been the scene of her double disappointment."³⁴

It would seem from the foregoing examples that though this story does not actually belong to folk-lore,³⁵ it may well have been in popular tradition, especially in France. I hear that it is told also in Sicily. Of course, I make no claims to having exhausted the subject. Indeed, such studies as these, spreading over all literatures, are naturally inexhaustible, and I shall be glad to see others add to the material here for the first time gathered together.

³² Professor W. A. Neilson, in criticizing this play for *The Harvard Crimson*, said, "It was a pretty piece of pathos with a bit of delightful farce in the middle . . . the central situation was uproariously funny." This play is still unpublished. Another unpublished one-act play, taken directly from Gianni Schicchi, and called *The Shearer of Sheep*, was written in 1910, without the slightest knowledge of Mr. Hatch's, by Mr. Karl Schmidt, of New York, and myself.

³³ See *Journal des Débats, Revue Hebdomadaire*, Feb. 13th, 1914, p. 257 f.

³⁴ This play was briefly reported by *The Boston Herald* of March 8th.

³⁵ I do not find anything even similar to it in such works, for instance, as W. A. Clouston's *Popular Tales and Fictions*, or in J. A. Macculloch's *The Childhood of Fiction*.

From which it also appears that whether the plot in question ever belonged to tradition or not, it has most probably been acted out in real life, at various times and places, and has given occasion in at least three different literatures to excellent bits of fiction. It is interesting to note, then, in this new example, how constant is the intermingling of fact and fiction—which is the same as saying, of life and literature. So that such a search for literary parallels is not a futile quest of petty plagiarisms, but rather a miniature study of a human motive—so human, indeed, as to subsist in various countries for centuries. Let me note also how Dante, who occasioned the first literary manifestation of this story, was the only one to take it *au tragique*, by putting its crafty hero in the depths of hell's torments for his sinful impersonation. And, strange contrast indeed, it is ultimately this obscure sinner of Dante's *Inferno* who becomes in literature the prototype of clownish craftiness, the merry hero of stories and farces that have amused people from the thirteenth century to our very days.

RUDOLPH ALTROCCHI.

IX.—THE AMERICAN DIALECT DICTIONARY

I wish to call attention to a work of national importance, which, in the judgment of those best entitled to an opinion, should be accomplished within the next decade, if it is to be well done. As is doubtless known to everyone here to-day, there has been in progress for many years a plan to prepare and publish an adequate dictionary of our American vernacular speech. But the details of the undertaking, the plan that should be followed, and the special reasons for making more rapid progress are matters that have received comparatively slight attention, even in this Association of representative American scholars.

Very rarely has a question directly bearing upon our distinctive American speech been presented before this Association in the past twenty years. We listen with interest to papers of much learning and research on obscure dialectal questions relating to medieval French and German literature, and we do well, but we generally assume that questions relating to the peculiarities of our American speech will be sufficiently looked after by the American Dialect Society. At all events, the entire responsibility for considering the history and the present character of the language we try to speak is relegated to that Society. From one point of view this is well. The special questions relating to the details of American speech may be best considered by an association organized for that purpose, but an association formed, as this is, for the investigation of modern languages cannot entirely escape the duty of considering from time to time the fortunes of the language in which the transactions of the Asso-

ciation itself are printed. If one may judge, however, from the number of those that support the American Dialect Society and its investigations, there is in many quarters a very languid interest, and probably a very imperfect understanding, of the purpose of that Society. This lack of understanding in the outside world we have come to take as a matter of course. While Secretary of the Society I used regularly to receive inquiries from vaudeville agencies as to our lowest charge for a single performance. Perhaps I need not here explain that as professional entertainers on the vaudeville stage we have nothing to offer.

Doubtless one reason for this lack of interest and understanding is the fact that most Americans fail to realize that their pronunciation, their turns of phrase, and their vocabulary have American peculiarities, dating back hundreds of years, and they are inclined to resent the suggestion that their utterance is in any sense dialectal. As a whole, cultivated American speech is remarkably homogeneous, and when free from affectation compares very favorably with the best that England has to offer. An Englishman would have great difficulty in distributing the present audience into groups on the basis of dialectal differences, though in some degree such differences unquestionably exist.

But dialects flourish, not exactly in solitude, but in relative isolation. And there are dialect centers in America, where communities have been little disturbed for generations and have, without a thought of peculiarity, continued the habits of speech common in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. All sorts of cross-currents of speech have met, even in these communities, so that the historic continuity has been somewhat broken; and we have no-

where in America strongly marked dialects such as have been rooted for centuries in England or Germany or Italy. We have, rather, at most, a compromise speech which is a blend of elements not originally homogeneous. The pioneer from Dorset, for example, had as neighbors a Yorkshire man, a Warwickshire man, a Scotchman, an Irishman, and his children or grandchildren have picked up something from four or five chief sources, according to the degree of intimate association, while the main current of their speech represents what they have had in common with the language of the country at large.

These linguistic survivals are a more precious possession than we sometimes realize. It is not a matter of trivial interest that we have preserved in out-of-the-way corners of America some of the most expressive words of Dryden and Shakespeare that have long since vanished from literary English; that in our Southern States we have still current the ancient neuter pronoun *hit* which meets us so often in our earliest English and so rarely in literature after the fourteenth century.

The completion within the past decade of the great English dialect dictionary in six portly volumes of about a thousand pages each emphasizes the value of dialectal survivals and makes it possible to measure in some degree the extent and character of the work to be done in America. On this side of the Atlantic, however, the problem is in some particulars far more complicated than in England, owing to the peculiar conditions of development in a new country.

What some of these are we may well consider for a moment. America, as we cannot too often remind ourselves, was colonized for the most part in the seventeenth century. The English settlements made a thin fringe of civilization

along the Atlantic coast. Behind them stretched the great forests, the great rivers, and the great prairies. In the same century the French Jesuits and some French soldiers of fortune made their way into the regions of the North and the Valley of the Mississippi and left various French names, including those of their favorite saints, on a long line of settlements and trading posts from St. Lawrence to New Orleans. Thus the English settlements were kept from expansion toward the West. Quebec, Montreal, Detroit, St. Louis, New Orleans, marked some of the great strategic points where the French had gained a foothold and stood ready to check the advance of the English.

But the westward movement was inevitable and irresistible, and in the course of time the English broke through the frontier line and swept across the prairies to the Pacific. In the main the migration followed the parallels of latitude, the men of Massachusetts and Vermont and Connecticut going by preference to Ohio and Illinois and Iowa rather than to Virginia and Tennessee and Arkansas. The result of this has been that the entire range of States from Massachusetts to California north of Mason and Dixon's Line shows a remarkable homogeneity in vocabulary and pronunciation and intonation. To a considerable extent, the migration of the southern population has not widely deviated from the normal movement toward the setting sun. Of course, I am speaking in very general terms and taking no account of the Southerners who swarmed into Kansas before the Civil War, of the very considerable numbers of Northern investors who have settled in the South, and of the ambitious western farmers who have recently crossed the northern border and taken up lands in the Canadian Northwest.

What I wish now to emphasize is the fact that the older conditions have in large measure passed away; that the frontier has been pushed westward to the Pacific, that the wilderness has largely vanished; that the railroad, the electric trolley car, the motor car and, in particular, the telephone in every rural hamlet, to say nothing of the cheap newspaper and the cheap magazine, have, within the past decade, been rapidly transforming the older conditions of life in America and breaking up the isolation, which, more than anything else, tends to perpetuate dialectal words and pronunciations.

It would indeed be almost a miracle if old dialect words and forms and pronunciations were not swiftly vanishing from current speech in America just as has been the case in England. In the preface to the English Dialect Dictionary¹ the editor notes that "pure dialect speech is rapidly disappearing from our midst, and that within a few years it will be almost impossible to get accurate information about difficult points. Even now it is sometimes found extremely difficult to ascertain the exact pronunciation and the various shades of meanings, especially of words which occur both in the literary language and in the dialects." Time is required to establish a dialect, and except in our oldest American communities there has been lack of time and opportunity for the current speech to grow into dialectal forms. Some of the speech of the far West has been picturesque and vivid to a degree that defies reproduction here; but it has marvellously changed in a single generation, and in the course of another decade or two it may cease to be even a living memory.

¹ Page v.

Up to this point we have taken no account except of the native English element. But the most striking fact in the history of the settlement of the United States in the past half-century is the vast stream of immigrants that have poured into this country from every country of Europe. "The American," as Professor Münsterberg reminds us, "forgets too easily that the American nation is not a nation of Englishmen, but a new English-speaking people, in which the most various elements are fused into something new and original."² Millions of English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, Germans, Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, Lithuanians, Italians, Canadian French, Hungarians, Greeks, Poles, especially Polish Jews, Armenians and Bulgarians have, within the memory of nearly everyone here present, swarmed into this country and done what they could to modify the language that we try to speak. Note the conditions that obtain in Boston, in Lawrence, in New Bedford, in New York, in Chicago, and in hosts of other industrial communities throughout the land. Among these people the matter of prime importance is to be intelligible, and any term, whatever its origin, is likely to pass, provided only it is expressive and not too shocking.

We need not exaggerate the influence of this great foreign population upon our speech. It is true that there are considerable villages and towns in America where practically no English at all is heard, there are great quarters in all our cities where one is reminded at every turn of the speech of the Old World, but it is also true that these people as a whole recognize that their prosperity largely depends upon their mastery, for practical purposes, of the language of the country, and they learn a sort of

² *American Traits*, p. 20.

graceless jargon—what they call “United States”—in which they can express their material needs. The children of these people are often bilingual, using idioms of the foreign language translated literally into English, and sprinkling their German or their Swedish or their Italian with English terms. Said one proud German father: “Es freut mich, dass meine kinder nicht so viele English words brauchen als sie usen tun.”

Not for many centuries has England faced linguistic conditions even remotely comparable to ours, and even during the Danish invasions and the generations following the Norman Conquest there was little precisely like the linguistic problem confronting us in America. The fact to be particularly emphasized is that this foreign population is found, not merely in the cities and towns, but in the country. Countless abandoned farms in New England have been taken up by thrifty Poles and Swedes and Italians. The old New England stock is in many rural communities no longer the dominant race in point of numbers; and in the development of a language numbers are a controlling factor. As a result, quaint expressions current for generations in these ancient communities are no longer heard, for those who used them have vanished for ever.

But in spite of all adverse influences, there still exists in America a much larger amount of traditional material than we sometimes realize. Some of it is in the form of folklore represented by games and superstitions and old ballads, but a much larger amount survives in the words and phrases of an earlier age. As a rule, those who have the most valuable material for our purpose do not live in our busy centres, and they have to be sought out with care and handled with delicate tact.

They are found in the more secluded parts of New England, in the hill towns of the Green Mountains, in the Adirondack and the Catskill regions of New York, in the Eastern Shore district of Maryland and, in particular, among the mountains that wall off the Valley of the Mississippi from the Atlantic Coast. Many of the inhabitants of these regions, sturdy, shrewd and original, have preserved forms of speech that far antedate the War of the Revolution and that are no longer widely used in either England or America.

To gather this material is a task of immense extent, far more difficult to compass than most of the dialectal problems in England, where the restricted area, the relative immobility of the population, and the consecutive development of speech along lines laid down centuries ago, make it possible for the worker to check up and verify his data with comparative ease. It is obvious that in order to get results of much practical value one must determine with approximate accuracy the geographical limits within which a phrase or a pronunciation is current. An individual may use it in any place he happens to be. An untrained collector might thus without warrant determine that a chance New England phrase heard in Arizona represented the typical speech of Arizona.

Incidentally, I may remark, that we must guard against the impression that we are aiming merely to collect the so-called queer expressions. These are often picturesque and they are of untold value to the writer of dialect stories. But a dictionary of American speech must aim to be more than merely amusing or even merely historical; it must record the everyday language as it really is,—the vocabulary, the phonetic peculiarities, such as the geographical range of the nasal twang, of the guttural *r*, the *r* intro-

duced to fill a hiatus, as in *idear*, *African*, and a great variety of other matter.

How great our task is we may perhaps in a measure realize when we recall that the area of the United States is about sixty times as large as that of England, though the population is only about two and a half times as great. To collect the material for the English dictionary took twenty-three years, with the assistance of hundreds of workers. Even when it seemed that the material was sufficiently complete to warrant the editor in preparing copy for the press it was found that the amount would have to be doubled before it would be safe to issue a dictionary purporting to be authoritative. We may note that a part of the material included the eighty volumes published by the English Dialect Society.

To get this work properly done in America within a reasonable time is without question a matter of considerable difficulty. Notwithstanding all that has hitherto been accomplished, there is not at this moment an adequate record of the dialectal vocabulary of a single state in the Union. In none but exceptional cases are we able to trace with accuracy the geographical range of words and phrases characteristic of relatively limited districts. We lack both money and workers. Hitherto, an occasional collector has gathered, usually in an amateurish and unsystematic fashion, a list of terms employed in a region more or less familiar to him. All this is good as far as it goes, for the work of one amateur can be verified by the work of another. But whereas we can now count our active workers by twos and threes, here and there, we should have several hundred, proceeding according to a carefully devised plan and directed by a central bureau. According to this plan each state would be divided into

sections and placed in charge of a director supervising the active workers. He would distribute leaflets of instructions to collectors and slips of uniform size having assigned spaces for the word, the meaning, the region represented, and for a sentence illustrating the use of the term.

Obviously, the amount of time and effort and money that the work will cost will depend upon the sort of book we want. If we could be content with a mere collection of words and phrases known to be peculiar to America at some time and somewhere, but unverified as to their age or locality, we should need only to make a little more complete the collections that we now have. But a book constructed on such a plan would be practically useless for tracing the historical linguistic relation between a given district in America and the mother country, and would serve only to explain the meanings of words without considering the range of their distribution or the period in which they flourished.

But one objection to the plan as outlined is obvious, that the cost is prohibitive; and this is a very serious handicap. If dialect study had to do with some sort of parasitic microscopic worm, there would doubtless be no lack of help from the government or from a well-known institution, to follow up the little beast in all stages of development. What support we get must come from the annual dues of the American Dialect Society, with such contributions as interested men of means may choose to make. There has hitherto been a great amount of unremunerated labor bestowed upon the undertaking, and this will doubtless continue in even greater measure. But such help is in the nature of the case sporadic and hence very unequally distributed, usually lacking altogether at the point where

it is most needed. A certain number of paid regular workers appear indispensable if the undertaking is to make rapid progress.

In any case the money cost will be considerable, even before a line of the dictionary can be printed. Considering all these facts, and, in particular, the inevitable loss within a few years of all of those whose memories antedate the Civil War, may we not fairly appeal for a more active coöperation on the part of the members of the Modern Language Association and, through them, of the men of means whose financial aid is essential to the success of the undertaking?

WILLIAM EDWARD MEAD.

X.—FOUR HITHERTO UNIDENTIFIED LETTERS
BY ALEXANDER POPE¹

I

Button's, Monday, November 12, 1722.

A short Defence of two Excellent Comedies, viz. Sir Fopling Flutter,² and The Conscious Lovers; in answer to many scandalous Reflections, on them both, by a
5 certain terrible Critick, who never saw the latter, and scarce knows anything of Comedy at all.

A FABLE.

There lay in the Road
A venomous Toad,
10 A fine Drove of fat Oxen stood by;
He swell'd and he spit
His Venom, but yet,
Their Beauty, or Size, he cou'dn't come nigh.

Sir,
15 If you approve of what I now send you, and think it worth publishing, perhaps you may hear from me again.

¹ These four letters appeared in *The St. James's Journal*, now extremely rare, on the following dates:—Thursday, Nov. 15 (No. xxix, pp. 172, 173); Thursday, Nov. 22 (No. xxx, p. 178); Saturday, Dec. 8 (No. xxxiii, p. 197); and Saturday, Dec. 15, 1722 (No. xxxiv, p. 201).

² In response to *A Defence of Sir Fopling Flutter*, John Dennis, 1722, in which Dennis answers an old paper of Steele's in *Spectator* 65, declaring that even at that early date Steele had written to prepare the way for his fine gentleman of *The Conscious Lovers*. Dennis's *Remarks on a Play called The Conscious Lovers, a Comedy*, and *The Censor Censur'd in a Dialogue between Sir Dicky Marplot and Jack Freeman* did not appear until 1723, and after these letters.

No Writer, I think, can be more unlucky, than he who sets out with his *Head* (for I scarce believe the Critick has a Heart, or, at least, 'tis an odd Composition) full of *Malice*, and *Spleen*: To a *sensible Reader*,
5 it appears at once, and consequently lessens his Opinion of the Author; nor is it any use to the latter: on the contrary, it overcomes Reason; but, now for the *Heautontimoureneunos*.³

Our *Critick*, at his setting out, declares, he'll not
10 only make Remarks on *Comedy in general*, (which he has with a vengeance) but, that his *Pamphlet* shall also contain just Remarks on the *last new Comedy*, which he then had *never seen*.

Pardon this Digression; but, I think, I need not in-
15 form you, I'm not writing this for *Fame*, because I'll keep myself *unknown*, (not that I'm ashamed of my Cause, tho, I own, indeed I may of my Adversary) my *Profits* are evidently *none*. Why do I write it then? Why, as *Sir John Suckling* says, in a Prologue, "I
20 write it 'cause *I've nothing else to do*." I don't know, but I may be guilty too of an *unworthy* Piece of *Charity*, for twenty to one but the *Critick* will scribble an Answer, and so get a *Dinner*. But, if I should ever trouble you again, it will be no Answer to him, I as-
25 sure you: but, perhaps, general and particular *Remarks*, on *Plays* and *Actors*: since, I happen to be part of the Audience, almost every Night.

Our Critick, thro his whole Preface, rails at the
30 *good-natur'd, worthy, short-fac'd Knight* ⁴ and the three *Managers* of the Theatre, (Which Places they

³ Apparently a mistaken (intentional or unintentional) reference to *The Conscious Lovers*, really based on the *Andria*. Steele had sentimentalized the *Heautontimoureneunos* in *Spectator*, No. 502.

⁴ Steele. The italics are always those of the author.

have gain'd, by near *thirty Years* indefatigable labour and Industry, and the kind Disposition of our *beloved Monarch*, who is for rewarding Merit of *All Kinds*: But, I dare not say any more of that *Great King*, and
 5 *Good Man*, of whom I can never say enough. He pretends to lay open the secret Arts, by which this Play succeeded. 'Tis true, as I have heard, it was read, before Representation, to several Persons of *Quality*, of nice *Taste*; and many *excellent Judges* thought it
 10 worth their while to be at the *Rehearsal*, in a Morning, and all jointly approv'd of it. But, poor Man! (if it were not the nature of the Beast, I could pity him) his Modesty, notwithstanding, couldn't prevent his contradicting the whole Town. As to Advertisements being
 15 publish'd in favour of it, to forestall Approbation; no one can imagine it was a Friend who wrote 'em, since it might have prov'd fatal, to raise the Spectator's Expectations too much: but, People of Sense took 'em right, and the Play happen'd to have *Real Merit*, as
 20 has appear'd by *Throng'd Audiences* and loud Applause.

I can't help being shock'd, to find his *Gracious Majesty* is mention'd, among such a Heap of Scurrility. Oh! but our bloody-wise Politician, forsooth! finds out, that learning, and the Lord knows what, is running to
 25 Ruin, by the Mismanagement of some sordid Wretches, as he is pleas'd to call 'em.

Their Avarice is plain, from the Expence they have lately been at, for *new Habits, Clothes, Scenes, &c.* and to *adorn the Theatre*. But, alas! Authors are discourag'd, and these insolent Fellows won't act the
 30 Tragedy of *Coriolanus*, murder'd from *Shakespeare*, by the *Ingenious Mr. D*——: tho he has, with no less ridiculous Pains than Venom, rail'd at 'em, in an odd Dedication, to their Patron my *Lord Chamber-*

lain, and (to shew his Sense, Good-Nature, and Gratitude, to those, who, too often, have been his Benefactors) told the Town, they are Rogues and Rascals. Oh Lud! who can avoid laughing? Besides, Cloudy forgot, in a Postscript to his late Pamphlet, to inform the Town, that he lately sent a Letter to Sir R—— S—— (as I have been since privately inform'd) wherein, with much good Manners, he threatens the Knight, with *violent Remarks* on his *new Comedy*, unless his Plays are acted. Oh! to be sure, they can do no less. But, for Authors being discourag'd, I believe, the whole Town would be glad if the number of our new Plays were less, and the good old ones reviv'd in their stead: I fancy, the Actors would be glad to have it so too.

Sir, lest I now swell my Epistle to too great a Bulk, I'll conclude for the present; but, if you approve my Design, I shall pursue it against your next Paper, when you may expect to hear from your constant Reader ('tis old to say Admirer, but I am so).

20

Townly.

II

Button's, 18th Nov. 1722.

To the Author of the St. James's Journal.

Sir,

If you are not so intirely taken up with the Affairs of Politicks, as to have no leisure for the Business of us Idle People, Pleasure; my Correspondence, such as it is, is at your service. You must know, Sir, that I profess *Poetry*, and if that were a Science anything were to be got by, I might by this time have been worth a *Pomegranate*; but as things are otherwise ordered, you see I write to you upon the blank Leaf of a Book, which I bought Yesterday, but have not yet paid for.

I observ'd in your last Paper, one of your Correspondents, in the Title of his Letter, promis'd us a short Defence of the *Conscious Lovers*; but it seems afterwards utterly forgot it, and diverted us with his
5 Severities upon the *Old Critick*, and his Panegyricks upon his good Friends (as I suppose 'em) the *Triumvirate*. Now, Sir, you are to understand I am a Person above all that, and as I have thought myself concern'd to see the Representation of this Comedy more than
10 once, I present your Readers, under favour, with the following Account of it.

To begin with the Fable (according to Method) 'tis form'd upon the Model of *Terence's Andrian*. Some Parts of it are little more than a Translation, and so
15 verbal too, that you cannot but recollect the very Words of the *Roman Poet*; which make the *English* appear faint, and insipid by the Comparison, which, I believe, otherwise would not. The Introduction of Women into the Drama, has accommodated it somewhat to our
20 Stage, though the Character of the Aunt is not of absolute Importance to the Design, any more then *Simberton's* and some others. Davus, by being turn'd into a Modern Footman, entertains you; but is not of that consequence to his Master's Designs as in the Original.
25 The Incidents are pleasant, those of disguising the Characters particularly have a chearful Effect. That of the Bracelet is not at all necessary and seems somewhat absurd in this part of the World now-a-days. As for the *Characters* and *Manners*, if there are not
30 many such in real life, (I mean of the principal ones) 'tis pity. They appear at least very gracefully, I believe, in the opinion of the most Profligate. That there are some such Characters in the World is very certain. I think the Poet has very well shown that the Splen-

dour and Shine of high Life is not at all eclips'd by the Honour and Innocence of it. The tender, and at the same time prudent Concern of old *Bevil*, for his Son's Interest and Satisfaction in Marriage, is very well hit; 5 so is the filial Fondness and Duty to the Father with the Struggles of Love and Generosity to the Lady. The entertaining Qualities of the Lady are well express'd by the Author, and represented by Mrs. *Oldfield*. The Honesty of an old Servant has been better 10 hit by this Author in his first Dramatic Work. The Character of *Tom* is a good Satyr enough upon our modern Fine Gentlemen, and at the same time a pleasant Representation of what passes in that low Life, tho' perhaps there is somewhat too much of it; and 'tis 15 to be discern'd, that this Character receives its greatest force from Mr. *Cibber's* admirable Representation. I doubt *Simberton* is a Coxcomb not to be found often in the world, any more than a Good-natur'd Old Maid. As for a learned Lady, the World is full of 'em; it is 20 no new Character, which indeed is hardly to be expected.

The *Sentiments* seem to be pretty much borrow'd from other of this Author's Writings. They have always somewhat striking in them, which those of other 25 Men have not. Those about Duelling have been most distinguish'd in the Conversations about Town. If they have tended to explode this Practice, 'tis very well; and if they have not, 'tis not much the worse. They who generally fall by these Engagements are a 30 sort of Ill-bred People, as careless how they give offence to others, as they are impatient under it themselves: so that the loss of them ought not to be considered of such ill consequence; especially considering them as Sacrifices to Good Manners, and while the News of

these Rencounters is fresh in Conversation, other People are used better during the Suspension of Valour.

It has been said of all this Author's Comedies, that the language is not well adapted to Conversation: how
 5 far this is true of the *Conscious Lovers*, will be better determined when it appears in Print.

Our Author has long been Famous for the *Morals* insinuated and express'd in his Writings. His last Comedy suffer'd extremely upon this very account, as
 10 he tells us himself; and 'twas thought a *moot* Point whether this would not have been as unfortunate, for the same reason. I can't however, reconcile myself to a great part of Squire *Simberton's* Conversation; some of which has since been omitted: nor did I think it at
 15 all of a piece with those Rules, which our Knight has frequently laid down, relating to the Entertainment of a polite Audience, and Circle of Women of Honour. Neither is the exposing the Infirmities of Old Age, and the Impediment of Speech, very reconcileable to his
 20 Doctrines of the Dignity of Human Nature; which, according to him, is sacred and honourable, even in its very Imperfections and Blemishes.

I do not at all meddle with the Probability of his Plot, nor shall enquire how the Parties came to be so
 25 well acquainted with the *Characters*, and yet did not know the *Persons* of their own Council; and how it could happen in Probability, that *Simberton* should never have seen his own Uncle before, nor two or three more. Queries of the same nature.

30 The Author of this Comedy has certainly more Merit, as a writer, than any Man now alive, and the whole Nation have been oblig'd to him for Entertainments intirely new, and for very many Hours of Pleasure which they would never have known without him.

His Wit seems now to flourish anew, to blossom even in old Age. He must always be agreeable, till he ceases to *be* at all. And yet I know not how it is, but whether he has been too liberal of his delicious Banquets, and
5 cloy'd us with the rich Products of his Fancy, it has been almost Fashionable to use him ill: Blockheads of Quality, who are scarce capable of Reading his Works, have affected a sort of ill-bred Merit in despising 'em: And they who have no Taste for his Writings, have
10 pretended a Displeasure at his Conduct. If he had been less Excellent, he might very probably have had more Admirers; as, if he had been less devoted to the Interests as well as the Entertainments of the Publick, he might have been at more Ease in his private Affairs.
15 I am,

Sir, Your Reader, and Humble Servant,

Dorimant.

III

Button's, Dec. 3, 1722.

To the Author of the St. James's Journal.

Sir,

20 I begg'd a Place in your Paper some Time ago for some cursory Remarks upon the *Conscious Lovers*. That Comedy, it seems, expired upon the 18th Night; tho' it appear'd to the Town, that it might have flourished some Time longer, if, upon other Considerations,
25 the Players had not thought proper to give it a violent Death, without waiting for its natural Expiration. But if this was no Force upon the Author, we, of the Audience, have very little reason to quarrel about it; most of us being, I believe, by that time, ready for
30 some other Entertainments. This Play has since appear'd in Print, and is to pass a more dangerous Pro-

bation now than ever. The Industry, the Address of the Actors appears no more; the Habits, the Scenes, the Lights, the Musick, the Company, all the little Baits and Subornations of good Humour and Applause,
 5 where are they? A Reader who lolls in his Closet, and is out of humour with the wet Morning, will take the liberty of being sullen and peevish, and industriously dissatisfy'd. He will expect to find the same Humour in the Stile, which struck him only in some
 10 particular Action: He will look for the *Wit* of such or such an applauded Expression, which the Author perhaps finely intended for a Piece of plain simple Drawing after Nature.

The Author seems, in his Preface, to be well aware
 15 of all this Disadvantage in the *Closet Representation*; and so ought every just Reader to be too. He then proceeds to the Incidents in the fourth and fifth Acts. The former of these I have already considered. The other, I mean, the tender Scene upon the Father's discovery of his Daughter, has received the most reason-
 20 able and natural applause of eighteen successive Audiences, their Silence and their Tears. A Pleasure built upon the most sincere Delight, which no sensible Mind wou'd exchange for the momentary *passant* Transports
 25 of an inconsiderate Laughter. An Applause which a Masterly Writer prefers to a thousand Shouts of a tumultuous and unreasonable Theatre. Some of our best Comedies, *The Fool in Fashion*,⁵ *The Lady's Last Stake*, *The Careless Husband*, have wound up their
 30 Catastrophe in this tender manner with great Success,

⁵ Three of Cibber's sentimental comedies; the first is more commonly known as *Love's Last Shift*. They appeared in 1696, 1708, and 1704.

and never-failing Applause. And our Author has done well, not to descend to a particular Defence of this delightful Scene against the Cavils of Criticks, who, as he rightly observes, *are got no farther than to enquire whether they ought to be pleas'd or not.*

I have the honour, in the Name of all the minor Criticks, to thank our Author for submitting his Song to our Censure and Examination. Tho' for my own part I must own, having had the good luck to get a
10 Copy of it some time before the Play was acted, I have taken the Liberty to set about this great Work long ago, and have already with vast Pains and Application, got through the better half of the first Line. But finding the Work grew upon me, and my Printer very care-
15 fully representing, that a private Man ought not undertake so great a Task, without the Commands of a Prince, or the Encouragement of a Subscription, I shall decline the further Prosecution of this Design, unless perhaps I now and then at my leisure spend an Hour
20 or two for my own Entertainment upon the latter part of that delightful Line—*With downcast Looks a silent Shade.*

Some Wags have been very jocose upon the Manner of Expression, at the beginning of the last Paragraph
25 of the Preface, where the Knight seems to be surprised that any thing Mr. *Cibber* has told him should prove a truth. But leaving this lively Generation to themselves, who are always most pleasant upon the gravest and most important Subjects, I beg leave to observe
30 upon the Author's Translation of *Terence*, that tho' he might very well value himself upon it, yet the best Translation must in our Language be forc'd and unentertaining, especially upon the Stage, where the Audi-

ence cannot avoid recollecting and comparing it with the Original. *Terence's* Beauty, as well as *Horace's*, consists chiefly in the Happiness of Phrase and Expression; and even the Man who understands both
 5 Languages perfectly, will miscarry when he attempts to translate either of those Writers into ours.

The Revival of *Philaster* was an Attempt that deserv'd more Success than it met with: The natural Rise of the Distress in that Play, that Simplicity of Passion
 10 in the young Maid, with the many fine Passages throughout, pleas'd every one who has a just Taste of those Entertainments; and notwithstanding the Success of the *Conscious Lovers*, the Town are certainly ne'er the better Judges, while that Piece of *Fletcher* is acted
 15 to an empty House. The Spirit and Clearness of Mr. *Wilks* was a true Satisfaction to the Audience, at the same time that they must consider him as a Person long devoted to their Service, and now no longer a young Man; and that whenever they have the misfortune to lose him, he will leave no Heir of his excellent Talents behind him.

The Play of *Alexander*, the Great is a better Burlesque upon Tragedy itself, than that which passes for a Burlesque upon *Alexander*, is upon that Play. I
 25 must not omit doing justice to the Merit of a young Man who represented the principal Character; he is of very great Expectations in that Profession, and would certainly discharge a more reasonable Part with greater Satisfaction to good Judges, as well as more
 30 Ease to himself.

I am, Sir, Yours,

Dorimant.

IV

Button's, 12 Decemb. 1722.

To the Author of the St. James's Journal.

Sir,

I Hear several People have thought fit to quarrel⁶
with me for my opinion of *Philaster*, which I shall take
5 an Opportunity to justify as to the Fable, Sentiments,
and Diction, when I have nothing better to entertain
you with. I take notice, that several of my gloomy
Brethren of this Coffee-House, are not able to compre-
hend whether I am a Friend or an Enemy; whether
10 I am heartily in the Interests of the Theatre, or else
am secretly growling over some old Grudge, which I
don't care to own. At present I shall only declare
that a Dramatic Piece finely written, and justly repre-
sented, is, in my opinion, a most reasonable Entertain-
15 ment, and is capable of being made a very useful one;
but that the Reputation of my Understanding ought to
rise or fall at *Button's* Coffee-House, just as my Sub-
ject happens to lead me to censure or commend the
Transactions of the Neighboring Stage, is certainly
20 very unjust Usage of your Humble Servant,

Dorimant.

P. S. *The following lines have been
in good Reputation here, and are now
submitted to Publick Censure.*

25 If meaner *Gil—n* draws his venal Quill,⁷

.

Who would not weep if *Ad——n* were he!

⁶ There are no other letters in the Journal concerned with these matters.

⁷ These lines are printed in this their original form in Pope's Works, Elwin and Courthope, Vol. v. Corrigenda, p. 445. For their final form, see *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*, lines 151-214.

POPE'S AUTHORSHIP CONSIDERED

The four letters here reprinted from the *St. James's Journal*, with the exception of that part of the postscript to the fourth constituting the earliest known form of Pope's caricature⁸ of Addison, have received little⁹ or no consideration. They have been taken at their face value as merely so many darts hurled by two among the many undistinguished combatants in the scurrilous word-play of the day. But certain peculiarities in the fourth letter strike even a casual reader: the circumstances of the anonymous publication of these satirical verses, the place at which the letter is dated, and the wording of the postscript itself.

The verses were known to exist by at least one of Pope's friends prior to this date, for on February 26, 1721/2 they were mentioned in a letter by Bishop Atterbury,¹⁰ who asks the poet for a complete copy; but that Pope should *unintentionally* allow the most brilliant bit of satire he ever produced to pass out of his control, seems, to say the least, improbable. That, had he done so, he should forget the piracy, or have occasion to hazard the false date of

⁸ Although Mr. G. Aitken pointed out in *The Academy* (Feb. 9, 1889) that this famous satire had appeared first in print in this journal on Dec. 15, 1722, the old error started by Pope and revised by Curll (*The Curliad*. London, 1729, p. 12) to the effect in its final form that it had appeared first in *Cythereia*, 1723, is still repeated in such authoritative works as Professor Lounsbury's *The Text of Shakespeare* (N. Y. 1906, p. 300) and *The Cambridge History of English Literature* (1913, Vol. IX, iii, p. 87). Mr. Courthope's reasoning based on revisions in the various versions is also invalidated (Pope's Works, Elwin and Courthope, III, pp. 231 ff. See also v, p. 445).

⁹ See *The Life of Richard Steele*, G. Aitken, London, 1880, II, p. 284.

¹⁰ Courthope, III, p. 231.

1727¹¹ again seems improbable. If, however, he had been free in his exhibition of these lines, indecent so soon after the death of Addison, it seems little short of preposterous that it should have been to one of the devotees of Button's, the Coffee House of Addison, Steele, Philips, and Tickell, that he should have committed them. The last point immediately conspicuous is the absurdly improbable statement made by the publisher of these lines "that they have been in good Reputation" there at Addison's favorite Coffee House, among the survivors of his "little Senate."

These considerations almost inevitably give rise to the suggestion of how pleasant it would have been to Pope to fasten the authorship of this libel upon one of Addison's own disciples; it is *Alceste* and the filthy book all over again. The inconsistencies are at least sufficiently surprising to justify one in following back this series of letters of which these verses by Pope are the conclusion, to see whether or not they themselves throw any light on the author and Pope's responsibility in the matter.

The first of this remarkable series is devoted primarily to an attack upon John Dennis, the critic, who figures as the "venomous Toad"¹² in the clumsy fable at the head.

¹¹ In defense of himself, Pope laid the blame for the first publication of these verses upon Curll (1727), who retorted that they had already appeared in 1723 (*Curliad* as above). It seems inconceivable that this attack on Addison from Button's could have remained unknown to Pope, or the publication of his verses, if piratical, have been forgotten. If they were published without his connivance, here was his complete exoneration; if not, he had every reason to ignore this 1722 edition.

¹² It is hard to imagine Pope writing this fable, but conceivable in an assumed part. At all events, Dennis in his *Reflections, Critical and Satyrical, upon a late Rhapsody called an Essay upon Criticism* (1711) had called Pope "a hunch-backed toad." That was not too long before for Pope to remember and retort,—“Toad in your teeth, Mr. Dennis.”

Incidental to this vehement arraignment is a eulogium of "the good-natur'd worthy short-fac'd Knight,"¹³ Steele, the three Managers of the Theatre, and the King himself,¹⁴ at once so incoherent, so equivocal, and so fulsome as to pass the bounds of credulity as a sincere endeavor. Certainly it is hard to see anything but studied ambiguity in such passages as: 237, l. 28-p. 238, l. 5, p. 238, ll. 14-20 (See also p. 240, l. 6).

Over and above all the absurdities of this letter, which seems calculated to bring into ridicule every person mentioned, no less those praised than those condemned, there are two sentences in particular that may be of some significance. The *dinner joke* as applied to Dennis early in the letter (p. 237, ll. 20-23) may have been a commonplace, but at all events it figures in the second of those verses by Pope quoted by Dorimant (applied to Gildon), and was evidently in Pope's mind at this time. The second passage comes near the end of the letter (p. 239, ll. 11-14), and sets forth Townly's belief that no harm were done in discouraging authors, and decreasing the number of new plays, so that the good old ones were revived. This passage is hardly that we should have expected from such an enthusiastic defender of Steele's latest production. Furthermore, and especially, this is the very line of argu-

¹³ "short-fac'd" may have been a fairly common epithet for Steele, but it does not seem to occur in that pamphlet by Dennis which Townly is answering. He is therefore introducing a gratuitous sneer into what purports to be a defense. Only in the later *The Censor Censur'd* (1723) does the expression "Mr. Short-Face" occur, and there but once (p. 4). In the earlier pamphlet, it is always, "Sir Richard," or "the facetious Knight."

¹⁴ The irony is apparent. As to Pope's attitude toward the King, in *Remarks upon Mr. Pope's Translation of Homer*, Dennis had called Pope an enemy of his King, Country, and Religion. Sir Leslie Stephen in his life of Pope observes (p. 85), "Pope's references to his Sovereign were not complimentary."

ment adopted by *Dorimant*, ostensibly a different writer, to add a final touch of disparagement to his review of the admittedly successful *Conscious Lovers* in a succeeding letter (p. 246, ll. 12-15).

The most ridiculous feature of this first letter is, however, that while it purports to be a defense of two plays, the writer carefully abstains from making any critical comment on them whatsoever. He further promises, if his first letter is printed, to contribute again. Notwithstanding this fine offer, he completely disappears from the scene, but in his place appears one *Dorimant*, who writes the promised critique, taking as his point of departure the failure of his predecessor.

If the former writer were ambiguously fulsome, the second assumes a judicial tone, beginning as one who rather grudgingly is compelled to admit imperfections. If the writer had set out definitely "to damn with faint praise," he would not have proceeded differently. So subtly veiled is the author's use of delicate suggestion and equivocal sarcasm, that at the end of the letter the reader may hardly be aware that he has been presented with a catalogue of all the weaknesses and absurdities malice could hope to find. So nearly a verbal translation of its Latin original is the play (p. 240, ll. 12-18) that reminiscence makes the "English appear faint and insipid," which, adds the writer in a conciliatory tone, otherwise he believes would not. Very gently does he sneer at the "Characters and Manners" (p. 240, ll. 29 ff.). The sentimental scenes are touched upon with apparent praise. One of the finest bits of characterization, which it would have been unsafe either to censure outright or to pass over he disposes of with the utmost adroitness (p. 241, ll. 10-16). Similarly Steele's sensational lines on dueling are made no great matter (p. 241, ll. 25 ff.). So also touching the dialogue and plot, the writer strikes.

yet feigns to withhold his hand (pp. 242, ll. 3-6; p. 242, ll. 23-29). Probably no better illustration of the left-handed way in which this writer doles out praise, and his remarkable talent for fixing a sting in the tail of a compliment can be found than the passage at the end (p. 242, ll. 30 ff.) in which, while apparently lauding Steele to the skies, he points out the disagreeable fact that it has become fashionable to abuse him, and touches upon his troubled private affairs. These could hardly have been brought in for any other purpose than to serve as a well-calculated sneer.

In the next letter, the writer continues his assumption of impartiality, but with less consistency. He admits that the audience is glad to have the play withdrawn (p. 243, ll. 27-30), and while exhorting the reader to be fair to the play under the more trying examination of the closet, suggests that it cannot so well endure this. In particular, he animadverts upon one of the "tender scenes" (p. 244, l. 18-p. 245, l. 1) with an apparent delight which can not fail to be held suspect on the part of the admirer of Terence and the older drama, supporting his eulogium by reference to *three of Colley Cibber's sentimental comedies*. According to his wont, however, he does not leave this praise without its scorpion's tail; for, to clinch the matter, he gravely quotes from Steele's own preface a passage which here sounds like anything but sense (p. 245, ll. 1-5), and immediately proceeds to open ridicule of that preface and Steele's song (p. 245, ll. 6-22). And now at the end of his review proper, like the writer of the first letter, he falls to disparaging Steele by a reference to the older drama (p. 246, ll. 7-15).

Apparently these criticisms were taken too seriously to please the writer, for in a third letter (fourth in the series) he voluntarily lifts the cap and reveals the wolf

(p. 247, ll. 1-20). The ambiguous character of these letters, which we have been tracing, had puzzled also "several of my gloomy Brethren of this Coffee House," and left them uncertain whether the writer were a friend or an enemy "secretly growling over some old grudge." The writer snaps his fingers in their faces and proceeds to print the satire on Addison.¹⁵

Such is the series of letters ending in the publication of the satire which Pope had probably written a considerable time earlier: one signed "Townly," which, taking a flying shot at Dennis (Pope's old enemy, and the unconscious occasion of Pope's original quarrel with Addison), tends to make Steele ridiculous by a fulsome and incoherent eulogy, and which, by failing to do what it sets out to, opens the way for another attack; and three, over the name of "Dorimant," which no less subtly conceal their malice beneath suggestion and an assumption of judicial fairness. Both writers succeed in an attack upon Steele; both, although assuming different points of view, agree in the use of insincerity, both agree in the method in which, as a last stab, the current drama is placed below the older. The last writer has in some way become possessed of Pope's most splendid satire; the former used a turn of speech occurring in the second line of this passage: nothing is proved (proof, in the nature of things, can hardly be looked for) but much is suggested.

In the light of what has been said and a careful reading of the letters themselves, it will readily appear that:—1) the last three letters are a hoax of some sort; 2) the first, absurd in itself, affords the approach for these;

¹⁵ Compare Pope's conduct relative to a travesty of one of the Psalms the publication of which he tried to disown. Lounsbury, *The Text of Shakespeare*, pp. 204-205.

3) the irrelevancies are no more than barely sufficient to support the character we conceive the writer to have assumed; 4) the perpetrator of the hoax was an enemy of Dennis, Steele, and Addison (an admirer of Cibber?), had Pope's unpublished verses, felt authorized to "submit them to public censure," and manifests throughout a point of view readily consistent with what it known to have been Pope's.

The situation at the time was this: Pope had this satire, which he knew was superb, by him. He had feared to publish it during Addison's life time, and common decency forbade publication so soon after Addison's death.¹⁶ Steele and the whole Button crew moved his spleen every time he thought of them. Steele wrote a successful play, admittedly successful. This irritated him still more. Little was to be gained by the saw and cleaver method of Dennis in defiance of popular approval. Here was a chance for a little fun with the "short-fac'd knight."

Whether a malicious desire for fun first led Pope to write the preposterous letter which opens the series, and from which, as not affording the most advantageous point of attack, he shifts to the posture of a second contributor; whether it was only at the end of this hoax, as an after-thought, that he tacked on his verses, seeing here an excellent opportunity to produce them in safety and put off a joke on his old enemies: or whether he concocted the whole scheme as a stalking horse behind which he could accomplish his original purpose of publishing these lines, can hardly be determined. Knowing Pope's inveterate fondness for chicanery, that he "could not drink tea without strategem," recalling his similar trick in the case of

¹⁶ At a considerably later period these verses demanded a defense. *Curliad* as before.

Philips's Pastorals, when his letter ¹⁷ of feigned commendation deceived Steele himself, and considering all the imposture, falsification, and trickery that was shortly to attend the production of the *Dunciad*, one could find even the latter view conceivable; and the verses actually are the culmination of the series.

Only on the ground that they are by the same hand, and that, Pope's, are these four letters entirely intelligible; but admitting Pope's authorship, they become as clear as day, their purpose, their inconsistency, their sarcasm and cunning. Satire of this sort, when not "the oyster knife that hacks and hews" is sometimes difficult to identify, but these letters seem almost as clearly akin to the essay in the *Guardian*,¹⁸ as the Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot is to *The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace* (Imitated).

M. ELLWOOD SMITH.

¹⁷ *Guardian*, No. 40.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

XI.—THE THEME OF *PARADISE LOST*

Lovers of Milton's poetry occasionally note with regret signs that his great epic is losing its influence upon the mind of the race. Hence, any attempt to revive interest in *Paradise Lost* deserves the sympathetic attention of students of literature. Such an attempt is the article of Professor E. N. S. Thompson, *The Theme of Paradise Lost*, printed in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, March, 1913. As I venture to differ from the writer, however, in a number of important particulars, I shall attempt to formulate what seems a more comprehensive view of the meaning of Milton's epic.

But before undertaking this, it might be profitable to consider some of the representative views of scholars and critics; for *Paradise Lost* has been the subject of a vast body of critical writing, and opinions have been expressed almost as varied as those upon *Hamlet*.

The most widely accepted, and what was for a long time the orthodox theory, is that *Paradise Lost* is a theological and historical epic, dealing with human and super-human facts, its action beginning before the creation, and ending with the disposition of things for eternity. Its central conceptions are the truths of Christianity, represented with splendor of language, and in certain portions with wealth of poetic ornament. The attitude of earlier critics who accepted this view was, in the main, one of unstinted admiration. Dennis and Addison may be taken as representatives. Even Dr. Johnson, who was bitterly opposed to Milton on the subject of politics, and out of sympathy with many of the traits of his character, yet revered

his achievement in *Paradise Lost*, and mentioned as an undisputed fact that 'the substance of the narrative is truth.'

But with the nineteenth century there came a different view of the universe. Biblical criticism and the advance of scientific knowledge made it impossible for many to accept as literal truth the Biblical account of the creation and the fall. The matter of *Paradise Lost* is consequently to be discarded, and the fame of the poem is to rest upon the sublimity and harmony of its style. The chief representative of this class of critics is Edmond Scherer.

Another variety of the critical opinion which considers that in substance *Paradise Lost* is theological and historical is found in Mark Pattison's work on *Milton*. 'Milton's mental constitution, then, demanded in the material upon which it was to work, a combination of qualities such as very few subjects could offer. The events and personages must be real and substantial, for he could not occupy himself seriously with airy nothings and creatures of pure fancy. Yet they must not be such events and personages as history had portrayed to us with well-known characters, and all their virtues, faults, foibles, and peculiarities. And, lastly, it was requisite that they should be the common property and the familiar interest of a wide circle of English readers.'¹

Again, 'The world of *Paradise Lost* is an ideal, conventional world, quite as much as the world of the *Arabian Nights*, or the world of the chivalrous romance, or that of the pastoral novel. Not only dramatic, but all, poetry is founded on illusion. We must, though it be but for the moment, suppose it true. We must be transported out of the actual world into that world in which the given scene

¹ Pattison's *Milton*, p. 177.

is laid.'² The inconsistency in these passages is significant; the writer seems to be following two divergent paths, historical accuracy, and purely literary appreciation.

A second class of critics, who believe that the Biblical account of the creation and the fall is a myth, yet who have been deeply impressed by the grandeur of Milton's epic, have resorted to another method of interpretation. Assuming that Milton's avowed purpose to

assert Eternal Providence,
And justify the ways of God to men

was a misconception of the true spirit of his undertaking, they consider the epic to be chiefly symbolic and poetic. On this view, the poet himself may not be fully conscious of his own deeper meaning.

Among this class are those who hold that the subject of the poem is the revolt of Lucifer; that Satan is the hero; and the central idea, the struggle of liberty against authority.

The romantic poets of the nineteenth century, especially Byron and Shelley, accepted this interpretation; and it is congenial to the more recent idealization of the Superman. Readers of Jack London will recall in *The Sea-Wolf* the admiration of Wolf Larsen for those passages in which Satan is the dominating figure.

A contemporary essayist holds that the 'True theme is Paradise itself'; that the profound value and interest of the epic resides in its poetic realization of the ideal of pastoral literature in the portrayal of the Eden bower.³

Another contemporary believes that *Paradise Lost* is an allegory dealing with the political, religious, and social

² Pattison's *Milton*, p. 183.

³ P. E. More, *Shelbourne Essays*, p. 239.

conditions of Milton's own time; ⁴ that Satan is the hero, or better, the villain of the poem; that he represents the Roman Church; that the creation of Adam and Eve symbolizes the Protestant Christian world; that the description of Adam and Eve in the Eden bower is "a remarkable picture of the ideal Puritan combination of Church and State"; that Michael represents Cromwell and pure religion.

Finally, there is the article already mentioned of Prof. E. N. S. Thompson. He maintains that *Paradise Lost* is not concerned with history or theology, but is symbolic. The poet 'sees beneath the "fable" certain enduring truths regarding man's relations to the opposed forces of good and evil. . . . Milton's theme is philosophical, not historical or theological.'

In brief, Professor Thompson seems to consider *Paradise Lost* simply an allegory embodying an idealistic system of ethics, accepting as fact the existence of evil, and emphasizing the enduring truth of free-will, and the possibility of the ultimate triumph of good.

That this is an inspiring and, from one point of view, a justifiable interpretation will be readily granted; but it does not seem to me the whole truth of the matter, nor does it approach as near to historical accuracy as may reasonably be expected. After a glance at the different theories of *Paradise Lost* enumerated above, one is impressed by the necessity of caution in accepting a theory, especially an allegorical interpretation of Milton's epic. And at the start we should keep in mind the distinction between allegory and allegorizing. Allegory is fiction consciously framed by its author as a means of expressing abstract ideas. Allegorizing is a process of allegor-

⁴Rev. H. G. Rosedale, *Milton Memorial Lectures*, pp. 109-10.

ical interpretation by subsequent critics. The safest method of approach is doubtless the historical one. What did the poem mean to the author and his contemporaries? Then, in the light of their interpretation, what can it mean to us? On this method special weight should be given to the text of the epic itself; to Milton's essay on *Christian Doctrine*, in which he expressed abstractly conceptions which he represented concretely in *Paradise Lost*, and to the criticism of contemporaries or immediate successors, who, partaking of Milton's general attitude toward man, nature, and God, would probably share his views of the significance of the poem.

After going over this ground as impartially as possible I cannot avoid the conclusion that in composing *Paradise Lost* Milton thought he was dealing with real and historical facts. The fundamental matter of his poem is the Christianity of his time as he accepted it. *Paradise Lost* is simply an elaboration of The Christian Epic as outlined by Professor Santayana in Chapter vi of his *Reason in Religion*. I cannot read Milton's prophetically solemn statement of his purpose in Book I without feeling that he meant just what he said; that he was to sing

Of Man's first disobedience, and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree whose mortal taste
Brought death into the World, and all our woe,
With loss of Eden, till one greater Man
Restore us, and regain the blissful seat.

Professor Thompson states that 'Milton could not write as Hebrew annalist or Christian theologian. He was free to read the Bible as a poet, not a historian, and to interpret it liberally.' Milton's own discussion of The Holy Scriptures in *Christian Doctrine*, Chapter

xxx, gives me an exactly opposite impression. 'The writings of the prophets, apostles and evangelists, composed under divine inspiration, are called the Holy Scriptures.'⁵

'The Scriptures, therefore, partly by reason of their own simplicity, and partly through the divine illumination, are plain and perspicuous in all things necessary to salvation, and adapted to the instruction even of the most unlearned, through the medium of diligent and constant reading.'⁶ 'No passage of Scripture is to be interpreted in more than one sense.'⁷ The author, however, allows exceptions to this rule. 'The rule and canon of faith, therefore, is Scripture alone.'⁸ 'Lastly, no inferences from the text are to be admitted, but such as follow necessarily and plainly from the words themselves, lest we should be constrained to receive what is not written for what is written, the shadow for the substance, the fallacies of human reasoning for the doctrines of God, for it is by the declaration of Scripture, and not by the conclusions of the schools that our consciences are bound.'⁹ Milton's literal interpretation of the Scriptures is evidenced throughout this work. He evidently accepts the Biblical account of the creation and the fall, and the miracles;¹⁰ and he believes in the reality of angels, good and evil.¹¹

The tendency of the nineteenth and twentieth century mind is directly away from this point of view. The story of the creation and the fall is now generally regarded as a myth, and the doctrine of the verbal inspira-

⁵ *C. D.*, p. 437.

⁶ *C. D.*, p. 440.

⁷ *C. D.*, p. 442.

⁸ *C. D.*, p. 445.

⁹ *C. D.*, p. 443.

¹⁰ *C. D.*, pp. 169, 253.

¹¹ *C. D.*, p. 213.

tion of the Scriptures has been largely discarded. But there is no reason for crediting Milton with views of science of which men had at that time hardly begun to dream.

As a suggestive classification of Milton's outlook, the history of myths might be divided into three stages. At first there is the era of unquestioning belief. Later, in a more sophisticated time, there arise doubts and differences of opinion, and the corresponding necessity of explanation and apologetics. Finally, in a scientific or philosophic age, the myth is either entirely discarded, or, by an allegoristic interpretation, is made the artistic medium for the presentation of some significant truth. According to the present writer, Milton lived in an age of transition from the first to the second period. But the modern interpreters, ignoring the vast changes which two centuries have made in the mental life of the race, have proceeded summarily to classify Milton with themselves.

Professor Thompson, in support of his contention that Milton 'values the rebellion of Lucifer and the sin in Eden not as historical fact but as symbolical of moral truth,' cites *Paradise Lost* 5. 570-576.

Yet for thy good
This is dispensed; and what surmounts the reach
Of human sense I shall delineate so,
By likening spiritual to corporeal forms,
As may express them best—though what if Earth
Be but the shadow of Heaven, and things therein
Each to other like more than on Earth is thought!

This species of symbolism Milton explained more definitely in *Christian Doctrine*. 'When we speak of knowing God, it must be understood with reference to the imperfect comprehension of man; for to know God as He really is, far transcends the powers of man's thoughts,

much more of his perception. . . . Our safest way is to form in our minds such a conception of God as shall correspond with his own delineation and representation of himself in the sacred writings.' ¹² In other words, the superhuman beings are represented as they are in *Paradise Lost*, because that method is in accord with the divinely ordained symbolism of the Scriptures. The use of this symbolism, however, does not negate belief in the reality of the rebellion of Lucifer any more than it does faith in the being of God; but it changes the locus of that reality from the material realm of human perception to the region of the spiritual and the super-sensuous. Milton's description of the revolt of Lucifer is merely adapted to human comprehension; it is a material symbolization of historical facts in the supersensuous world. This symbolism, of course, refers not only to events and personages, but also to the moral and spiritual forces which they represent; but the point I wish to emphasize is that the events which Milton narrated through the mouth of Raphael he considered in the main actual events, although their reality was in a different sphere from that which is possible to human perception.

This theory, if true, exonerates Milton from many of the charges of inconsistency in his narrative; such as his anthropomorphism, and the confusion of material and immaterial acts ascribed to the angels.

Not only Professor Thompson's contention that Milton considered the revolt of Lucifer valuable for its symbolism of abstract ideas alone, but also his treatment of Milton's devil as a mere personification of the forces of evil, is lacking in historical perspective. Impossible as the belief in a personal devil is to most people now, it

¹² *C. D.*, pp. 16, 17.

was not so in the age of Milton. 'Throughout the *Old and New Testament* the devil figures as a personage free to dwell where he pleases, and to act as he will'; and he is so represented, together with the legions of other evil angels, in Chapter ix of *Christian Doctrine*. Students of the Middle Ages are familiar with the conception of an actual personal devil, the originator and head of the forces of evil in the universe—the prince of the powers of the air—able to assume at will various forms. The modern tendency to attenuate his Satanic Majesty to a mere personification is the last insult. We have only to recall the Salem Witchcraft to be convinced how firm at one time was the conviction of the existence of demonic agencies. Philology as well as history verifies this view. *Ephesians* 6; 12, 'For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places,' means simply: 'We are fighting against wicked demons of the upper air.'¹³ The transition from the mythological to the modern view of the devil is illustrated in Burns' *Address to the Deil*. Burns was, at least while sober, completely emancipated and able to address the devil with patronizing good humor. But his 'rev'rend grannie' was thoroughly orthodox in her belief, and Burns was, too, when he was drunk.

Turning to the earlier criticism of *Paradise Lost*, not only did the vast body of Milton's contemporaries agree with him that the epic is elaborated upon a basis of historic fact, but the critics, the cultivated men of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries so interpreted it.

¹³ Greenough and Kittredge, *Words and Their Ways in English Speech*, p. 258.

John Dennis wrote of Milton as a modern poet who surpassed all the ancients and all the moderns, because, availing himself of the enthusiasm derived from religion, he wrote under the inspiration of true religion, or Christianity. Dr. Johnson wrote in his life of Milton: 'We all, indeed, feel the effects of Adam's disobedience; we all sin like Adam, and like him must all bewail our offenses; we have restless and insidious enemies in the fallen angels, and in the blessed spirits we have guardians and friends; in the redemption of mankind we hope to be included; in the description of heaven and hell we are surely interested, as we are all to reside hereafter either in the regions of horror or bliss.'

The main reason, then, for concluding that Milton believed that his epic was built upon a basis of historic fact is that it was founded upon the Scriptures, which were accepted as revealed truth by Milton and the mass of his contemporaries. But there is another well-known fact in support of this view—Milton's idea of the function of poetic inspiration. In more recent times there has been a division of human faculty; objective truth being given to the domain of science, and the subjective world of imagination and fancy being relegated to the poet. But in Milton's time this division did not exist, and the imagination was considered an organ in the acquisition of truth. Poetry was held by Sidney and the scholars who inherited the theories of classical criticism as a more philosophical and higher thing than history. Milton looked upon his art as a sublime mission. He identified the muse, Urania, with the spirit of prophetic inspiration. In discussing the Holy Spirit he wrote:¹⁴ 'It is also used to signify the spiritual gifts conferred by God

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¹⁴ C. D., p. 153.

on individuals.' In other words, Milton considered the gift of poetic inspiration as one phase of the Holy Spirit. He selected for his subject truths revealed in the *Old Testament* by God, and he believed himself also a chosen medium of revelation:

Descend from Heaven, Urania, by that name
If rightly thou art called, whose voice divine
Following, above the Olympian hill I soar,
Above the flight of Pegasean wing!
The meaning, not the name, I call; for thou
Nor of the Muses nine, nor on the top
Of old Olympus dwell'st; but, heavenly-born,
Before the hills appeared or fountain flowed,
Thou with Eternal Wisdom didst converse.

Another consideration may help to support the view that Milton believed in the historical reality of the main characters and events of his epic. He is accused of blending incongruously the truths of Christianity with the fictions of pagan mythology. But this objection has been answered by De Quincey. 'To Milton the personages of the heathen Pantheon were not merely familiar fictions, or established poetical properties; they were evil spirits. That they were so was the creed of the early interpreters. In their demonology the Hebrew and the Greek poets had a common ground. Up to the advent of Christ the fallen angels had been permitted to delude mankind. To Milton, as to Jerome, Moloch was Mars, and Chemosh Priapus. Plato knew of hell as Tartarus, and the battle of the giants in Hesiod is no fiction, but an obscured tradition of the war once waged in heaven.'¹⁵ I have already noted how Milton gave the name Urania to the spirit of divine inspiration; and one quotation will, I believe, verify De Quincey's theory:

¹⁵ Quoted by Mark Pattison, *Milton*, p. 198.

The hasty multitude

Admiring entered; and the work some praise,
And some the architect. His hand was known
In Heaven by many a towered structure high,
. . . Nor was his name unheard or unadored
In ancient Greece; and in Ausonian land
Men called him Mulciber; and how he fell
From Heaven they fabled, thrown by Angry Jove
Sheer o'er the crystal battlements: from morn
To noon he fell, from noon to dewy eve,
A summer's day, and with the setting sun
Dropt from the zenith, like a falling star,
On Lemnos, the Ægean isle. Thus they relate,
Erring; for he with this rebellious rout
Fell long before.¹⁶

Milton, in the words of Mark Pattison, 'conceives a poet to be one who employs his imagination to make a revelation of truth, truth which the poet himself entirely believes.' And when he employs fictitious names and describes material actions it is but as symbolism of that higher reality which transcends human perception and comprehension. It must be admitted that Milton did supplement imaginatively (in the current sense) the outline of received fact. The allegory of Satan's meeting with Sin and Death, to which Dr. Johnson strenuously objected, is an instance. So, the incidental personification of Chaos and Night, and of Rumour, Chance, Tumult, Confusion and Discord is a survival of the conventions of mediæval fiction. But that allegorical elaboration may co-exist with a firm conviction of the truth of the subject matter of a work of art may be seen in the case of *The Pilgrim's Progress*.

So much for historical criticism; now, what is to be the attitude of the future toward the greatest epic of the

¹⁶ P. L., I, 732-748. Cf. also P. L. I, 364-375.

English language? The thought of *Paradise Lost*, at least for many, 'can never again be accepted as a literally veracious account of the creation and the fall.' For this reason the poem can probably never again hold quite the place, especially in the popular mind, that it once had. But there is left, for scholars at least, the path of historical receptiveness, and the appreciation of *Paradise Lost* at its maximum will be the reward of the scholar. If we cannot accept Milton's theology, we should be willing, in the words of Professor Trent, 'to realize it imaginatively.' While Milton thought he was writing about a real universe, we can accept it sympathetically as a conventional, imaginary one; just as we accept the supernatural in *Hamlet*, and the fairy world of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Tempest*.

It would be unfair, however, in re-emphasizing the earlier interpretation of *Paradise Lost*, to underestimate the contributions of recent criticism. Beyond what seemed to Milton the reality, material or immaterial, of his characters, there loomed the moral and spiritual meaning which they embodied. By restricting himself to this phase of criticism Professor Thompson has made an important contribution to our understanding of *Paradise Lost*. My objection to his view is solely to his assumption that this interpretation practically covers the field, and that it embraces Milton's own complete view of his epic. As a dramatic poem excels an allegory, because in addition to its abstract or moral significance, it contains the attraction of concrete personalities and the complexity of real events, so to our willing aesthetic imagination the interest in the events and personages of *Paradise Lost* may be added to the value of its ideal significance. 'But though the machinery of spiritual in-

terpretation is thrown aside, the essence of it survives as a permanent gain. The value of human souls and the significance of their destiny are no longer operative as abstract principles to be clothed in allegorical fantasy, but as an added force and tenderness in the penetrative imagination.' ¹⁷

In conclusion, trying to give the broadest possible interpretation of *Paradise Lost*, I would define it as an artificial epic, embodying structurally a theistic and Biblical view of the universe; but including also a superb portrayal of a type of individualism; supreme in its poetic realization of the ideal of pastoral literature; and exemplifying an idealistic system of ethics, which emphasizes the doctrine of free will. In addition to this, it is written with the greatest loftiness and sublimity of style, the reflex of a mind of unsurpassable grandeur. That the poem has, like *Hamlet*, such a breadth of suggestiveness, and elements that are of interest to such a variety of types of mind, is an evidence of its enduring greatness.

H. W. PECK.

¹⁷ Bosanquet, *History of Æsthetic*, p. 161.

XII.—SOME FRIENDS OF CHAUCER

Though no new light seems forthcoming on the nature of the accusation made by Cecily Chaumpaigne against Chaucer, the names of the witnesses (to her release) are not without interest. Of the five witnesses, four¹ were prominent men in their day. Of the fifth, however, nothing has hitherto been known.

Richard Morel was a grocer² whose name first occurs in a list of "certain good folk" of London in 1378-9, from whom the mayor and aldermen borrow certain sums of money.³ In 1384 he is living in Aldgate Ward, and is a member of the Common Council.⁴ Two weeks later (15 Aug.) he is one of the "good and sufficient" men summoned to the King's Council at Reading to hear the trial of John Northampton.⁵ In the following year (1385) the

¹ Sir William de Beauchamp, chamberlain of the King, John de Clanebowe (Clanvowe), a Lollard, and William de Nevylle, Knights, John Philippott grocer and afterwards Mayor of London (*Life Records*, pp. 225 f.).

² *Grocers Company*, edited Kingdon. London, 1886, 2 vols., I, pp. 58, 68.

³ *Calendar of Letter-Books, H*, edited R. R. Sharpe. London, 1907, p. 125. Of the 150 or so contributors about 125 (including Morel) gave each 5 marks. The Mayor gave 10 £, and the remainder 4 and 5 £ each. The City had been charged with crimes against the Lords of the realm who were withdrawing from the city, thereby damaging the victuallers and hostellers. As the city had no funds, and the Mayor wished to bring about reconciliation, this process was resorted to.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 238. Others from Aldgate Ward were William Badby and John Halstede. On the latter see *infra*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 246. A number of the prominent people of London were summoned to this meeting, including some of Chaucer's business friends. Morel appears to have been the only delegate from Aldgate.

mayor "caused good men of each Ward" to meet in the Council chamber to take steps against the threatened invasion of the French. Among those summoned from Aldgate Ward were Richard Morel and John Cobham (fellow J. P. of Chaucer).⁶ In 1386 Morel and William Tonge (vintner and alderman from Aldgate Ward in 1381)⁷ were collectors of murage for the "suburbs without 'la posterne' and for 'la posterne.'" ⁸

In 1388 the Mayor and Aldermen order certain Commons to meet "at the Guildhall on Monday next at 8 o'clock, under penalty of 20 s., to consult on certain matters touching the coming Parliament and the City itself." Richard Morel was among those from Aldgate.⁹ In 1389 he is one of the sureties for the minor of a fellow merchant (John Halstede),¹⁰ also of Aldgate Ward.¹¹ Morel was a member of the Grocers Company,¹² and died before 1397.¹³

It is not difficult to see what sort of man Richard Morel was. He was a grocer of modest means, presumably a retailer, yet sufficiently prominent to be a member of the Grocers Company. He was likewise identified with the civic affairs of London, and also belonged to the Brembre

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

⁷ Beaven, *The Aldermen of the City of London*, London, 1908, p. 10.

⁸ *Letter-Book H*, p. 300. The surveyors of murage were Nicholas Exton (cf. *Life Records*, p. 268), Henry Vanner (cf. *Life Records*, p. 284), and others.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 333.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 345. Morel is here mentioned as a merchant.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

¹² *Grocers Company, etc.*, I, pp. 58, 68. His name occurs in the lists of members who were clothed in livery at Christmas in 1383 and 1386.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 76. At any rate his name does not appear in the list of members for that year.

faction which was particularly favored by the King. Why he should appear with several eminent men as a witness for Chaucer we shall, of course, never know. It is highly probable, however, that he was a personal friend of the poet, and, as a resident of Aldgate Ward, may well have been Chaucer's neighbor.

At the meeting of the Council which Morel attended in 1384 there "were read divers articles by many wise and discreet men."¹⁴ Among the numerous important business matters disposed of, one is of peculiar interest to students of Chaucer. At this meeting it was "agreed that Ralph Strode should have 4 marks annual rent for loss of a mansion over the gate of Aldrichesgate."¹⁵

That the philosophical Ralph Strode of Oxford, inseparably linked with *Troilus and Criseyde*, is identical with the Ralph Strode of London, has never been definitely known. Israel Gollancz¹⁶ is non-committal when he states: "It is noteworthy that soon after the references to Strode cease in the Merton records, a 'Radulphus Strode' obtained a reputation as a lawyer in London. He was common serjeant of the city between 1375 and 1385,¹⁷ and was granted the gate of Aldrich-gate, *i. e.* Aldersgate." Gollancz assumes identity when he says: "The fact that Chaucer was in possession of Aldgate, and resided there at the same date as the Common-serjeant Strode occupied Aldersgate, suggests the possibility of friendly intercourse between the two." Coulton¹⁸ sees "no obvious reason to

¹⁴ *Letter-Book H*, p. 240.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 245. Cf. Introduction, p. xxxiii; *Dic. Natl. Biog.* under Strode.

¹⁶ *Dic. Natl. Biog.* under Strode. Cf. Skeat, *Chaucer* (Complete Works), II, p. 505.

¹⁷ This is an error. Strode was appointed in 1373 (*Letter-Book G*, p. 317).

¹⁸ *Chaucer and his England*, London, 1908, p. 117.

dissociate the city lawyer from the Oxford scholar." Now, by means of an entry, dated 1374, doubts on this point can probably be removed. In this year Ralph Strode of London and Master John Wycliffe of Leicestershire were mainpernors for a parson.¹⁹ That two men, not friends, should go bail for a person is inconceivable. We do know that Wycliffe was associated in a friendly way with a Ralph Strode of Oxford.²⁰ We also know that a Ralph Strode of Oxford disappears when a Ralph Strode of London appears upon the records.²¹ Whether they are the same we have no absolute proof, but it is pretty difficult to believe that there should be two men with the same name associated with the great reformer.

The earliest reference to Ralph Strode of London is in 1373 (25 November), when he was elected Common Pleader²² of the city.²³ In 1375 (27 October) he was granted the mansion over Aldersgate including the gardens, to hold as long as he remained in office.²⁴ (Chaucer had received Aldgate and its gardens for life the year before). 4 November, 1377, the grant of the mansion was extended for life.²⁵ In 1382, during Northampton's mayoralty, we find a curious entry. We learn that Strode

¹⁹ Richard Beneger of Donyngton, Berkshire (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1374-7, p. 94).

²⁰ *Dic. Natl. Biog.* under Strode. In fact they were colleagues at Merton.

²¹ *Ibid.* There was another Ralph Strode of London, son of Robert Strode, mercer. (*Letter-Book H*, p. 310).

²² *Communis narrator* or Common Serjeant.

²³ *Letter-Book G*, p. 317. Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 201, 217, 249; *Ibid. H*, pp. 12, 38, 40, 73, 89.

²⁴ *Ibid. H*, p. 15. Cf. Riley, *Memorials*, p. 388.

²⁵ *Ibid. H*, p. 83. There is no mention of his tenancy of office. Appended to this grant is an account, undated, annulling "for certain reasons" the grant. Sharpe thinks this was appended in Northampton's mayoralty (*Ibid.*, p. 245, n.).

"had of his own accord relinquished his office, and thereby forfeited his title to the mansion (Aldrichgate)." ²⁶ This is cleared up when we learn that Strode received in 1384 (during Brembre's mayoralty) an annuity of 4 marks for the loss of the gate from which he had been "speciously ousted" during Northampton's mayoralty! ²⁷ In 1386 (4 May) this yearly grant was extended for life. ²⁸ (Chaucer lost Aldgate in the following October). 23 May (1386) Strode was appointed Standing Counsel for the city for seven years. For his services he is to receive 20 marks yearly and the same livery as the Chamberlain and Common Pleader. He is not to plead against any freeman of the city except in cases affecting the municipality or a gild, "or the orphans of the City or himself." ²⁹ In 1387, the year in which he died, ³⁰ he was a serjeant-at-arms ³¹—otherwise known as the Common Crier. ³²

Strode, therefore, like Morel, belonged to the Brembre faction which was particularly favored by the King. That he continued in the good graces of this faction until his death is likewise clear. Whatever may have been the reasons for Chaucer's downfall beginning with 1386, of this much we are certain: that in dedicating *Troilus and*

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 208.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 245. This rent is to cease if he be restored to the mansion.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 287 f. This writing was delivered to Strode 18 Oct., 1386. There is no reference to "in case he be restored to the mansion."

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 288.

³⁰ *Dic. Natl. Biog.* under Strode.

³¹ *Letter-Book H*, p. 306. It is not known when he was elected.

³² *Calendar of Wills, Court of Hustings*, London, 1889-1890, 2 Parts. Part I, p. xv. His duties were "to give notice to the judges of the sittings of the Court, and to open and adjourn the same." For oath taken see *Liber Albus* I (*Rolls Series*, Vol. XII, London, 1859), pp. 310 f.

Criseyde to his friend Strode he was conferring an honor upon a man who was a favorite of the King's party.³³

It has been pointed out that Strode, as Standing Counsel for the City in which he was to plead for the orphans and the like, had had abundant experience as Common Pleader.³⁴ Chaucer students will recall that in 1375 the poet was made guardian of the heirs of Edmund Staplegate,³⁵ of Canterbury³⁶ and of John (de) Solys, of Kent.³⁷ Is it not possible that Chaucer owed his appointment—indirectly, to be sure—to his friend Strode? Brembre was one of the Collectors of Customs in this year—a known friend of Strode and the King. However that may be, we may be pretty certain that the two men often discussed matters pertaining to guardianship.³⁸

In connection with the Staplegate affair can be mentioned the name of another person inseparably linked with *Troilus and Criseyde*—John Gower. In 1386³⁹ and 1387⁴⁰ John Gower and Edmund Staplegate were among the purveyors of victuals at Dover Castle. Macaulay⁴¹

³³ Nor should we forget that Strode seemed to have been on friendly terms with Wycliffe who was supported by John of Gaunt (see *supra* and *Dic. Natl. Biog.* under Strode).

³⁴ *Cal. Letter-Book H*, p. 288, n. For Strode's hearing of cases affecting orphans, see *ibid.*, pp. 14, 28, 33, 53, 72, 84, 169. *Ibid. G*, pp. 201, 217.

³⁵ *Life Records*, pp. 196 f., 207 ff.

³⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1350-4, p. 306; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1364-8, p. 373.

³⁷ *Life Records*, p. 198. Of Nonington, Kent. *Ibid.*, p. 198, n.; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1374-7, p. 164.

³⁸ We must not forget, either, that the wives had common bonds of sympathy, though the Chaucers did not lose Aldgate until several years after the Strodes forfeited their rights in Aldersgate. See *T. and C.* (Book v, vv. 263-4) for advice to young people.

³⁹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1385-9, p. 208.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 266.

⁴¹ *The Complete Works of John Gower* (Oxford, 1902), 4 Vols., Vol. iv, p. xi. Bylsyngton manor, in possession of Staplegate, was but a short distance from Dover—in the marsh near New Romney (Cf. Hasted, Vol. viii, pp. 345 ff., 361; also Index, p. viii).

points out this fact but does not say it is the poet Gower. In view of the fact that Staplegate is his associate, the probabilities are that it is Gower the poet. Simon Burley, the Queen's favorite, was constable of Dover Castle at this time.⁴² Accepting these statements, then, we are forced to the conclusion that *Troilus and Criseyde* was dedicated to two friends who were members of the King's faction.⁴³

ERNEST P. KUHL.

⁴² *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1385-9, pp. 175-178, 216, 225, etc. See Index for further references.

⁴³ *The Nation* (March 20, 1913) contains an interesting letter by W. W. Comfort on the "Trials of a Housekeeper in 1400." He quotes extracts from Gower's *Mirour de l'omme*, in which the poet laments the vices of society. The poet attacks among others the victualling class. This poem, however, according to Macaulay was probably written by 1381 (*op. cit.*, I, p. xlii).

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XIII.—IS SHAKESPEARE ARISTOCRATIC? ¹

In the first scene of Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar* the common people are depicted as if they were English mechanics. We are led to wonder whether the contempt expressed in this play for the vile-smelling and fickle-minded Roman mob represents Shakespeare's own attitude toward his humbler fellow-citizens. Indeed, a larger question suggests itself. John Hampden was already of age in 1616, when the dramatist died; in 1649 Charles I was beheaded, and England proclaimed itself a commonwealth. Did Shakespeare appreciate at all the strength of the movement which sought to put limitations upon the king and to increase the power of the people? Where were his sympathies?

The Puritans were interested primarily in religious reforms. But they could not claim for parliament the right to regulate matters of religion without making the same demand in other fields. We find them displaying a steady

¹ A few sentences of this paper have previously appeared in print.

ily increasing independence of mind and a spirit of resistance to the extreme claims of the crown.

Opposed to this growing assertiveness of the parliament and the people stood the sovereign and the nobles, the representatives of privilege and inherited authority. Certain facts undoubtedly caused Shakespeare to antagonize the Puritans, and to favor the crown and the nobility.

The Puritans were intensely opposed to the stage, wishing to suppress all theatrical performances. The London corporation, the governing body of the city, was Puritan in its sympathies, and, during Shakespeare's life-time, allowed no playhouse to exist within its jurisdiction.

We cannot wonder that the Puritans were sharply assailed by the dramatists in many plays. Shakespeare was usually too tolerant to join in this attack; but in *Twelfth Night* Maria calls Malvolio "a kind of puritan," and the comments of the other characters upon him, when they pretend to believe that he is possessed of the devil (III, iv), demand for their supreme comic effect that we should consider him a Puritan.

Stratford, the home of Shakespeare's youth and of his last years, surrendered to Puritanism. In 1568, when the poet's father was bailiff of the city, the corporation entertained actors at Stratford; but in 1602 the sentiment had changed, and the council decreed that any alderman or citizen giving his consent to the representation of plays in the Guild-hall should be fined ten shillings; and in 1612 this fine was increased to £10. The dramatist's own wife and daughters seem to have become Puritans. The epitaph upon his daughter Susanna, who died in 1649, begins:

Witty above her sexe, but that's not all,
Wise to Salvation was good Mistress Hall,
Something of Shakespere was in that, but this
Wholy of him with whom she's now in blisse.

It is hard to realize that Shakespeare's own family probably felt somewhat ashamed of the career of the world's greatest poet.

Queen Elizabeth, James I, and the English nobles were as friendly to the stage as the Puritans were hostile. A famous statute of 1572 made it necessary for a company of players to obtain a license from some member of the higher nobility, permitting them to pursue their calling as his servants; otherwise they were to be considered rogues and vagabonds.

James I arrived in London from Scotland on May 7, 1603. Ten days later he granted to the company of which Shakespeare was a member a patent constituting them his servants. In the list of nine "servants" mentioned by name, Shakespeare stands second. The document is addressed "To all Justices, Maiors, Sheriffs, Constables, Hedboroughes, and other our officers and loving subjects." The favored actors are permitted to play anywhere in England.

The patent concludes with the following remarkable expression of the sovereign's personal favor: "Willing and commanding you, and every of you, as you tender our pleasure, not only to permitt and suffer them heerin, without any your letts, hindrances or molestacions . . . but also to be ayding and assisting to them yf any wrong be to them offered. And to allowe them such former Courtesies, as hathe been given to men of their place and qualitie: And also what further favor you shall show to these our servants for our sake, we shall take kindly at your hands. In witness wherof, etc." ²

Moreover, Shakespeare received the friendship and the

² V. C. Gildersleeve, *Government Regulation of the Elizabethan Drama*, Columbia Univ. Press, 1908, p. 37.

patronage of great nobles. He dedicated two poems, *Venus and Adonis* (1593) and *The Rape of Lucrece* (1594), to the Earl of Southampton, the second in terms of warm affection. In the chorus to Act V of *Henry V* he gives glowing praise to the Earl of Essex, the close friend of Southampton, and presumably his own friend. A record brought to light a few years ago tells of a fee paid "to Mr. Shakespeare" and "to Richard Burbadge" by the Earl of Rutland for an interesting personal service.³ The Folio edition of Shakespeare's plays, appearing seven years after his death, was dedicated to the Earl of Pembroke and the Earl of Montgomery, because they had shown to the plays and to the author "so much favour."

Two significant facts may be here put side by side. In 1593 three prominent Puritans were hanged because of their obnoxious beliefs. At Christmas, 1594, William Shakespeare and others played two comedies before Queen Elizabeth.

Whether the poet was influenced by the considerations that have been indicated or not, many students believe that he favored the monarchy and the nobility, and that he was opposed to increasing the power of the people. Walt Whitman, for example, though showing in his utterances on Shakespeare a genuine appreciation of the poet's artistic greatness, has a firm belief in the anti-democratic spirit of his dramas. He says:

The great poems, Shakespeare included, are poisonous to the idea of the pride and dignity of the common people, the life-blood of democracy.

Shakespeare . . . seems to me of astral genius, first-class, entirely fit for feudalism . . . there is much in him ever offensive to democracy. He is not only the tally of feudalism, but I should say

³ See preface to the revised edition of Sir Sidney Lee's *A Life of William Shakespeare*, Macmillan, 1909, pp. xvi ff.

Shakespeare is incarnated, uncompromising feudalism, in literature . . . the democratic requirements . . . are not only not fulfilled in the Shakespearean productions, but are insulted on every page.

Shakespeare . . . has been called monarchical or aristocratic (which he certainly is).⁴

The publication in 1906 of the late Mr. Ernest Crosby's article on *Shakespeare's Attitude toward the Working Classes*,⁵ called renewed attention to the subject before us. The paper deserves careful study; but the writer is not always fair, even disregarding at times the larger purport of passages which he cites because they contain contemptuous words directed against laborers.

If we take each idea on its good side, we may fairly say that the words aristocracy and democracy embody great complementary truths. The important question is: Does the dramatist give adequate expression to the verity contained in each of these contrasted conceptions?

I

Let us look at the features of Shakespeare's work and the particular plays which have been considered distinctly anti-democratic in their spirit.

I quote from *Troilus and Cressida* a portion of the speech in which Ulysses explains why the Greeks have not yet succeeded in taking Troy:

Troy, yet upon his basis, had been down,
And the great Hector's sword had lack'd a master,
But for these instances.
The specialty of rule hath been neglected:
And look, how many Grecian tents do stand
Hollow upon this plain, so many hollow factions.

⁴ Complete Works of Walt Whitman, Putnam's, 1902, 10 Vols.: Vol. v, pp. 90, 275-6 ("Collect"); Vol. vi, 137 ("November Boughs").

⁵ In the vol. *Tolstoy on Shakespeare*, Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1906.

. O, when degree is shaken,
 Which is the ladder to all high designs,
 Then enterprise is sick! How could communities,
 Degrees in schools and brotherhoods in cities,
 Peaceful commerce from dividable shores,
 The primogenitive and due of birth,
 Prerogative of age, crowns, sceptres, laurels,
 But by degree, stand in authentic place?
 Take but degree away, untune that string,
 And, hark, what discord follows!
 Great Agamemnon,
 This chaos, when degree is suffocate,
 Follows the choking.
 And this neglect of degree it is
 That by a pace goes backward, with a purpose
 It hath to climb. The general's disdain'd
 By him one step below, he by the next,
 That next by him beneath; so every step,
 Exemplified by the first pace that is sick
 Of his superior, grows to an envious fever
 Of pale and bloodless emulation:
 And 'tis this fever that keeps Troy on foot,
 Not her own sinews.

I, iii, 75-136.

We have in the entire speech a very elaborate expression of what Whitman would call Shakespeare's feudal-mindedness. What right have we to accept these sentiments as Shakespeare's own?

In some of the plays there are characters who comment upon the passing action and upon larger questions of life and duty in a peculiarly tolerant, fair-minded way. These semi-detached persons may be called chorus-characters, because their comments seem, in the intention of the author, to reflect ideal truth, somewhat as do the utterances of the chorus in the Greek tragedies. Each chorus-character, though standing within the frame-work of the play, is an impartial spectator of the action, and an ideal interpreter of the play in its larger aspects. Such characters are, for example, the Duke in *Measure for Measure*,

Theseus in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, Prospero in *The Tempest*, and Ulysses in *Troilus and Cressida*. Ulysses, wisest of the Greeks, is properly endowed by Shakespeare with the utmost sagacity. Herford calls him "the mouthpiece of Shakespeare's ripest political wisdom." It would seem, therefore, that these utterances concerning "degree" may fairly be accepted as Shakespeare's own.

Parts I and II of *Henry VI* have also been taken to show Shakespeare's aristocratic sympathies. In Part I the character of Joan of Arc is brutally misrepresented. This fact has been attributed to Shakespeare's aristocratic spirit, to his dislike that a woman of humble birth should interfere in affairs of State. But his extravagant English partisanship is more likely to be the main reason for his unchivalrous treatment of the Maid of Orleans.

In Part II, *Henry VI*, Shakespeare gives a false impression of the rebellion of 1450, headed by Jack Cade. He introduces into the story many features borrowed from the villeins' revolt of 1381. Professor Gardiner tells us that the rebellion under Cade was a justifiable revolt against intolerable abuses. Cade asked "that the burdens of the people should be diminished, the Crown estates recovered, and the Duke of York recalled from Ireland to take the place of the present councillors, . . . that is to say, that a ruler who could govern should be substituted for one who could not, and in whose name the great families plundered England."⁶ We learn nothing about this in the play. Mr. C. W. Thomas declares that this play presents Cade's rebellion "with a mendacity, so far as I know, unsurpassed in literature."⁷

⁶ *A Student's History of England*, Longmans, 1892, pp. 322-3.

⁷ Edition of *II Henry VI* in *The Bankside Shakespeare*, Vol. XIX, N. Y., 1892, Intro. p. xi.

Cade claims to be a Mortimer and rightful heir to the throne of England. Like present-day reformers, he is opposed to the high cost of living.

Cade. Be brave, then; for your captain is brave, and vows reformation. There shall be in England seven halfpenny loaves sold for a penny: the three-hooped pot shall have ten hoops; and I will make it felony to drink small beer: all the realm shall be in common; and in Cheapside shall my palfry go to grass: and when I am king, as king I will be,—

All. God save your majesty!

Cade. I thank you, good people: there shall be no money; all shall eat and drink on my score; and I will apparel them all in one livery, that they may agree like brothers and worship me their lord.

Dick. The first thing we do, let's kill all the lawyers.

Cade. Nay, that I mean to do. Is not this a lamentable thing, that of the skin of an innocent lamb should be made parchment? that parchment, being scribbled o'er, should undo a man? Some say the bee stings: but I say, 'tis the bee's wax; for I did but seal once to a thing, and I was never mine own man since (IV, ii, 69-91).

The clerk of Chatham is then brought before Cade, charged with being able to read, write, and cast accounts, and with setting copies for boys. He is pronounced guilty, and is led off to be hanged.

Says Walter Bagehot: "An audience which *bona fide* entered into the merit of this scene would never believe in everybody's suffrage. They would know that there is such a thing as nonsense; and when a man has once attained to that deep conception, you may be sure of him ever after."⁸

In a later scene, Cade solemnly commands "that, of the city's cost, the [little] conduit run nothing but claret wine this first year of our reign" (IV, vi, 3-5).

Thus Shakespeare ignores the bitter grievances which caused this uprising, and portrays with evident satisfac-

⁸ *The Works of Walter Bagehot*, Hartford, Conn., 1889, Vol. I., pp. 288-9 (Essay on *Shakespeare*).

tion and drastic power the absurdities which he attributes to this English mob and their leader. Naturally this play has been looked upon as a plain manifestation of antagonism to the people.

Julius Cæsar and *Coriolanus* seem to show with especial clearness Shakespeare's hostility to the common folk. Professor MacCallum, in his work on *Shakespeare's Roman Plays*, brings out clearly the indifference of the poet "to questions of constitutional theory, and his inability to understand the ideals of an antique self-governing commonwealth controlled by all its free members as a body."⁹ This mental blindness of the myriad-minded Shakespeare is manifest in these two plays.

The poet is not following Plutarch, his source, when he represents the Roman populace as entirely without intuitive political capacity, as completely fickle, ignorant, cowardly, and subject to demagogues. Plutarch's account of the wisdom and steadfastness of the common people of Rome in securing from the patricians the appointment of tribunes is ignored in *Coriolanus*, apparently because the author is "unable to conceive a popular uprising in any other terms than the outbreak of a mob."¹⁰ In the play, Caius Marcius tells the plebeians:

He that depends
Upon your favours swims with fins of lead,
And hews down oaks with rushes. Hang ye! Trust ye?
With every minute you do change in mind (I, i, 183-86).

It seems clear that the evil smell of the very crowds which thronged his theatre and helped to make him rich was most distasteful to the sensitive player-poet. Casca's contemptuous description of the rabble who "threw up

⁹ Macmillan, 1910, p. 518.

¹⁰ MacCallum, p. 525.

their sweaty night-caps, and uttered such a deal of stinking breath " recurs many times in different forms in the dramas in which the common herd plays a part.

Hazlitt, the good democrat, dislikes intensely the play of *Coriolanus*; he is even led to attack the poetic imagination itself as a " monopolizing, aristocratical faculty " of the mind. He says:

This is the logic of the imagination and the passions; which seek to aggrandize what excites admiration and to heap contempt on misery, to raise power into tyranny, and to make tyranny absolute; to thrust down that which is low still lower, and to make wretches desperate: to exalt magistrates into kings, kings into gods; to degrade subjects to the rank of slaves, and slaves to the condition of brutes.¹¹

Other writers also have felt the whole tone of this drama to be hostile to the people. Brandes, in his venturesome way, holds that the poet was alluding to the strained relations existing between King James and his Parliament; and believes that Shakespeare regarded the populace both of Rome and of England " wholly as mob, and looked upon their struggle for freedom as mutiny, pure and simple." He declares that " we must actually put on blinders not to see on which side Shakespeare's sympathies lie " in this play.¹²

I long felt a dissatisfaction with the play of *Julius Cæsar* which I could not explain. I think that I have succeeded in determining the cause. I believe it to be a defect in this play that nowhere in the last two Acts does Brutus express any sorrow because the republic is hopelessly overthrown. At the beginning of the drama Brutus

¹¹ *Characters of Shakespeare's Plays, Bohn Library*, p. 53.

¹² *William Shakespeare*, one vol. ed., Macmillan, 1899, pp. 534, 536, 542, etc.

is intensely afraid that a monarchy will be established in Rome. This is why he suspects Cæsar.

I do fear, the people
Choose Cæsar for their king (I, ii, 79-80).

The memory of the elder Brutus, who expelled the Tarquins, calls loudly upon him to defend the Roman republic from danger.

Why is it, at the close of the play, that Brutus has forgotten all about the republic; that he is nowhere concerned for the cause to which he was formerly devoted, and for the sake of which he killed his dear friend Cæsar? The fickleness of the people may well have convinced him that a republic is impossible in Rome, but there should at least be some reference to his lost hopes. The conclusion of the drama is in this respect a plain *non sequitur*. It would be a far more powerful catastrophe if we could see Brutus meet death for a principle. As the play stands, he seems to be interested solely in the question how he may die in good form. Why is this weakness allowed to mar the close of the tragedy? My own belief is that Shakespeare, when he was writing this play, had no sympathy with the idea of a republic, that he was personally antagonistic to the democratic spirit, and that at this point, perhaps unconsciously, the needs of the tragedy were disregarded to suit his individual opinions, his personal prejudices.

Mr. Crosby feels that the following lines from *The Tempest* are an insult to the laboring classes:

Prospero. We'll visit Caliban my slave, who never
Yields us kind answer.

Miranda. 'Tis a villain, sir,
I do not love to look on.

Prospero.

But, as 'tis,

We cannot miss him: he does make our fire,
Fetch in our wood, and serves in offices
That profit us (I, ii, 308-13).

In two of his last comedies Shakespeare seems to assert the almost magical power of royal blood to ennoble its possessor. In *Cymbeline* two young princes, ignorant of their kingly origin, have lived from infancy in a mountain cave with the banished courtier Belarius. This foster-father has reared them carefully, but the only explanation which he offers for their princely bearing is the fact of their royal blood: "How hard it is to hide the sparks of nature!"

This same conception is carried to an impossible extreme in *The Winter's Tale*. Perdita, a king's daughter, is brought up from infancy by a shepherd and his wife, and supposes herself to be their child. She grows up without any means of education, so far as we can learn, but seems to be educated, nevertheless. Not only has she exquisite refinement, but in charming poetry she alludes to the stories of classical mythology with complete knowledge and appreciation. The mere possession of royal blood explains it all. Not only does blood tell in her case, but it tells her all that other people learn by hard study. Polixenes, the disguised king of Bohemia, says, as he watches her:

This is the prettiest low-born lass that ever
Ran on the green-sward: nothing she does or seems
But smacks of something greater than herself,
Too noble for this place (IV, iv, 156-59).

Is there not something of courtier-like servility in this extreme glorification of kingly blood?

The fact that Magna Charta is not referred to in any way in Shakespeare's *King John* seems at first sight to

prove conclusively that he was hostile to democratic ideas. But Shakespeare's drama follows very closely the order of the incidents in his source, the old play called *The Troublesome Reign of King John*, printed in 1591. *The Troublesome Reign* knows nothing of Magna Charta, and Shakespeare does not appear to have made an independent study of the history of that period.

II

It is now time to turn to the other side, to examine the elements in Shakespeare's work and the individual plays which show a sympathy for the plain people, an appreciation of the essential worth of lowly men and women. And first let us note that some of the plays that have already been cited are not so distinctly and strongly anti-democratic in their tendency as they have sometimes been supposed to be.

In Renan's philosophical drama *Caliban*, written as a sequel to *The Tempest*, Shakespeare's slave-monster is made into a personification of ignorant democracy, of "the eternal plebeian." But Renan, writing long after the French Revolution, is developing an interesting conception of his own, not interpreting Shakespeare. *The Tempest* was almost certainly written in 1611. The dramatist probably had especially in mind the experiences of the English settlers in the new colony of Virginia. No political interpretation of the relation of Caliban to Prospero is so likely to be true as that which makes Caliban represent the savage serving the settler. Professor R. G. Moulton has worked this out in some detail.¹³ I do not believe

¹³ *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist*, 3d ed., Clarendon Press, 1893, pp. 250-1.

that Caliban was intended by Shakespeare to represent the ignorant populace of England.

So far as the play of *Coriolanus* contains a wise, impartial chorus-character, whose opinions we may accept as those of the poet himself, it is the humorous old patrician Menenius Agrippa, a rôle which is mainly the creation of Shakespeare. Menenius reasons in a kindly way with the populace, and wins them by the force and fairness of his words. He is the character in the play with whom we can most fully sympathize. It is certainly the tribunes Brutus and Sicinius whom the poet scorns most of all. They are artful demagogues of the most unworthy type. But we cannot look upon the central figure of the play as entirely admirable; it is impossible to believe that Shakespeare's full sympathy is given to the proud, intractable, self-destroyed Coriolanus.

In *The Merry Wives of Windsor* the wives of two plain citizens have our entire sympathy as against the knight who would seduce them. This play certainly shows no aristocratic bias. We have "ordinary human beings poking fun at a knight," as Mr. Appleton Morgan puts it.¹⁴

The play of *Henry V* displays a democratic spirit, even though monarchy is the accepted form of government. This drama is the climax of the historical plays; and the youthful Henry Fifth has been considered to be "Shakespeare's ideal of active, practical, heroic manhood."

Throughout this play, Shakespeare feels that his ideal king must show himself the wise leader of a united, capable people. He sees that a thoughtful, intelligently coöperating soldiery is necessary in order to reflect the truest honor upon their king and general.

¹⁴ Intro. to ed. of *Merry Wives* in *The Bankside Shakespeare*, Vol. I, N. Y., 1888, p. 1.

In the latter portion of Act III, Scene ii, Shakespeare introduces an English captain, a Welsh captain, a Scotch, and an Irish, all loyal and efficient fellow-soldiers. This passage seems to be Shakespeare's prophecy of a unified Great Britain, a prophecy which is not yet wholly fulfilled.

Act IV, Scene i, is soundly democratic in spirit. On the night before Agincourt, King Henry goes in disguise among the common soldiers, discussing the situation with them, learning their sentiments, and inspiring them with bravery. The play emphasizes the courage of the plain soldiers. The king grieves because his men are enfeebled with sickness; but, in spite of their "lank-lean cheeks and war-worn coats," they patiently and bravely await the coming battle.

The great address of King Henry to his army in Act IV, Scene iii, is filled with a spirit of genuine brotherhood. He is above his soldiers in place, but one with them in spirit.

He that outlives this day, and comes safe home,
 Will stand a tip-toe when this day is named,
 And rouse him at the name of Crispian.
 He that shall live this day, and see old age,
 Will yearly on the vigil feast his neighbours,
 And say "To-morrow is Saint Crispian":
 Then will he strip his sleeve and show his scars,
 And say "These wounds I had on Crispin's day."
 then shall our names,
 Familiar in his mouth as household words,
 Harry the king, Bedford and Exeter,
 Warwick and Talbot, Salisbury and Gloucester,
 Be in their flowing cups freshly remember'd.
 This story shall the good man teach his son;
 And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,
 From this day to the ending of the world,
 But we in it shall be remembered;
 We few, we happy few, we band of brothers;

For he to-day that sheds his blood with me
 Shall be my brother; be he ne'er so vile,
 This day shall gentle his condition:
 And gentlemen in England now a-bed
 Shall think themselves accurs'd they were not here,
 And hold their manhoods cheap whiles any speaks
 That fought with us upon Saint Crispin's day.

(IV, iii, 41-67.)

Probably the finest motto that aristocracy ever produced is *noblesse oblige*, rank imposes obligation. Democracy would reverse this, and insist that the performance of duty is the right way of winning rank. Our democratic king almost reaches this position in the words just quoted.

Mr. Crosby's explanation that Shakespeare here "puts flattering words into the mouth of Henry V," is manifestly unfair. Harry's words are genuine, sincere. Fortunately these words are read a hundred times oftener than the labored plea for "degree," rank, in the enigmatic and unpleasing *Troilus and Cressida*.

In *All's Well That Ends Well* the lowly-born Helena loves the nobly-born Bertram. The King of France, on condition that she shall cure him of a malignant disease, has promised to give to Helena the husband that she shall choose. She is the daughter of a famous physician now dead, knows some of her father's remedies, and succeeds in curing the King. She then chooses Bertram for her husband; but he is unwilling to accept her. Bertram's mother, the charming old countess of Rousillon, has brought up Helena, and loves and favors her foster-daughter.

In Shakespeare's source, the English translation of one of Boccaccio's stories, the king is 'very loath' to grant Bertram to Helena; but the dramatist remakes the story completely at this point. In the play the King gladly favors Helen's wish, and makes light of noble birth in

comparison with essential worth. He says to the unwilling Bertram:

'Tis only title thou disdain'st in her, the which
I can build up. Strange is it that our bloods,
Of colour, weight, and heat, pour'd all together,
Would quite confound distinction, yet stand off
In differences so mighty. If she be
All that is virtuous, save what thou dislikest,
A poor physician's daughter, thou dislikest
Of virtue for the name: but do not so:
From lowest place when virtuous things proceed,
The place is dignified by the doer's deed:

.
The property by what it is should go,
Not by the title. She is young, wise, fair;
In these to nature she's immediate heir,
And these breed honour:
. honours thrive,
When rather from our acts we them derive
Than our foregoers:
. What should be said?
If thou canst like this creature as a maid,
I can create the rest: virtue and she
Is her own dower; honour and wealth from me.

(II, iii, 124-51.)

These democratic words make as little of social distinctions founded upon blood alone as do the lines of Goldsmith:

Princes and lords may flourish or may fade,—
A breath can make them, as a breath has made.

Walter Bagehot believes that a peculiar tenet of Shakespeare's political creed "is a disbelief in the middle classes. We fear," says Bagehot, that "he had no opinion of traders . . . when a 'citizen' is mentioned, he generally does or says something absurd." But these statements need much qualification. In *Richard III*, in the next scene after we learn of the death of Edward IV, three

citizens of London meet upon the street and discuss the political outlook. They appreciate fully the ominous condition of affairs. "O, full of danger is the Duke of Gloucester!" says one of them. All the citizens are impressed by the dangerous situation.

Truly, the souls of men are full of dread:
Ye cannot reason almost with a man
That looks not heavily and full of fear.

(II, iii, 38-40.)

Indeed, it is a common thing for Shakespeare to assume that the instincts and judgments of the people as a whole are wise and right. The good Duke Humphrey in *II Henry VI* is loved by the common people. King Claudius dares not take any open steps against Hamlet because the prince is loved by the folk, "the general gender." The populace are hostile to King John because they fear that he has murdered the young prince Arthur. Mr. Crosby overlooks this right-mindedness of the English laborers, as Shakespeare portrays them, and seems to be affronted by the realistic details in the following lines:

I saw a smith stand with his hammer, thus,
The whilst his iron did on the anvil cool,
With open mouth swallowing a tailor's news;
Who, with his shears and measure in his hand,
Standing on slippers, which his nimble haste
Had falsely thrust upon contrary feet,
Told of a many thousand warlike French
That were embattailed and rank'd in Kent:
Another lean unwash'd artificer
Cuts off his tale and talks of Arthur's death.

(*King John*, IV, ii, 193-202.)

Charles Cowden Clarke makes the following comparison between Shakespeare and Scott with reference to the way in which they present the relation of master and servant:

We may observe the different sentiment of Shakespeare as regards menial attachment, and that of Sir Walter Scott, who has so often been compared with him. Shakespeare, who in his love for his species seems to have been a cosmophilanthropist, took an evident pleasure in uniting the several grades of society in the bonds of mutual respect and unselfish attachment. . . . He has therefore constantly identified both master and man in one common interest. . . . If we retrace the stories of Sir Walter Scott, we, I think, uniformly perceive that his idea of the connection between master and servant is strictly *feudal*. Throughout his writings we scarcely meet with any other idea of their reciprocal duties than that of irresponsible sway and command on the one hand, with mechanical and implicit obedience on the other, and not a spark of free and intrinsic attachment existing between them.¹⁵

The contrast just indicated may not be entirely accurate; but there certainly are many examples in Shakespeare of devoted love between servant and master. Call to mind the faithful steward of Timon of Athens; the attachment between Brutus and his page Lucius; the fidelity of the aged Adam to Orlando; the faithful service of Pisanio to Posthumus and Imogen; the pitying attendant who watches over Lady Macbeth as she walks in sleep; and the former groom of Richard II, who, just before Richard is murdered, seeks out his old master in order to express his affection.

Shakespeare's darkest, bitterest plays are probably *King Lear*, *Timon of Athens*, and *Troilus and Cressida*. The darkness of *King Lear* is illumined by Cordelia. The fidelity of his steward Flavius forces Timon to admit that the world contains "one honest man." But *Troilus and Cressida* contains neither a good woman nor a good servant. It is in this unpleasant play that we find the lines upon "degree," Shakespeare's most elaborate setting forth

¹⁵ Cited by W. J. Rolfe in his old edition of *Cymbeline*, Harper, 1898, pp. 28-29, from the *unpublished* Second Series of the *Shakespeare-Characters*, loaned to him by Mrs. Cowden-Clarke.

of feudal principles. It seems to have been when the poet's mind was least wholesome that it was most aristocratic.

III

Mr. Denton J. Snider holds that "the purely moral stand-point is not strong in Shakespeare; he is decidedly institutional. He has portrayed no great, heroic, triumphant personage whose career is essentially moral, and who collided with the established system of an epoch and ultimately overthrew it by his thought and example, like Socrates or Christ. . . . The sympathies of Shakespeare were decidedly conservative, institutional."¹⁶

A recent writer, Miss Gildersleeve, speaks thus of Shakespeare's detachment from the political questions of his own day:

Obviously in sympathy with the government and the customs prevailing in his time, the great poet seems to have looked with some contempt upon the populace and their desire for civic rights. But on the whole such questions interested him little,—and religion apparently scarcely at all. The persons with whom he associated, the audiences for whom he wrote, the patrons who assisted him, had no real concern with these ideas which were about to revolutionize the nation.¹⁷

If these words are correct, then Caius Marcius expresses a feeling like Shakespeare's own when he says contemptuously of the Roman populace:

They'll sit by the fire, and presume to know
What's done i' the Capitol

(*Coriolanus*, I, i, 195-6.)

¹⁶ *The Shakespearian Drama: The Tragedies*, St. Louis, 1887, Intro., p. xxxix.

¹⁷ *Government Regulation of the Elizabethan Drama*, Columbia Univ. Press, 1908, pp. 135-6.

A better expression of the American ideal of government than that given in these words could hardly be found.

Mr. George Bernard Shaw says:

I define the first order in Literature as consisting of those works in which the author, instead of accepting the current morality and religion ready-made without any question as to their validity, writes from an original moral standpoint of his own, thereby making his book an original contribution to morals, religion, and sociology, as well as to *belles lettres*. I place Shakespeare with Dickens, Scott, Dumas *père*, etc., in the second order, because, though they are enormously entertaining, their morality is ready-made.¹⁸

These are cogent words; but what writers can be placed in the first order? The great Goethe would very plainly be excluded. Who, in addition to the redoubtable Mr. Shaw himself, is to be included in this select company?

How far does the conservative character of Shakespeare's mind lessen his greatness? Could he have portrayed the world for us with all the fulness and delight for which we thank him if his attention had been diverted to doctrinaire schemes for reform? This much, however, I admit: if in Shakespeare's own thinking he had no vision of the coming of more democratic institutions, then by so much his strong mind failed him.

CONCLUSION

Great poets sum up and interpret the entire development of civilization up to their own time. The greatest pass on from this to forecast in some degree what is to come. Seeing the invisible future, they become true seers, and

¹⁸ In the vol. *Tolstoy on Shakespeare*, Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1907, pp. 166-7.

do attain
To something like prophetic strain.

Plainly the author of *All's Well* and *Henry V* had some measure of this forward vision. If not a John the Baptist of democracy, he was at least one of the prophets.

Shakespeare's natural affinities were with the court and the nobility, the wealthy and influential patrons of the stage. His usual ideal of government was the rule of a benevolent despot, assisted by public-spirited nobles. His general attitude toward society was plainly aristocratic. But he would not be the many-sided genius that the world honors if he had accepted the restrictions of any one set of men, if he had rested content with a single point of view. Man so delighted him, and women too, that he transcended at times the limitations of his own class, and felt his way to a very clear expression of some of the choicest ideas that we associate with the conception of democracy. No one has expressed more effectively than Shakespeare the great truths that rank and honor should be the reward of proved merit; that the settled opinion of the entire people is probably right; that birth is of small importance in comparison with worth; and that faithful love, irrespective of rank, is the greatest thing in the world. Shakespeare has not expressed all the truth about human nature and society, for all time; but who else has expressed so much? Take him for all in all, we shall hardly look upon his like again.

ALBERT H. TOLMAN.

XIV.—THE INFLUENCE OF THE POPULAR BALLAD ON WORDSWORTH AND COLERIDGE

Although both Wordsworth and Coleridge were strongly influenced by the popular ballad, they were attracted by this form for very different reasons and affected by it in very different ways. The one point in common is that this influence was in both cases mainly for good. Wordsworth was drawn to the ballad by its directness and simplicity of style, and by the fact that it often treats of the lower classes of men in what Rousseau would have called a natural state of society. Coleridge took up the ballad for a nearly opposite reason; *i. e.*, because of its remoteness from modern life, a remoteness that left him free play for his imagination. Thus, oddly, Wordsworth cultivated the ballad because it had *once* been close to common life; Coleridge because it was *now* remote from common life and gave him a form remarkably susceptible of that strangeness which the romantic genius habitually adds to beauty. Wordsworth preferred the domestic, or occasionally the sentimental-romantic, ballad; Coleridge markedly adhered to the supernatural ballad.

As the subject is rather complex for a brief survey, the following arrangement will be adopted: to examine in each author separately the influence of the ballad, first generally and in relation to his theory of poetry; secondly, in detail as to the subject, treatment, and form of the poetry itself.

At the outset we encounter Wordsworth's prefaces to the *Lyrical Ballads* and Coleridge's attempts to explain them in his *Biographia Literaria*. Wordsworth's theory of poetry has been such a mooted question that we are

certain to overemphasize his statement of it unless we note what he himself thought of the *Prefaces*. In a side-note¹ on the manuscript of Barron Field's *Memoirs of the Life and Poetry of William Wordsworth* the poet asserts: "I never cared a straw about the 'theory,' and the 'preface' was written at the request of Mr. Coleridge, out of sheer good nature." And again: "I never was fond of writing prose." Coleridge, too,² claims the *Preface* as "half a child of my own brain." We may pause to note that it was rather unfair of the philosopher-critic to tempt his colleague into disadvantageous ground and then fall upon him.

What influence the *Reliques* had upon Wordsworth it may not be easy to determine; that he felt such an influence is proved by the following passage:³ "I do not think that there is an able writer in verse of the present day who would not be proud to acknowledge his obligations to the '*Reliques*'; I know that it is so with my friends; and, for myself, I am happy on this occasion to make a public avowal of my own."

We may safely assert that the influence of ballad narrative treatment upon Wordsworth's conception of poetry was very slight and very indirect. He wrote but few real ballads, though he wrote a good many poems he called ballads. His theory of poetry clearly and repeatedly disavows the only purpose for which a true ballad can exist, *viz.*, the effective telling of a dramatic story for its own sake.

The moving accident is not my trade;

To freeze the blood I have no ready arts:

¹ *Letters of the Wordsworth Family*, ed. Knight, Vol. III, p. 121.

² *Coleridge's Letters* edited by Ernest Hartley Coleridge, p. 386.

³ *Essay Supplementary to the Preface*, 1815. *Prose Works of William Wordsworth*, ed. Knight, Vol. II, p. 247.

'Tis my delight, alone in summer shade,
To pipe a simple song for thinking hearts.⁴

Again, speaking of the *White Doe*, he writes:⁵ "I did not think the poem could ever be popular just (qy. first?) because there was nothing in it to excite curiosity, and next because the main catastrophe was not a material but an intellectual one." All the action proceeding from the will of the chief agents is "fine-spun and unobtrusive"; Emily "is intended to be loved for what she *endures*." Let the dramatist "crowd his scene with gross and visible action"; but let the narrative poet "see if there are no victories in the world of spirit," let him bring out the interest in "the gentler movements and milder appearances of society and social intercourse, or the still more mild and gentle solicitations of irrational and inanimate nature." Wordsworth decries⁶ the qualities of writing which "startle the world into attention by their audacity and extravagance" or by "a selection and arrangement of incidents by which the mind is kept upon the stretch of curiosity, and the fancy amused without the trouble of thought."

Other passages could be added, but the foregoing will suffice to show why Wordsworth's ballads as ballads are unsatisfying. His entire theory (which, at least in this case, underlay his practice) was opposed to the method of the popular ballad. The ballad depends upon action, Wordsworth upon description and reflection; the ballad is objective and impersonal, Wordsworth maintains⁷ that the poet should treat of things not "as they *are*," but "as they *seem* to exist to the senses, and to the passions."

⁴ *Hart-Leap Well*, opening stanza of *Part Second*.

⁵ *Letters*, III, pp. 466, 467.

⁶ *Prose Works*, II, p. 253.

⁷ *Idem*, II, p. 226.

Consequently the ballad proceeds, as Professor Gummere says,⁸ by a "leaping and lingering" method, holding the attention by rapid movement, suspense, and adequate climax; whereas Wordsworth disbelieves⁹ in "gross and violent stimulants" and says¹⁰ that in his poems "the feeling therein developed gives importance to the action and situation, and not the action and situation to the feelings." The ballad is unconscious, existing in and for itself; but in Wordsworth's opinion¹¹ poetry should have a purpose and should be the product of a mind which has thought long and deeply.

In general we may say that no other of the great English poets was by temperament so incapable of writing a good ballad as Wordsworth. All that he got from the subject matter of the ballad was the idea of attaching his descriptions and reflections to a story, or, as it often proved, to an incident. What, then, were these "obligations" to the ballad which the poet was so careful to acknowledge?

The truth seems to be that Wordsworth's genius (which, as Coleridge says, was one of the most marked in English poetry) was scarcely at all imitative. The ballad first suggested to the philosopher that he should convey his teaching by means of narrative. Afterwards it suggested something else far more important; namely, that he should adopt a simple style, close to the usage of common people in real life. In any case, when Wordsworth wrote objectively, he would have written of the peasants who lived around him, but *Percy's Reliques* caused him to write in a more direct and intimate way than Crabbe had done. Yet though the style of *We are Seven* is simple, it is not

⁸ *The Popular Ballad*, p. 91.

¹⁰ *Idem*, I, p. 51.

⁹ *Prose Works*, I, p. 52.

¹¹ *Prose Works*, I, pp. 49, 50.

with a ballad simplicity, but in a manner akin to Blake, whose every phrase must be pondered, even dreamt over, before we realize its full significance. As we read the *Lyrical Ballads* we get not so much the incident that is related, as the personality of the poet; we see things not as they are, but as they seemed to Wordsworth.

It was fortunate that such a profound poet should have early formed a style so lucid, but in other ways the choice of models was not advantageous. Wordsworth evidently thought ¹² he was writing as primitive men had written, and justified his deviation from the prevalent fashion by declaring ¹³ that "poems are extant, written upon humble subjects, and in a more naked and simple style than I have aimed at, which have continued to give pleasure from generation to generation." The foregoing obviously refers to ballads. Wordsworth wrote of humble people as he thought they might have written of themselves, he strove to be a voice to those

men endowed with highest gifts,
The vision and the faculty divine,
Yet wanting the accomplishment of verse.¹⁴

Whether or not he succeeded in this, he gave English literature some of its noblest poetry in the attempt, though his most successful narrative form was not the stanza but blank verse or octosyllabic couplets.

The reason why the narrative style of the *Lyrical Ballads* seems to us often so flat, even now that we know its elements of greatness, is easy to explain. The old ballads which the critics, from Sir Philip Sidney to Professor Child, have taught us to admire are elementally tragic

¹² *Prose Works*, I, p. 77.

¹³ *Idem*, I, p. 66.

¹⁴ *The Excursion*, Book I, ll. 78-80.

and compelling; the ballads Wordsworth preferred were tame and dilute Eighteenth-Century versions. He cultivated the spirit not of "the grand old ballad of Sir Patrick Spence," but of *The Babes in the Wood*,¹⁵ and we may suppose he enjoyed less the stirring tales of Percy and Douglas, than ¹⁶ the "true simplicity and genuine pathos" of *Sir Cauline*, principally (as he knew) the product of the "Augustan" Thomas Percy. Without denying a certain merit to Wordsworth's favorites, we need not be surprised to find insipidities in the poems which they inspired. These faults are prominent from the fact that a simple style more than any other demands an unusual inspiration in its matter to raise it above the commonplace, and Wordsworth could never see when his subject fell from the significant to the trivial. The "gross and violent stimulants" of the old ballad narrative gave vitality to many a weak phrase and line; with the modern poet the interest of each passage started from a dead level and, being helped by no poetic convention of any sort, depended solely on the intrinsic power of the given poetic impulse.

Few writers have dared to depend upon pure poetry (re-inforced, however, by deep moral purpose) so entirely as did Wordsworth, who discarded story interest and all the adventitious helps of imagery associated with poetic stimuli. The result was that he earned all he won. It is of course true, as Coleridge says,¹⁷ that in the *Lyrical Ballads* there is a certain "inconstancy of style" (we should call it a lack of integrity in tone) which intrudes because the poet will not choose suitable subjects, or, having chosen,¹⁸ will not raise the weaker portions to the level

¹⁵ *Prose Works*, I, p. 71.

¹⁶ *Prose Works*, II, p. 243.

¹⁷ *Biographia Literaria*, chap. XXII.

¹⁸ *Idem*, chap. XIV.

of the best by the use of poetical conventions of any sort. But in the *Lyrical Ballads* Wordsworth has established the habit of absolute sincerity which has made his greatest passages and poems a model of what Bagehot justly calls "the pure style" in poetry. How large a share the ballad had in forming this habit every reader must judge for himself. The influence of Milton, while it tended to obviate baldness of style, was at the same time a re-inforcement to Wordsworth's native sincerity. Perhaps even Pope, with whom he rather unexpectedly asserts that he is familiar,¹⁹ may have helped Wordsworth to clarity and memorable lines. But the ballad influence is always to be reckoned with, particularly in some of the greatest later poems.

Having considered the general influence of the ballad on Wordsworth's poetry and theory of poetry, we shall now take up the specific details of his practice. There are three distinct types of influence to be noted: first, imitations of the Eighteenth-Century domestic ballad, usually built around trifling incidents of the poet's own experience; secondly, ballads proper, impersonal poems with genuine story interest usually taken from tradition; and thirdly, poems founded on old ballad ideas but given a totally new significance.

In the first class the subjects are all modern and realistic. We think at once of *Lucy Gray*, *Peter Bell*, *Ruth*, *The Idiot Boy*, etc., etc. This is the class which illustrates Wordsworth's remark that the situations were only used to bring out the characters. Poetry of this class is very uneven, because the simplified style leaves each theme to stand or fall on its merits. In *Peter Bell* a great deal of incident is used rather unconvincingly to account for a

¹⁹ *Letters*, III, p. 122.

change of heart in the hero. In *Ruth* the story brings out the chastened beauty of a soul ennobled by suffering. These two may stand as types of the poet's failure and success; as to the others, let every reader form his own opinion, remembering, however, that a trivial subject may be developed into a far from trivial poem.

A difficulty that besets us here is to distinguish between the ballad and the lyric in a given case. Where shall we class *The Reverie of Poor Susan*, or *The Childless Father*, or *The Fountain*? As all the poems are in a sense lyrical, *i. e.*, the vehicle of personal feeling, and none strictly a ballad, we shall give up any formal attempt to classify them. In the *Lyrical Ballads* Wordsworth sometimes uses subjects remote in place, but he introduces only two which are set in the traditional past. Of these *Hart-Leap Well* begins with a true narrative swing, but shirks the climax ("I will not stop to tell how far he fled Nor will I mention by what death he died"), runs into description and reflection, and ends with a moral. *Ellen Irwin* belongs to the second class of ballad influence.

Despite the praise given to the *Lyrical Ballads*, Wordsworth hardly ever returned to their method. He may have felt that the blank verse of *The Brothers* and *Michael* was a less dangerous and more dignified medium for the lessons he wished to impart by means of the life around him. At all events, his next attempts in the ballad are ballads proper, objective, set in the past and in story sufficient unto themselves. To this class belong *Ellen Irwin*, *The Seven Sisters*, *The Horn of Egremont Castle*, and *The Force of Prayer*. All of these subjects are mediæval and all are on stock ballad themes; that is why they are so easy to classify. The point here to be noted is that, though all of these are respectable poems, never descending to bathos, they have contributed and will contribute very little to

their author's reputation. When Wordsworth does with a ballad what a ballad should do, he achieves only mediocrity. Better are his earlier nondescript efforts, with their glaring faults and their characteristic virtues.

The third class is the most interesting of all, uniting as it does the attraction of the old ballad with some of the finest poetry in all of Wordsworth. To this we may perhaps relegate two poems from the *Tour in Scotland*, *Rob Roy's Grave* and *The Solitary Reaper*. The hero of the former appears in a dramatic monologue which anticipates the manner of Browning; it breathes healthy humor and a fine open-air spirit of liberty. In *The Solitary Reaper* we have a picture as immortal as any by Millet. So, Wordsworth believed, the two principal themes of the ballad were handed down; the "old, unhappy, far-off things" and the "familiar matter of to-day." It was the latter type which the poet had cultivated first; he was later to reflect the spirit of "battles long ago."

If there are any two poems of Wordsworth more strikingly noble than the rest, are they not the *Song at the Feast of Brougham Castle* and *The White Doe of Rylstone*? If we answer yes, the reason will be because in these two poems only is Wordsworth's philosophy of life brought into relief by contrast with its opposite. In *Lord Clifford* we have opposed glorious action and humble but soul-sufficing patience, and it is because the impulse to action is so splendidly connoted in the lines

Armor rusting in his halls
On the blood of Clifford calls

that the victory of forbearance is so memorable.

In the *White Doe* the case is similar, although the motives are less dramatically contrasted. This poem embodies perhaps the deepest expressions of Wordsworth's

belief in the refining power of suffering, especially when it is endured amid "nature's old felicities."²⁰ The mystic symbolism of the doe is a new effect, slightly anticipated, perhaps, by such lyrics as *The Cuckoo* and by the fish in *Brougham Castle*. It was evidently Wordsworth's hope²¹ that the story, taken bodily from the ballad *The Rising in the North*, might serve to present his convictions more clearly and forcibly than they could otherwise be stated, and although Hazlitt²² thought the narrative part a "drag," the majority of critics have sustained the author's choice. The narrative is very spirited in itself and, as in the case of *Brougham Castle*, the virtues of action bring out most clearly the higher virtues of endurance. It would be out of place to praise further; we may only remark that in *The White Doe* Wordsworth makes his best use, both in style and in substance, of the popular ballad.

As we noted in treating the *Lyrical Ballads*, an accurate classification of ballad influence upon Wordsworth is impossible; but at least a few random cases of the first and third types should here be mentioned. After the *Lyrical Ballads* there are only two important stanzaic narrative poems dealing with the present, viz., *Fidelity* and *The Highland Boy*; a fact showing how far the poet had receded from his earlier practice. Both of these poems contain beauties far more noteworthy than any in the objective medieval ballads. A little-known piece, which is, however, remarkable from our point of view, is *George and Sarah Green*, perhaps the only poem composed as a balladist would have composed it. These lines were not the

²⁰ From the sonnet, *The Trosachs*.

²¹ *Letters*, I, p. 343.

²² *Letters*, II, p. 62. Coleridge also says in generalising, "Wordsworth should never have abandoned the contemplative position" (*Table Talk*, July 21, 1832).

result of "emotion recollected in tranquillity"; for Wordsworth tells us ²³ he "effused them" under the direct emotion caused by the event. They give that impression to the reader; the reflections attached are scarcely more complicated than those of a villager might have been, and the whole has the ballad quality of being more affecting than the sum of its parts—as if the poet had composed too fast to put in all he felt. Similar, but more extended and less poignant, is Wordsworth's last narrative effort, *The Westmoreland Girl*.

For the third class of influence, old ballad motives with modern treatment, we may perhaps claim the Yarrow series, with their haunting sense of ancient wrong and sorrow in the background of the scene. On the other hand, Wordsworth's early and very interesting play *The Borderers*, disappoints the promise of its title by giving us no hint of traditional matter save a passing allusion to the fairies. The classic *Laodamia* is out of our province; so are the medieval romances, *The Egyptian Maid* and *Artegall and Elidure*, both in the manner of Spenser. The faint traces noticeable in blank-verse poems such as *The Brothers* may also be passed by.

Nearly all the ballads of the first (contemporary) class (Part One of *Hart-Leap Well* belongs to the second) are told either by the poet or by some unnecessary third person, as opposed to the popular usage of never bringing in the pronoun "I." Again, Wordsworth's primary interest in character gives us individual figures instead of ballad types, people who merely do things. In his objective medieval ballads he has less chance for intimate analysis, a principal reason why these poems are nugatory. In the more subjective poems of our third class we have for the

²³ *Letters*, III, p. 465.

first time character contrast, that feature essential to all dramatic effects. Lord Clifford in *Brougham Castle* has two natures, the active spirit of the ballad hero and the passive fortitude developed in him by

The silence that is in the starry sky,
The sleep that is among the lonely hills.

In *The White Doe* Emily and Francis are represented minutely, the others almost with ballad brevity, but with the more effect in contrast for that very reason.

Wordsworth began with the regular four-line stanza, but soon branched out into variants; e. g., an eight-line stave riming *a b a b c d c d*, in which the "a's" have always a double ending. Then there are many original combinations of couplets and alternate rimes, such as those in the ten-line stanza of *Her Eyes are Wild* and the eleven-line stanza of *The Thorn*. It would be out of proportion here to enumerate others; suffice it to say that they are all built upon the two original ballad norms of the rimed couplet and the four-line stanza with alternate rimes. The poet seems to have been experimenting to find a slightly more complex arrangement that would make his lines appear somewhat less bare, in fact he tells us ²⁴ that he thinks the stanza used in *Goody Blake* an improvement on the stereotyped method. In *Ellen Irwin* he imitates Bürger's *Lenore*. The foot is nearly always the iambus, notable exceptions being *The Reverie of Poor Susan* and *The Childless Father*, in anapests. In lyric flexibility *The White Doe* is reminiscent, not always happily, of *Christabel*.

The three most marked qualities of popular ballad style ²⁵—the refrain, repetition of conventional lines and

²⁴ *Prose Works*, I, p. 69.

²⁵ Cf. Professor G. L. Kittredge's *Introduction* to the Cambridge edition of *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* and his references to Professor Gummere's works.

phrases, and "incremental repetition"—are conspicuously rare, diminishing from a moderate importance in *We Are Seven* to negligibility in almost all poems after the *Lyrical Ballads*. We have refrains in *The Thorn* and *The Seven Sisters*, that of the latter, "the solitude of Ben-norie," suggesting of course the ballad of *The Two Sisters*. *The Idiot Boy* abounds in repeated phrases, but as a rule Wordsworth followed the modern method of thinking out synonyms and finding original adjectives. Of incremental repetition used for dramatic suspense and climax, as in *Babylon*, *Edward*, and many more of the best popular ballads, there is not one example. There is no conscious alliteration in Wordsworth. His forced use of inversion, borrowed from the imitation ballads, decreases steadily.

As to the language of the *Lyrical Ballads* not being the language of real life, Coleridge²⁶ is of course right. In a broad sense Wordsworth never wrote of anybody but himself; he gives us²⁷ not people as they are but people as they appear to him. We cannot, therefore, expect him to make them talk as they really would talk. His creations have a very strong and definite actuality, but it is largely an actuality lent them by their creator. As a penetrating critic has said in another connection, fact plus imagination gives another fact—the final fact being, as Coleridge notes,²⁸ much more interesting and universal than the original. Had Wordsworth written as he proposed, his poems would have been a little better and a great deal worse. It was in imitation of the Eighteenth-Century ballad style, which Wordsworth supposed was an adapta-

²⁶ *Biog. Lit.*, chaps. xvii, xx.

²⁷ Cf. p. 301, *supra*, and note. Wordsworth expressly says that some of his figures were composites (Dowden, *Studies in Literature*, p. 145 and note).

²⁸ *Biog. Lit.*, chap. xvii.

tion of the speech of real life, that Lucy Gray was made to answer, "That, father, will I gladly do," surely a cardinal specimen of the namby-pamby; it was from the poet's own heart that the lines came—

No mate, no comrade Lucy knew;
 She dwelt on a wide moor,
 —The sweetest thing that ever grew
 Beside a human door.

This last is what we may call the Blake note, so much like the ballad—and so much more unlike! Of course the two blend in different proportions, the personal driving out the imitative as time goes on. But if the style of the ballad had done no more than help Wordsworth to find the language of common sense, it would have rendered an infinite service in those days of the Della Cruscans and other continuators of Eighteenth-Century artificiality. The extent of this influence, as already stated, can never be calculated in the case of a poet who so entirely assimilated and so strongly modified all that affected him from outside.

The question of ballad influence on Coleridge is comparatively simple, but extremely interesting none the less; for although but one poem of importance is directly involved, that happens to be *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*. *The Three Graves*, the fragment of *The Dark Ladie* and *Alice du Clos* are the only other ballads, though suggestions of the tradition appear elsewhere. And not only is the field of ballad influence in Coleridge very limited, but the character of that influence is almost uniform. As noted at the beginning of this article, it consists of a medieval glamour and remoteness almost invariably tending toward the supernatural. Wordsworth had at first made use of the ballad process somewhat as he conceived a peasant might have done; its closeness to common life

and its directness of style had impressed him ; he may have liked to think he was keeping the convention alive. Coleridge, on the other hand, was in his best poetry primarily a stylist, or perhaps we should rather say an artist. As with De Quincey and Poe (both of whom, like himself, were a prey to stimulants) his soul was enamoured of a beauty exquisitely strange and terrible, a beauty not of time or place, but dwelling in the utmost regions of the imagination. Now to the generation of Coleridge (and largely to those following) the strange and the terrible seemed to belong of right to the Middle Ages. De Quincey's *Avenger* and Poe's *Fall of the House of Usher* show how these kindred geniuses sought a kindred atmosphere. It was almost inevitable that Coleridge should have anticipated them, and that he should have used the ballad, as Chatterton did, only because in many ways it connoted the mediæval.

Coleridge's theory and practice of poetry were instinctively those of art for art's sake. Despite his admiration for Wordsworth's stronger and sounder genius, even despite his preference ²⁹ of his friend's poetry to his own, he could not have written other than he did. Consequently, polemical critics must range themselves under the banner of Arnold or of Swinburne in the dispute as to the priority of the two poets. With this dispute we have here nothing to do. It is, however, important to notice Coleridge's emphasis on style. He maintains ³⁰ that "poetry justifies as poetry new combinations of language, and commands the omission of many others allowable in other compositions. Wordsworth has not sufficiently admitted the former in his system and has in his practice too frequently sinned

²⁹ Traill's *Life of Coleridge* (English Men of Letters Series), p. 41.

³⁰ *Letters*, pp. 374-5.

against the latter.” Again,³¹ “Every phrase, every metaphor, every personification should have its justifying clause in some passion” of the poet or his characters. He finds Wordsworth’s *Preface*³² “very grand, . . . but in parts obscure and harsh in style.” Coleridge was evidently a man who justified literature, especially poetry, pretty largely by its style. We need not, then, be surprised to find that the ballad for him was not a method of treating actual life as it appeared to him, but rather an assortment of poetic devices by which to give the effects he was planning.

✕ But the ballad did far more for Coleridge than furnish him with a few pigments by which to obtain what we may call delocalized local color, a coloring which makes real to us the country of his imagination. It is not by a coincidence that his greatest finished poem, the one poem universally known and universally praised, happens to be a ballad. Coleridge’s weaknesses were lack of substance, lack of purpose, and lack of virility. The popular ballad exists only by right of substance, because the composer has a story to tell; its purpose is clear and inevitable, to tell the story and be done with it; and its form—in stanza, line, and phrase—is terse and vigorous. Here, then, is the reason why, as Mr. Traill has observed,³³ “*The Ancient Mariner* abounds in qualities in which Coleridge’s poetry is commonly deficient”; why here alone we have “an extraordinary³⁴ vividness of imagery and terse vigor of descriptive phrase”; why we find³⁵ “brevity and self-restraint” here and not in any other poem by the same author. It was surely the ballad convention that kept the

³¹ *Idem*, p. 374.

³⁴ *Idem*, p. 51.

³² *Idem*, p. 387.

³⁵ *Idem*, p. 53.

³³ *Life of Coleridge*, p. 47.

poem going, and it was possibly the ballad tenacity of purpose that caused it to be finished; the incomplete *Dark Ladie* throws some doubt on the latter point.

As to the causes of Coleridge's failure with his other poems, much has been said that need not here be rehearsed. He himself asserted ³⁶ that the alleged obscurity of his poetry came from the uncommon nature of his thought, not from any defect in expression. He said ³⁷ that poetry nearly always consists of thought and feeling blended, and that with him philosophical opinions came in to such an extent as to form a peculiar style that was sometimes a fault and sometimes a virtue. But on this point Coleridge, the subtle specialist in criticism, contradicts himself; for in another place ³⁸ he declares that Milton's definition of poetry as "simple, sensuous, and passionate" sums up the whole matter. The second statement is of course the sounder view. Doubtless Coleridge hoped to write of abstruse subjects in a style that would not be abstruse, but it was impossible to get any simple, sensuous, or passionate results out of such an involved mode of thought as his. One has only to look at his prose, with its continual discriminations, qualifications, and parentheses, to see what so often hindered him from being a poet. On the other hand, Wordsworth's philosophical ideas, though deep, were simple; and his conviction as to their truth was so strong as to become a passion, as witness particularly the *Ode on Intimations of Immortality*.

Why was it, we may ask, that in *The Ancient Mariner* Coleridge forgot his involutions and assumed the virtues he so seldom had?—how could he for this once adopt the methods of the ballad? The answer is to be found in a

³⁶ *Letters*, pp. 194-5.

³⁸ *Idem*, p. 387.

³⁷ *Idem*, p. 197.

certain mysticism which the modern man feels in the finest passages of the old ballads, a mysticism far simpler than that of Coleridge, but sufficiently permeating to appeal strongly to his sympathies. This effect is hardly to be described, hardly even to be illustrated—one critic will find it where another will deny that it exists—but every true lover of the ballad will have felt it again and again in favorite passages. Perhaps as safe a selection as any is the stanza of *Sir Patrick Spence* which Coleridge himself prefixed to his *Dejection*:

Late, late yestreen I saw the new Moon,
 With the old Moon in her arms;
 And I fear, I fear, my Master dear!
 We shall have a deadly storm.³⁹

Anyone who has tried to teach the ballad knows how difficult it is to bring the latent beauty of such passages before an average mind; but once the beauty is perceived, it has a strangely pervasive and enduring power. This Coleridge felt as no other man has ever felt it. Launching into the story with typical ballad abruptness, he yielded himself to the narrative current and was borne by it safely through the labyrinthine reefs of metaphysics indicated by his own notes in the margin. Though *The Ancient Mariner* is true Coleridge, it is in this case a Coleridge that has given up his own intricate and nebulous mysticism for the more direct and concrete mysticism of the ballad.

Coming to the consideration of Coleridge's ballads in detail, we find the first of these to be *The Three Graves*. The first two parts of this poem seem ⁴⁰ certainly to antedate *The Ancient Mariner*. In the first place the poet

³⁹ The correct form of this line is: "That we will come to harm." Coleridge must have mixed stanzas 7 and 8 of Percy's version.

⁴⁰ Quoted in Mr. J. D. Campbell's notes, *Globe ed.*, p. 590.

asserts ⁴¹ that the story was taken from facts, in the second the style very strongly suggests Wordsworth, especially in its imitation of faults which Coleridge later condemns. As in Wordsworth, the tale is put into the mouth of an unnecessary third person, and such a prosaic indirectness as the following indicates a most inartistic resemblance to its models:

She started up—the servant maid
Did see her when she rose;
And she has oft declared to me
The blood within her froze.

But the story itself was one that would have been abhorrent to Wordsworth; the idea of a mother's guilty love for the affianced husband of her daughter would have repelled him at once. Coleridge professes ⁴² to have chosen the subject not from "any partiality to tragic, much less to monstrous events," but for its imaginative and psychological interest. This defense, by the way, is exactly that which a modern decadent might use on a similar occasion.

The treatment, too, is distinctly immoral, or, as some critics now prefer to call it, unmoral. That an innocent pair should suffer from the curse of the guilty mother is, at least to an average person, repugnant. Coleridge's *penchant* toward the supernatural appears in his dwelling on this point and even going so far as to imagine that

the mother's soul to Hell
By howling fiends was borne,—

an unsatisfactory bit of poetic justice, as her curse lives after her. But there is power in the poem, a power of just the sort that anticipates the success of later pieces. Throughout the stanzas we feel the uncanny genius of the

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 590.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 590, 589.

poet struggling in a trammeling element, often rising head and shoulders above it. *The Three Graves* is far from being a good poem, but fragmentary and inchoate though it is, we can hardly understand *The Ancient Mariner* without it.

This brings us to the center of our subject. After the experiment of *The Three Graves* Coleridge selected just the theme that suited him, and in the treatment kept tolerably clear of the hampering influence of his colleague. To be sure, Wordsworth supplied the idea⁴³ that the suffering of the Mariner should be represented as an atonement for the death of the albatross, and no doubt the concluding moral "He prayeth best" was composed under his influence; but these can easily be detached from the body of the poem. We are all familiar with the agreement⁴⁴ in regard to the *Lyrical Ballads* by which Wordsworth was to bring out the supernatural side of natural scenes and Coleridge was to bring out the natural, the humanly comprehensible, side of his supernatural phantasies. It was only in *The Ancient Mariner* that Coleridge definitely carried out his share of the undertaking.

The Ancient Mariner, however, was not written to illustrate a theory or even to carry out a conscious purpose. Few phrases could better sum up the effect of the poem than that of an inspired undergraduate who called Coleridge "a literary Turner." There is in these two the same glorifying brilliance of color, the same triumph of beauty over mere subject, the same marvellous gift of style which raises their respective arts almost to the emotional level of music. Even the human soul living through the

⁴³ Quoted in Mr. Campbell's notes, Globe ed., p. 594.

⁴⁴ *Biog. Lit.*, beginning of chap. XIV.

scenes of the poem, which Lamb thought the greatest achievement of all, is rendered in a light of unreality; for the Mariner's most passionate outcry awakens no real pain in us. Why, then, if they are so vague, do this poem and (say) Turner's *Ulysses Deriding Polyphemus* exercise such a powerful and enduring influence over us? In the case of Turner we know that it is largely from the firm command of draughtsmanship which he allows us to see more clearly in his water-colors. In Coleridge a similar firmness comes from the groundwork of the ballad, the most marked and dominating of all the conventional forms in poetic narrative. The conciseness of the ballad and its insistent progression demand a relation of the parts to the whole not unlike that required by the laws of perspective. (This, like most analogies, may be carried too far, but in general it seems to be not inaccurate.)

Taking his plot from a dream,⁴⁵ Coleridge began his long flight unhampered by the weight of actuality; course and destination indefinite, as it were. Though the Mariner tells the tale, the effect on the reader is almost that of an impersonal narrative. The speaker tells nothing of who he is and little of what he does, he is as a helpless soul passing through strange experiences. Consequently we feel the events of the poem very immediately; we do not watch the hero as we watch Lord Clifford or Emily Norton, we live his adventure with our inmost being. It would seem from this that *The White Doe* is nearer to the old ballad than is *The Ancient Mariner*, but in reality we feel that the Nortons are always illustrating a philosophical idea, whereas the Mariner neither reasons nor causes us to reason. The explanations of his voyage are as mystically simple as are those about death in *The Wife of*

⁴⁵ Quoted in Mr. Campbell's notes, Globe ed., p. 594.

Usher's Well or about fairyland in *Thomas Rymer*; the modern poet exercises hardly more arbitrary control than does the nameless bard. In both cases we feel intensely but abstractly. We notice that Coleridge is often tempted to digress, but the ballad inspiration drives him on, just as it drove the author of *Sir Patrick Spence*.

The story exists for its own sake as a work of art; essentially it conveys, or should convey, no moral. Its one weakness in form is its promise of a moral suggested, as we have seen, by Wordsworth. For the shooting of the albatross is an absurdly small offense to bring about such a punishment, and the attempt to make the other sailors responsible by having them approve the deed is even worse; besides, the accomplices are punished with death, whereas the principal expiates his sin. Fortunately we feel these defects but slightly, for we must relinquish our judicial qualities to follow the magical flow of the lines.

We have been somewhat over-accenting the resemblance of *The Ancient Mariner* to the ballad; the differences must not be forgotten. As a poet of the highest imaginative power and the most exquisite technic, Coleridge raises every stanza, every phrase, to a miracle of design. The very absence of apparent effort in the process is the final proof of his perfect art. What we find in a happy stanza here and there among the old ballads is a regular rule with the modern poet. His similes are nearly always brief and his metaphors direct, but the best of ballads is dull and uninspired in comparison. His greater subtlety and sensitiveness make the old forms seem rough and childish; his control of sound and color is like a sixth sense. And yet the balance is not all on one side. If the ballad has no real description, Coleridge has no real narration. What we have called a story is but a succession of descriptions photographed on the receptive soul of the

Mariner. No one does anything, least of all the hero. Tried in the heat of normal human interest (the test of the ballad), the story melts away to nothing, its appeal can be only to the few. To the peasant for whom *The Hunting of the Cheviot* was written, the whole would have seemed the "tale of a cock and a bull" that the early reviewers found it. The imagery and verbal music of Coleridge are opposed to the compact statement and strong beat of the ballad not wholly to the advantage of the former. After all, there is a difference between real and acquired simplicity.

The unfinished *Ballad of the Dark Ladie* is closely connected⁴⁶ with the more lyrical poem, *Love*. The latter piece, Coleridge tells us, was intended to be an introduction to the *Ballad*. But the incidental story told in *Love* is apparently not that of *The Dark Ladie*. In *Love* the knight wears on his shield a burning brand, whereas the *Dark Ladie* sends her page to find "the Knight that wears / The Griffin for his crest." We have little clue as to what the tale of the *Ballad* is to be, but this little seems to indicate another motive than that used in *Love*. When Lord Falkland speaks to his lady of stealing away to his castle "Beneath the twinkling stars" and she shrinks from the idea of darkness and wishes to be married at noon, we have a foreboding of the Lenore theme, the dead lover returned to claim a living bride. There is a *feel* of the German ballad of terror about the poem noticeable in the rather gushing sentiment and in the effort to arouse a shudder. Farther than this the evidence will not take us. In *Alice du Clos*, however, we have a distinctly German ballad with several passages reminiscent of Scott. The theme is violent and painful,

⁴⁶ Quoted in Mr. Campbell's notes to the Globe ed., p. 612-3.

the narrative style labored, the diction overwrought. The fragile strength of Coleridge is sadly strained in handling such material; crude acts, the staple of the ballad, belong to a world outside his knowledge. Nevertheless the poem has beautiful descriptive lines and one stirring passage in Scott's better style:

Scowl not at me; command my skill
To lure your hawk back, if you will,
But not a woman's heart.

Alice du Clos is at least a better excursion into the territory of the rough and ready school of poetry than is Scott's ballad of *Glenfinlas* into the realm of the fantastic.

Passing on to consider ballad influence in the poems which are not ballads, we begin naturally with *Christabel*. If ever style without substance could make a perfect poem, it would be in the case of this unrivalled piece of filigree work. To Swinburne it seemed the acme of poetic art; but few even of the truest art-lovers can be satisfied by melody without sequence, and color without shape. The poem, if one must define it, is a sort of lyric romance-caprice, in which the lights are always changing like those of moonlight on a waterfall. But there are ballad elements in the misty atmosphere of *Christabel*. Terse and direct phrasing often lends the same vividness to supernatural effects that we have noted in *The Ancient Mariner* and *Sir Patrick Spence*. For instance,

And Christabel saw that lady's eye,
And nothing else saw she thereby.

Quoth Christabel, So let it be!
And as the lady bade, did she.
Her gentle limbs did she undress,
And lay down in her loveliness.

But the steady flow of the ballad narrative and the steady pulse of the ballad stanza are not there to give purpose

and consistency to the whole. Perhaps it was because he had no traditional model to sustain him that Coleridge confessed ⁴⁷ he had "scarce poetical enthusiasm enough to finish *Christabel*." This at least we know: the story in *Christabel* forgets itself in long descriptions, loses itself in digressions, changes repeatedly, and never ends.

Kubla Khan in small corresponds to *Christabel* in large, except that in it the element of mystery is oriental instead of medieval; a fact which reminds us that at this period the oriental novel was rivaling the "Gothic" in tales of terror. The only point of interest for us in the shorter poem is the "woman wailing for her demon lover," a figure more indigenous to the medieval ballad ⁴⁸ than to the Arabian tale. *Dejection* in the line "The grand old ballad of *Sir Patrick Spence*" gives us the only specific mention of a ballad or of *the* ballad which has thus far appeared in Coleridge's published writings. His quotation from *Sir Patrick* at the beginning of such a personal poem shows how sensitive he was to the uncanny *feel* of ballad lines even when they merely displayed a popular belief as to the weather. *The Knight's Tomb* also has a ballad touch. *Love* has been sufficiently treated in connection with *The Dark Ladie*. *The Water Ballad* is too feeble to deserve the second part of its title. *The Devil's Walk* is an excellent humorous ballad.

It remains only to examine the details of ballad influence on Coleridge. *The Three Graves* is in form an imitation of Wordsworth's early style with but a suggestion of independence. In *Parts One* and *Two* the four-line stanza is unvaried, in *Parts Three* and *Four* occur several of the five and six-line stanzas common in *The Ancient*

⁴⁷ *Letters*, p. 317.

⁴⁸ Cf. the ballad *James Harris* or *The Demon Lover*, Cambridge ed. of *Ballads*.

Mariner. As the story is modern, no medievalism can be brought in.

The original form of the title, which was *The Rime of the Ancyent Marinere*, shows at once what effect the author intended to create, but later Coleridge covered his tracks. In the first version of the text two repetitions and the words "phere," "n'old" and "aventure" were excised, probably to diminish the appearance of borrowing from the ballad; the word "swound" was also changed, but later restored. The spelling was modernised as in the title; the cases were not numerous, "cauld," "Emerauld," "chuse" and "neres" being examples.⁴⁹ Coleridge's taste was well-nigh perfect in this point, for the vocabulary of the poem conveys the idea of remoteness and never of affectation. In contrast, the unfortunate phrase "bootless bene" in *The Force of Prayer* is almost the only archaism in Wordsworth.

Ballad repetition, similarly, though much more frequent than in Wordsworth, is used with great discrimination. The echoing of a single word gives a greater physical reality to the idea in

The ice was here, the ice was there
The ice was all around;

as in "Alone, alone, all, all alone" and "Water, water everywhere." Phrases are repeated and parallelism preserved with the same effect, *i. e.*, the reader's attention is kept on the sensuous object and not diverted to the style by any unnecessary change of the wording. The phenomena of sunrise and sunset are made particularly intimate by this means and by the added touch of personifica-

⁴⁹ One of Professor Archibald MacMechan's students has discovered that all Coleridge's borrowings came from the first volume of Percy.

tion. Incremental repetition is not carried beyond the progression

He holds him with his glittering eye.

followed at the opening of the next stanza by

He holds him with his glittering eye.

There is no refrain anywhere in Coleridge. Alliteration, rugged in the ballad, is toned down so as not to jar the delicate verbal music of the whole. "The furrow followed free" subtly relieves the insistence of the "f"s by the play of "r"s and "l." There is strong vowel alliteration⁵⁰ in "Alone, alone, all, all alone," but the change of shading and the fact that the "glottal catch" is so faint a sound serve again to show how perfect is the poet's ear. Inversion, which is often so awkward in Wordsworth, is handled with the same care that appears in the other details of *The Ancient Mariner*.

That Coleridge was working toward a more purely lyrical metre we see by his variants of the regular ballad stanza. Internal rime is frequent. The five-line stanza *a b c c b* is used sixteen times, so that the following form is nearly typical:

With throats unslaked, with black lips baked
We could nor laugh nor wail;
Through utter drought all dumb we stood!
I bit my arm, I sucked the blood,
And cried, A sail, a sail!

Coleridge also cultivated the six-line stanza (occasionally found in the old ballad), often repeating with a slight variation in lines 5 and 6 the thought of lines 3 and 4, as in

⁵⁰ Cf. the paper read by Professor F. N. Scott before The Modern Language Association, Dec. 30th, 1913.

A spring of love gushed from my heart,
 And I blessed them unaware;
 Sure my kind saint took pity on me
 And I blest them unaware.

This device is used by Poe in *The Raven*, *Ulalume*, and *Annabel Lee*. One passage, lines 203-211, is very irregular, suggesting the movement of *Christabel*. Two similes, lines 446-451 and 433-438, are so extended as to divert the eye to the secondary picture, and the description of the hermit at the opening of Part Seven is an absolute digression. All these points show the tendency toward lyric freedom and diffuseness which were to prevail in *Christabel* and *Kubla Khan*.

It seems not worth while to examine the details of ballad influence on other poems more minutely than has already been done. *The Dark Ladie* is very regular, *Alice du Clos* very irregular.

In *The Three Graves* we have a failure in the unmodified ballad, in *Christabel* we have a failure, at least from the point of view of narrative, in the lyrical romance; *The Ancient Mariner* stands between them, combining the merits of tradition with the merits of the poet's individual genius. It is hardly a coincidence, we may repeat, that Coleridge's most famous poem is that in which he made the most well-considered use of the popular ballad.⁵¹

CHARLES WHARTON STORK.

⁵¹ In other chapters of a proposed book on ballad influence upon English poetry since 1765 the author hopes to show that the ballad has had in general a salutary effect in modifying the extreme individualism of the Romantic Poets.

XV.—THE SOURCE IN ART OF THE SO-CALLED *PROPHETS PLAY* IN THE HEGGE COLLECTION

The seventh play in the Hegge collection of English mystery plays is unique: in it is to be found a striking, and I believe hitherto unnoted, influence of art. James Orchard Halliwell, in his edition of the Hegge plays,¹ calls this play "The Prophets." But whatever its superficial likeness to the liturgical *Processus Prophetarum*, and other prophet plays, it is my conviction that this single English play is directly influenced by—indeed, largely derived from—that pictorial representation of the genealogy of Christ which is known in art as the *Tree of Jesse*, *Stirps Jesse*, or *Radix Jesse*.

In order to make this matter clear, I must first set forth what is meant by the *Tree of Jesse*; how it was usually represented; what its probable age; and what the extent of its dissemination. Then a brief consideration of the play will indicate the chain of relationship between the iconographic and the dramatic form.

It is convenient to begin with the prescription for the representing of the tree of Jesse, found in that Byzantine Guide to Painting discovered by M. Adolphe Napoléon Didron:

"The righteous Jesse sleeps. Out of the lower part of his breast spring three branches; the two smaller ones surround him, the third and larger one rises erect and entwines round the figures of Hebrew kings from David to Christ. The first is David; he holds a harp. Then comes Solomon; and after him, the other kings following

¹ *Ludus Coventriæ*, etc., London, Shakespeare Society, 1841.

in their order and holding sceptres. At the top of the stem, the birth of Christ. On each side, in the midst of the branches, are the prophets with their prophetic scrolls; they point out Christ, and gaze upon Him. Below the prophets, the sages of Greece and the soothsayer Balaam, each holding their [*sic*] scrolls. They look upwards and point towards the Nativity of Christ.”²

The tree of Jesse, then, is the family tree of Christ, in which Jesse occupies the position of the first great ancestor, the founder of the line. It is a pictorial representation of the middle part of the genealogy given by Saint Matthew (*Matt.* I, 6-16)³—that part which is royal. Its apparent intention is to establish the title of Christ to the throne of Israel. The whole symbol takes its rise from the prophecy of Isaiah:

Et egredietur virga de radice Jesse, et flos de radice ejus ascendet (*Is.* XI, 1).

² Didron, *Christian Iconography*, translated from the French by E. J. Millington, London, 1851.

³ Saint Matthew begins the genealogy of Christ with Abraham and traces the line through Jesse, by David, Solomon, and the other kings of Israel; and after the end of the kings—in the Babylonian captivity—through men who were not kings, to Joseph, the husband of Mary. Thus by Jewish law Christ was the descendant of Jesse, and the son of David. Saint Luke on the other hand traces the genealogy of Christ backwards from Mary (thus the learned commentators interpret *Luke* III, 23) through a non-royal line to David, and so on back to Adam, “who was of God.”

It was natural that in the middle ages interpretative comment, playing somewhat upon words, should seek a mystic significance in the similarity between *virga* of Isaiah’s prophecy and the word *virgo*. But though with the increase of the worship of the Virgin there might be a shifting of the emphasis from the line through Joseph to that through Mary, the pictorial tree of Jesse persisted as a kingly line headed by David and Solomon.

Thus we find Jesse reclining at the root of the tree in much the posture of the founder of any ancient noble family in old charts.

The prophets in the pictured tree are there to support and reinforce by their inspired word the central idea. "They point out Christ and gaze upon him." They fill out the design, preserving a certain balance or proportion in number with the central figures. They are among the branches of the tree but not of them; or else they merely stand at the sides. There are representations of the tree of Jesse from which the prophets are lacking. When they are present, Isaiah is often recognisable—*e. g.*, in the painting of the Romanesque wood ceiling of St. Michael's at Hildesheim—by his cartel bearing the word *Egredietur*.

The Byzantine Guide to Painting, discovered by M. Didron among the monks of Mt. Athos, though the oldest manuscript be not more than three centuries old, is in considerable part of its prescription much older. M. Chas. Bayet⁴ attributes its tradition to the ninth or tenth century, or even earlier. Other critics, notably M. Charles Diehl,⁵ are inclined to regard the work as so modified and contaminated in the transmission, as to be unreliable. M. Diehl would not venture to put it earlier than the fifteenth century.

Be that as it may, it is a well known fact that the source of a large part of the symbolism and traditional representation of Christian art in Europe lay in the manuscript illuminations and ivory carvings of Byzantium.⁶ Moreover, what seems to be the earliest recorded Jesse tree in

⁴ Ch. Bayet, *L'Art Byzantin*, Paris, 1904.

⁵ Charles Diehl, *Manuel d'Art Byzantin*.

⁶ See, for example, Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire Raisoné de l'Architecture*, under the article *Vierge*.

Europe was, according to the Abbé Corblet, brought from the Orient: "Nous savons qu'en 1097 Guillaume de Tournay fit venir d'Orient un candélabre d'airain en forme d'arbre de Jessé." It might have been this same candlestick which Hugo de Flori, abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, bought for the choir in the same year—1097: "Candelabrum magnum in choro aereum quod Jesse vocatur in partibus emit transmarinis."⁷

The earliest Jesse tree in a church window was probably that at Saint-Denis, described by the abbot Suger as

Stirps Jesse in capite ecclesiae

among the new glass windows of notable variety which he had painted for him by

*magistorum multorum de diversis nationibus manu exquisita.*⁸

This was about 1140-1144. The window at Chartres,—according to M. Emile Mâle, in the chapter on glass in Michel's history of art, a replica or copy of Suger's at Saint-Denis,—is fortunately in a good state of preservation to this day.

At York Minster another Jesse window was put in place in the latter half of the twelfth century, after 1159. M. Mâle ventures the opinion that this window was also a duplicate of that at Saint-Denis, and even that it was made in France. The window at Chartres, then, is the oldest and best example we have of the tree of Jesse during what is sometimes called the period of Byzantine influence.

⁷ Corblet, *Etude Iconographique sur l'arbre de Jessé*, in *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, 1860.

⁸ A. Lecoy de la Marche, *Œuvres Complètes de Suger*, Paris, 1867.

The following table, by no means complete, but serving somewhat to show the extent of the dissemination of the tree of Jesse, is compiled from an article by the Abbé Corblet in the *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* and from standard works on art by Didron, Michel, Lübke, Reber, Venturi, Lewis F. Day.

XI CENTURY

Candlesticks *Belgium* (?), and *Canterbury* 1097.

XII CENTURY

Windows:

Saint-Denis, 1140-1144

Chartres, c. 1149

York Minster, after 1159 } derivative of Saint-Denis

Mans

Painted wood ceiling:

St. Michael's, Hildesheim, 1186

Sculpture:

Parma, Baptistery

XIII CENTURY

Windows:

Amiens

Troyes

Reims

Paris, Sainte Chapelle

Wells

Saint-Cunibert de Cologne

Sculpture:

Laon, main door and vaulting of door

Chartres, door

Amiens, door

Miniature:

Psalter of Queen Ingeburge, c. 1236 (Mus. Condé)

Bible historique, (Biblio. de Reims, ms. $\frac{28}{18}$)

XIV CENTURY

Miniature:

St. Omer psalter, (English ms. begun 1325. Ref. in
Burl. Mag. XIII, 269)

Psalter, (Probably English, Biblio. Douai, MS. 171)
 Speculum humanæ salvationis (Biblio. Arsenal, MS.
 Theol. Lat. 42).

Sculpture:

Orvieto cathedral, c. 1330 (Very elaborate, on pilasters)
 Longpont, (alabaster. Cf. Corblet)

In the fifteenth century the examples in sculpture, in painting, and in different kinds of decorative art, are very numerous and show a great variety of design. A splendid example of a fifteenth-century Jesse window is that at Dorchester in Oxfordshire. The subject was so popular that it was employed even in decorating private residences.

But, for all changes of detail, the essential design remains: the righteous Jesse sleeps, lying at the foot of the tree, or with the tree growing out of his body; the tree, or vine, bears the royal ancestors of Christ, sometimes represented by only three or four; and generally—especially in the windows, and in the Hildesheim ceiling—the prophets form a border, flanking the kings; at the summit is Christ.

Turning now to a consideration of the play, I shall endeavor to show that it ought not to be called "The Prophets," but rather "The Tree of Jesse," or "The Rote of Jesse" (*radix Jesse*); and after that I shall show what I believe to be its indebtedness to the Tree, or Root, of Jesse in art.

In the first place the title "The Prophets" does not occur in the manuscript.⁹ This name was foisted upon the text by Halliwell, who mistook it for a simple evolu-

⁹ Though I have not been able to examine the MS. myself, I have it on the authority of Dr. Karl Young, who has examined and made careful notes upon it, that the words "The Prophets" do not occur at the head of this play.

tion of the prophet play. In casting about for a title, it is odd that he did not refer to the prologue to the cycle,¹⁰ which describes the play thus:

Off the gentyl *Jesse rote*
 The sefnt pagent forsothe xal ben
 Out of the whiche doth sprynge oure bote
 As in prophecy we redyn and sen;
 Kyngys and prophetes with wordys fful sote,
 Schulle prophesye al of a qwene. . . .

At the end of the play, moreover, stands this rubric:
Explicit Jesse.

When we begin to read the text, we observe that the first speaker, Isaiah, who pronounces the more familiar of his prophecies—*virgo concipiet et pariet filium*—is followed immediately by a speaker designated in the rubric as *Radix Jesse*. This speaker, as it were taking the words out of Isaiah's mouth, gives that prophecy of Isaiah which we have seen was the inspiration of artists:

Egredietur virga de radice Jesse
Et flos de radice ejus ascendet.

It is indeed Jesse who speaks, in his capacity of root of the genealogical tree, for he continues thus:

A blyssyd braunch xal sprynge of me
 That xal be swettere than bawmys brethe;
 Oute of that braunche, in Nazareth
 A flowre xal blome of me, *Jesse rote*,
 The whiche by grace xal dystroye dethe,
 And brynge mankende to blysse most sote.

The next speaker is Jesse's son, the first king in the line of Christ's ancestors, *Davyd Rex*:

¹⁰ The prologue certainly belongs to the first seven plays in the Hegge collection.

I am David, of Jesse rote
 The fresche kyng by naturelle successyon,
 And of my blood xal sprynge oure bote. . . .

Following David comes the prophet Jeremiah, and thereafter the kings alternate regularly with prophets, so that each king save the last comes between two prophets. In all there are thirteen prophets and thirteen kings: the line of ancestors including Jesse, therefore, comprises fourteen.

Now it is to be noted that the prophets in our play are not all chosen because of the significance of their scriptural prophecies. In the first place, in the case of *Jeremias*, *Ozyas* (i. e., *Hosea*), and *Sophosas*, they supply no prophecy of their own, but merely echo that of Isaiah.

For example:

Jeremias—

I am the prophete Jeremye,
 And fulliche accorde in alle sentence
 With king David and with Ysaie. . . .

Ozyas—

Off that byrthe wyttnes bere I,
 A prophete Osyas men me calle,
 And aftyr that tale of Isaye,
 That mayd xal bere Emanuelle.

In the second place, the prophecies are in some cases obscure and incorrect. Thus the prophecy of Daniel—

I prophete Danyel am welle apayed
 In figure of this I saw a tre;
 All the fendys of helle xalle ben affrayd
 Whan maydenys ffrute theron thei se. . . .

seems to be an incorrect allusion to *Daniel* iv, 10 et seq., wherein we read of Nebuchadnezzar's vision of a great tree reaching to heaven. The author of our play, in my opin-

ion, brings in this vision of the tree because he wishes a prophecy appropriate to a representation of the tree of Jesse.¹¹ Though the same metaphor is sometimes employed in allusion to the cross—the tree on which is the fruit of a maid—such an interpretation is only partially satisfactory here. Daniel says, “In fygure of this I saw a tre”: surely it is permissible to find in this a double allusion.

That the genealogical tree is the central and dominant theme of the whole piece is further attested by the speech of *Aggeus propheta*, the prophet Haggai, who following King Joathan’s boast, “Of my kynrede God wol be man,” says:

With yow I do holde that am prophete Aggee,
Come of the same hygh and holy stok,
God of oure kynrede in dede born wyl be. . . .

Thus prophecy is subordinated to the claim of kinship in the same high and holy stock.

Prophets and their prophecies, then, seem to be included with a view to filling out a predetermined number. The author seems rather put to it to find a suitable speech for every one. But if he had been directly indebted to the *Processus Prophetarum*, or other prophet plays, he would scarcely have been at such a loss; for in that case he would have had an appropriate prophecy together with each prophet. Needless to say, had he chosen his prophets for the special significance of their prophecies, he would not have been confronted with any such problem. Why does he wish just thirteen prophets? It may be because the num-

¹¹ The customary prophecy for Daniel in the prophet plays is that of the pseudo-Augustinian sermon (cf. M. Sepet, *Les Prophètes du Christ*)—*Cum venerit sanctus sanctorum cessabit unctio vestra*. This is not found in the Vulgate.

ber is regarded as sacred, it may possibly be due to some influence of the *Processus Prophetarum*,¹² or it may be simply to fill out the plan of having the prophets alternate with the kings. It is interesting to note here a typical arrangement of the pictured tree. In the Chartres window there are seven persons in the tree and fourteen prophets in the border.

Why are there thirteen kings? The answer is not hard to find: it lies in that same passage of the gospel of St. Matthew which together with Isaiah's prophecy of the branch out of the root of Jesse furnished the basis for the iconographic tree. St. Matthew divides the genealogy of Christ into three parts of fourteen each—from Abraham to David, from David to the Babylonian captivity, and from the captivity to Christ. The middle division, —the royal line,—appears in the play with the exception of the last two kings, Josiah and Jechonias. The playwright, having begun with Jesse and David—whereas St. Matthew begins his second group with Solomon—completes the tally of fourteen at Amon and there stops. The list from Jesse to Amon agrees exactly with that in the gospel. Inasmuch as the evangelist, doubtless influenced by a sense of sacredness in number (fourteen being a multiple of seven) has given a list that does not entirely agree with the Old Testament, there is little doubt that this is the source of the names and the determination of the number of the kings in our play.

The playwright could not readily have depended upon the pictured tree for names and number, because the kings

¹² The pseudo-Augustinian sermon pointed out by M. Sepet as the source of the *Processus Prophetarum*, and the Limoges *Processus*, have each just thirteen prophets; but the prophets of our play correspond with neither of these groups save in the case of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, and Habbakuk.

being the chief persons in the design were generally shown much larger than the prophets, and, space on this account lacking, they were in consequence restricted to a representative few. Thus while David and Solomon were almost always recognizable, the number and identification of the other kings was a matter determined by the exigencies of the medium. I may mention, for what it may be worth, that a fifteenth-century fresco in the Buurkerke at Utrecht indicates by name exactly thirteen kings, ending with Amon. They correspond, with one exception, with those in the play.

Let us now, skipping the prophets who alternate with them, consider the kings and their speeches. This will show better than anything else how the play is built up on the central theme of the genealogical tree.

David, who in the regular prophet plays is a chief prophet, here heads the line of kings, and instead of giving voice to one of the many prophecies from the psalms, is content to announce himself the son of Jesse—"of Jesse rote,"—the ancestor of Christ, and to echo the prophecy of Isaiah.

Salamon Rex.

I am Salamon the secunde kynge.

Roboas Rex.

The iij.^{de} kynge of the jentylle Jesse

My name is knowe, kynge Roboas,

Of our kynrede yitt men xul se

A clene mayde trede down foule Sathanas.

Abias Rex.

I, that am calde kynge Abias

Conferme for trewe that ye han seyde. . . .

Asa Rex.

I kynge Asa, beleve alle this. . . .

Josophat rex.

And I, Josophat, the vj.^{te} kynge serteyne

Of Jesse rote in the lenyalle successyon,
All that my progenitouris hath befor me seyn. . . .

Joras Rex.

And I, Joras, also in the number of sefne
Of Jesse rote kynge. . . .

Ozias Rex.

And I Ozyas, kynge of hygh degré,
Spronge of Jesse rote. . . .

Joathas rex.

My name is knowe kyng Joathan
The ix.e kynge spronge of Jesse. . . .

Achas rex.

Off Jesse kyng Achas is my name. . . .

Ezechias rex.

The xj.te kyng of this genealogye. . . .

Manasses rex.

Of this nobylle and wurthy generacion
The xij.te kyng am I Manasses. . . .

The last speaker in the play, King Amon, pronounces
a sort of epilogue—

Amon rex.

Amon kynge, ffor the last conclusyon,
Al thyng beforn seyð ffor trowthe do testyfie,
Praynge that lord of oure synne remyssyon,
At that dredful day he graunt mercye.

Thus we alle of this genealogye,
Accordinge in on here in this place,
Pray that hey, lorde whan that we xal dye,
Of his gret goodnesse to grawnt us his grace!

Then come the words *Explicit Jesse*,—the play of Jesse
is ended.

There seems to be no ascertainable source for the play
as a play of the *Tree*, or *Root*, of *Jesse*, save in art. M.
Sepet cites a reference to a Corpus Christi procession of
prophets followed by a procession of Kings descended from
Jesse, with their father, Jesse, which took place at May-

enne about 1655.¹³ But this is too late to be of importance to us, even though we agreed with the suggestion that it is referable to some earlier mysteries at Laval.

It is curious that Dr. Paul Weber, seeking explanation for the occurrence of *Roboam* and *Jese* in a row of prophets on a little ivory casket of the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century, points triumphantly to our play, with the comment that 'Roboam' and 'Jese' are found also among the prophets in the English *Ludus*

¹³ L'Idée de faire paraître à côté des prophètes proprement dits la lignée de Jessé, les rois de Juda, fils de David et ancêtres du Messie, n'est pas particulière au *Ludus Coventriæ*. La scène a certainement eu ce caractère dans des mystères français, comme le prouve le passage suivant d'une description des usages encore observé au commencement du XVII^e siècle dans les cérémonies de la Fête-Dieu de Mayenne. Nous empruntons ce passage aux savants *Recherches sur les mystères qui ont été représentés dans le Maine* par le R. P. Dom P. Piolin, Bénédictin de la Congrégation de France (Angers, 1858, broch. in 8°, p. 45).

"On fit vers ce temps (vers 1655), dit l'abbé Guyard de la Fosse, une grande réforme en la solennité de la procession de la Fête-Dieu, qui passoit pour célèbre à Mayenne. Voici ce qui s'y observoit: après les deux bannières, marchaient deux personnes représentant Adam et Ève, au milieu desquelles on portoit un petit arbre chargé de pommes, avec la figure d'un serpent. Ensuite paraissent ceux qui représentoient les patriarches et les prophètes, vêtus de soutanes et manteaux de différentes couleurs, avec de grandes barbes et des perruques, portant sur le dos un écriteau du nom du personnage de chacun, comme d'Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moïse, Isaïe, Jérémie, etc., leur nombre étoit fini par Saint Jean-Baptiste couvert d'une peau de chameau, et portant un agneau. Après eux venoient les rois descendus de Jessé, comme David, Salomon, etc., habillés magnifiquement, la couronne sur la tête et le sceptre à la main. Ils étoient suivis de leur père Jessé, qui avoit une grande chevelure blanche, une robe fourrée, et s'appuyoit sur un bâton. . . ."

C'est avec toute raison que le savant bénédictin rapprochant ces usages des mystères représentés plus anciennement à Laval, le jour de la Fête-Dieu . . . dit que "les acteurs étoient descendus de leurs planches et marchaient dans la rue" (Marius Sepet, *Les Prophètes du Christ*, Paris, 1878, p. 168, note).

Coventriæ. Weber is looking at the art representations for evidence of the existence of earlier prophet plays. He overlooks the fact that Roboam is distinctly labeled *rex*; and that Jesse is neither king nor prophet.¹⁴ In speaking of the intrusion of the ancestors of Christ into the ranks of the prophets, he seems unconscious of the convention of the tree of Jesse. Ernst Falke in a special study of the sources, merely echoes Sepet¹⁵ in referring to the *Processus*.

The play most likely derived the names of the kings from the liturgy for Christmas day, in the reading from St. Matthew. But as we have seen, the line in the gospel begins with Abraham, and is not even divided in such a way as to make Jesse prominent.

The subject, moreover, is not one that is readily adaptable to dramatic treatment: it is distinctly a pictorial subject. Considering, then, the fact that in art it was a subject familiar for at least two or three centuries before the play, it seems all but inevitable that we should come to the conclusion that the play was simply an attempt to dramatize the iconographic *Tree of Jesse*.

JOHN K. BONNELL.

¹⁴ "Roboam" und "Jese" fanden sich auch unter den Propheten im englischen Ludus Coventriæ . . . Durand hat klargestellt, was Sepet nicht bestimmt genug hervorhob, dass das Eindringen der Vorfahren Christi in die Reihe der Propheten Christi auf die Liturgie des Weihnachtsfestes zurückzuführen ist, in welcher die Genealogie Christi von alters her zur Verlesung kam. Die in mittelalterlichen Kirchen, namentlich auf Glasfenstern, so beliebte Darstellung der Vorfahren Christi ist also wieder ein Beweis für den innigen Zusammenhang zwischen Liturgie und bildender Kunst im Mittelalter (*Geistliches Schauspiel und Kirchliche Kunst*, Stuttgart, 1894).

¹⁵ Ernst Falke, *Die Quellen des sog. Ludus Coventriæ*, Leipzig, Reudnitz, 1908.

XVI.—THE ENAMOURED MOSLEM PRINCESS IN ORDERIC VITAL AND THE FRENCH EPIC

In the tenth book of his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Orderic Vital gives an account of Bohemond's surprise and capture by the Turkish Emir, Daliman, and his imprisonment, with other French nobles, in one of the Emir's fortresses. Now there happened to live in this particular stronghold the Emir's daughter, Melaz. She had often heard the bravery of the Crusaders praised, and welcomed this opportunity to make the acquaintance of such famous heroes. So she would visit Bohemond and his friends in their dungeon and talk with them. Her favorite topic was the tenets of the Christian faith. Conversation naturally led to a good understanding and assistance on Melaz's part.

Two years went by. Daliman had become involved in a war with his brother, Soliman. To aid her father, Melaz had the French armed and sent to the front. Battle was already joined when they arrived. They charged, and Soliman's ranks wavered. Bohemond engaged Soliman's son in single combat and killed him. After great carnage the enemy fled. But true to a promise given Melaz, the French left the pursuit and returned to their prison, where, at Melaz's instigation, they overpowered their former jailors and seized the citadel.

It held an immense treasure. The royal palace stood close by. Consequently when Daliman came back from the war and proceeded to reproach Melaz for giving weapons to the French, at the same time threatening her and them with death at the stake, Bohemond could witness the scene from his post in the keep. He lost no time in coming to

Melaz's rescue, and assured her safety by making himself master of Daliman's person, an easy task, since the Emir's guards had scattered to find quarters in the town.

Thus relieved in regard to herself, Melaz began to work on her father. She reminded him that the French had won his battle for him, had returned when they could have escaped, and, as a matter of fact, could dispose of him as they pleased. Daliman admitted the force of these arguments and asked for advice. It was to make peace with the Christians, arrange for a general exchange of prisoners, and reward Bohemond. But whether the advice was taken or not, Melaz's mind was made up. She had turned Christian, and would abandon her father and his vile creed as well.

Violent gestures were Daliman's only reply, a demonstration which prompted Melaz to arrest all the Moslems in the palace, garrison it with the French and usurp the power. For a fortnight the Emir stood fast, and many were the curses he hurled at Mahomet, his god, at his former subjects and his faithless neighbors. But in the end he gave way to his sense of discretion and the persuasion of his men. He agreed to the terms proposed, and even promised Melaz in marriage to Bohemond. This submission, however, did not lull the prudent mind of Melaz, and she took the precaution of summoning Tancred from Antioch with a force strong enough to protect Bohemond's retreat. Moslem prisoners also accompanied Tancred, among them the former princess of Antioch, who came in tears, we are told, because she was compelled to bid farewell to pork. For though Turks enjoy the flesh of dogs and wolves, they abhor pork, "and thereby prove that they are without all the laws of Moses and Christ, and belong neither to the Jews nor the Christians."

But Melaz's precautions were unnecessary. Before Tancred could arrive, Daliman had been won over by the charms of Bohemond's conversation to join daughter and subjects in reviling Mahomet and extolling the power of Christ. The peace remained unbroken. The French journeyed quietly back to Antioch. Melaz soon followed them with her attendants, and a rousing welcome awaited all.

Bohemond's first care was to dispatch his friend, Richard, to St. Leonard's, in Limousin, with gifts of silver chains as thank-offerings for his deliverance. Melaz was baptized, and was persuaded by Bohemond to seek some other noble in marriage, for he himself had already suffered great hardships and was to undergo many others, and also must perforce discharge a vow he had made to Saint Leonard while in captivity. So a sorry husband he would make. Rather let her choose his cousin, Roger, his junior, handsome, high-born and rich. The reasoning was good, and the princess heeded it, and in the midst of universal plaudits the wedding took place.¹

A curious intermingling of fact and invention is this narrative of Orderic's. The framework is historical. Bohemond and his retinue were captured by surprise and held prisoners for several years. The vow to Saint Leonard and Bohemond's pilgrimage to the shrine in Limousin are also historical. In the continuation to Tudeboeuf's chronicle we even read that it was an offering of silver balls, like the balls on his chains, that Bohemond made to the saint,² a qualification which varies only slightly from the silver chains of Orderic. There is also an allusion to this vow in

¹ *Historia Ecclesiastica*, x, 23 (Edition of the Société de l'Histoire de France, Vol. iv, pp. 139-158).

² *Recueil des historiens occidentaux des Croisades*, Vol. III, p. 228.

Raoul de Caen, who visited Palestine in 1107,³ while Orderic on a later page tells of the actual visit to St. Leonard's.⁴

On the other hand, Bohemond's appearance in Dali-man's battle-line is probably fictitious. We read in Albert of Aix that the Emir ("Donomannus") entered Bohemond's prison in quest of advice about the campaign, and that this conference led to the hero's ransom, for which the Emir was soundly rated by Soliman.⁵ But the incongruity of such a happening excites the suspicion that Albert is here affected by the same report which ascribed armed assistance in Orderic.

The general exchange of prisoners, however, finds corroboration in an anonymous Greek chronicle. The Moslem princess of Antioch even appears there, though without the regrets that Orderic notes.⁶ But Matthew of Edessa is not aware of any exchange. He says that Bohemond was ransomed, and that an Armenian chief was the principal mover in raising the ransom.⁷

Yet, while admitting that Orderic's account of Bohemond's captivity is substantiated at more than one point, we must confess that these substantiations confirm, after all, only a small portion of his story. The larger part is built around the person and deeds of Melaz, and of Melaz sober chronicle is silent. The Moslem princess who yields to the attractions of her father's French prisoner, befriends him, discusses religion with him, professes conversion to his creed and offers him hand and heart is well known to

³ *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 713.

⁴ *Hist. Ec.*, XI, 12 (edition cited, Vol. IV, pp. 211, 212).

⁵ *Recueil des hist. oc. etc.*, Vol. IV, pp. 524, 611 sq.

⁶ *Recueil des historiens orientaux etc.*, Vol. I, p. 212.

⁷ *Recueil des historiens des Croisades, Documents Arméniens*, Vol. I, p. 69.

medieval romance. So, too, is the Christian captive, who accepts this homage and profits by it, who through it aids his captor in war or seizes his palace and perhaps his person, and thus wrests an unwilling assent to the daughter's union. But of both knight and princess medieval history seems ignorant. Consequently the question comes to us, where did the legend, since legend there is, start? How did it enter into literature?

It is possible that the latter query may find an answer in Orderic himself. For it is his work which offers the earliest European version of the legend, dating as it does around 1135. But something like it had already appeared in the West, and had perhaps been assimilated to the main story by Orderic or Orderic's informant. We refer, of course, to the epic poem of *Mainet*.

The hero of *Mainet*, the future Charlemagne, had found refuge from his enemies with the Emir of Toledo, had helped him in his wars, had rid his daughter, Galienne, of an unwelcome Moslem suitor by means of a single combat, had been offered Galienne and the kingdom, had accepted the one but not the other, and had carried his willing bride back to France and a Christian wedding. But in all this there was no question of captivity, nor of release, nor of violence done the father, nor of religious variance. Indeed, matters went on as they may very well have gone on in tenth-century Spain, where Christian adventurers fought with Moslems against Moslems or Christians indifferently, and undoubtedly contracted more or less stable unions with Moslem women. The career of the great Almanzor, ruler of Cordova from 978 to 1002, might be cited as a partial proof of these elastic conditions. Almanzor used Christian mercenaries against his father-in-law and enemy, Ghalib, and Ghalib hired Christians, too. Almanzor also took

wives from among the high nobility of Castille and Leon. Of such a marriage his successor was born.

Contemporaneous in tradition with *Mainet*, as Professor Lang reminds me, and reflecting the same political and social conditions, is the Spanish poem of the *Infantes de Lara*. The father of the Laras had been sent to Almanzor to be executed, a Christian betrayed to a Moslem by a Christian. But the Moslem, respecting the victim, refused to do the evil work, and for death substituted imprisonment. He also committed the Spaniard to the care of a fair jailor, perhaps Almanzor's sister, who fell in love with her charge and bore him a son, who was destined to avenge the wrongs suffered by his father's family. Here again, though of quite a different tenor from *Mainet*, neither racial nor religious enmity forms the theme, and its resemblance to Orderic's account of Melaz's dealings with Bohemond remains wholly superficial, accidental. The essential plot is lacking to the *Infantes de Lara* quite as much as to *Mainet*.

Now what is the plot? What are the essential elements in the story of the enamoured Moslem princess? They are these: the release of a prisoner by the daughter of his captor; her conversion to his faith; her return with him to his native land. *Mainet* chanced upon one of the vital factors of the legend. It is wholly innocent of the others. And the approximation of the *Infantes de Lara* is seen to be of the feeblest.

Still two of these factors, the vital two, joined together in a close and logical combination, existed long before Orderic's time, before Almanzor's, before Charlemagne's, or even before Charles Martel's. Already at the beginning of the Christian era, Seneca the Rhetorician had formulated them in the heading of the sixth *controversia* of his

first book of questions for argumentation: "Captus a piratis scripsit patri (de) redemptione. Non redimebatur. Arcipiratae filia jurare eum coegit, ut duceret se uxorem si dimissus esset. Relicto patre secuta est adolescentem. Rediit ad patrem, duxit illam. Orba incidit. Pater imperat ut arcipiratae filiam dimittat et orbem ducat. Nolentem abdicat." And the discussion that follows this outline casts further light on its incidents. The youth is shown lying in a dungeon ("in tenebris jacebam"), working on the sympathy of his tender-hearted (or ambitious) warden, promising her marriage for his freedom and urging her to fly with him. The story undoubtedly came to Seneca from the store of the Greek sophists. Nor did his version suffer much change in the Western world. The fifth tale of the *Gesta Romanorum*, of the thirteenth century, preserves all its fundamentals. The orphaned rival has fallen out, to be sure, but the father still threatens disinheritance if the son marries his rescuer—who is now promoted to the grade of princess, in keeping, perhaps, with Seneca's *arcipirata*.

Now what did Orderic know of Seneca's *controversia*, or of the antecedents of the coming *Gesta Romanorum*? Nothing, it is quite safe to say. His knowledge of the devotion of a Moslem princess to the captive Bohemond came to him from the East by the way of knight, minstrel or pilgrim, and it is in the East that we are likely to come upon the source of his story. The difference between that story and Seneca's *controversia*, apart from the admixture of military exploits with Orderic, mainly consists in the idea of the maiden's conversion to the faith of her captive. And Seneca's *controversia* was to receive this striking addition in one of those Oriental tales which were to make up the collection of the *Arabian Nights*.

The Magian, Bahram, has thrown Prince As'ad, a Moslem, into a dungeon beneath his house, and has set over him as tormentor his daughter, Bustan. But when Bustan went down to beat As'ad, his great beauty stayed her hand. Instead of blows, she freed him from his chains and began to talk with him. The conversation soon turned on questions of religion, and so persuasive were As'ad's words that after much instruction Bustan foreswore her faith for As'ad's, and gave him her heart in keeping as well. After she had nursed him back to health she learned of his identity by a crier and restored him to his family. Her father, however, was seized by the Sultan and condemned to death. He asked for a few moments' grace; they were granted, and he used them in abjuring Magianism. So his life was spared. Yet, notwithstanding all these services, Bustan did not receive her due reward. For As'ad was claimed by a former flame, and it was his older brother who finally married the submissive Bustan.⁸

When we compare the outline of this tale to Orderic's narrative we can hardly doubt that we have in it his principal source. Not only is the girl's conversion stressed with emphasis, but the eventual disposition of her hand is strangely like Melaz's fate, who was at last given to Bohemond's cousin and not to Bohemond. And the reason alleged in the *Nights* is the good one. As'ad was already bespoken. So with the fathers of the two heroines. After long resistance the charms of Bohemond's conversation won Daliman over to Christianity. Bahram rejected Mohammedanism until it was that or his head for him. Again the good reason is given by the *Nights*, and Orderic's appears again the derived version.

⁸ *Arabian Nights*, Tales 236, 237, 248. Cf. V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, Vol. v, pp. 209, 210.

Besides, as Professor LeCompte suggests, Orderic's account shows another strongly marked impress of its Eastern origin. All of the characters in his chronicle of Bohemond's adventures bear historical names of the day, save the most important one, the heroine. Her name had to be invented. All the names of the *Arabian Nights* tale are descriptive, and if this were Orderic's ultimate source, the fabrication of a descriptive name, to add to those furnished by history, would be wholly in keeping. So Melaz would be borrowed from the Greek adjective μέλας, black or swarthy. But the adoption of this appellative indicates Greek territory. The earlier form of this tale of the *Nights* would, therefore, have been carried to Orderic from Syria or Byzantium.

Indeed, if you set that tale, even as we now know it, into the authenticated framework of Bohemond's captivity and release, you need but two more incidents to make Orderic's narrative complete. One is the assistance rendered the captor by his prisoner in war; the other is the seizure of the captor's fortress by the prisoner, at the daughter's instigation. Current French epic could have easily supplied both. We have noticed the former in *Mainet*. The latter was apparently numbered among the exploits of William of Orange, and has been handed down to us, though considerably modified, probably, by the poem of the *Prise d'Orange*.

Considerably modified, and perhaps affected by an echo of the *Nights* tale itself. The beginning, however, is wholly unlike that tale. William enters Orange not as a captive, but as one attracted thither by the fame of Orable's beauty. With him are several comrades. All are disguised as Turks. They excite Orable's sympathy by their accounts of William's prowess, so that when their disguise

is finally penetrated she yields to their entreaties and promises of reward far enough to give them the arms with which they drive the Saracens from the tower. Their triumph is brief. Overcome by numbers, they are thrown into a dungeon, where Orable soon comes to visit them. She tells them she will free them if William will marry her, and she will also adopt their faith. William consents, binds himself by pledge and oath, and they are released. At Orable's suggestion they send home for aid, seize the tower again and hold it until help comes. The poem concludes with the baptism and wedding of Orable, who brings Orange in dower to William.

After all, then, the heroine of the poem does free the prisoners and marry their leader. She undergoes conversion and baptism, too. But the French were really not captives. They had put themselves in the enemy's power out of curiosity. Nor was Orable a maiden and a daughter of the Pagan. She was his wife. Nor did she follow her lover home. On the contrary, she set him over her own land, and together they ruled Orange. So the plot of the *Prise d'Orange* at bottom is quite different from the traditional plot of the rescued captive. Its likeness to Orderic's narrative comes from the marriage of a princess to a foreigner she has befriended, and her apostasy. But Orable reminds you strongly of Melaz. She possesses Melaz's prudence and wise determination. Consequently, the resemblances between the epic and Orderic are striking enough to suggest the idea that a connection may have existed between them, and that Orderic's source, or Orderic himself, may have given the poem its tone and at least one of its episodes.

But we should also remember that Orderic was familiar with the story of William of Orange, and knew an earlier

Prise d'Orange,⁹ from which he could have easily borrowed the tower motive. His informant could have done this, too, and if we are inclined to believe it was the informant, and not Orderic, who made the loan, it is because this particular incident appears elsewhere in another version, where the notion of military aid, which Orderic stresses, does not appear. Orderic, therefore, would find the tower motive in his source. How plausible this conclusion about the origin of the tower motive in Orderic may be can be seen by the comparison of his account with this new version, the version contained in the epic poem of *Fierabras*.

Oliver has won his duel with the giant, but with several comrades falls victim to Pagan treachery, and is lodged in a dungeon of the Emir of Spain. The Emir's daughter, Floripas, hears the lamentations of the captives and goes to relieve them. She kills their jailor, who would oppose her, and releases the knights, but only after they have sworn fealty to her. She leads them to her room, exacts a pledge of complete obedience to her, and finally confesses her love for the absent Guy of Burgundy. For him she would even renounce her faith.

Soon Guy comes upon the stage, as one of an embassy sent the Emir by Charlemagne. The reception of the embassy is insulting, its retort defiant, and the Emir plans to put its members to death. While he is deliberating with his leading men, Floripas enters the hall, grasps the situation at once, urges on her father, and asks for the custody of the prisoners in the meantime. This is granted, and Guy, with his friends, rejoins Oliver's party. All pledge again to obey Floripas, and Guy, facing death as an alternative, accepts her love.

But there is a Moslem suitor, whose suspicions are

⁹ J. Bédier, *Les légendes épiques*, Vol. I, p. 121.

aroused by Floripas's long absence, and who breaks into her room to his own destruction. Floripas seizes this crisis as the moment to act. The French rush into the hall, drive out the Saracens, and make themselves masters of palace and tower. The Emir besieges them there. As in Orderic, the tower held much treasure, but lacked provisions, and Guy, sallying forth to get food, was first captured, then rescued. Provisions are obtained, and the garrison stand off the enemy until Charlemagne comes. The Emir, refusing to recant, is slain, with his daughter's entire approval. Floripas is baptized, married to Guy, and is crowned queen with him over her inheritance.

Here is an account singularly like Orderic's. So much so, indeed, that we may almost assume it was derived from the same original. It omits the idea of military aid rendered the captor, which is in Orderic, and it introduces the motive of the rival suitor—lacking in Orderic unless Soliman's son, who is worsted in single combat by Bohemond, is a faint shadow of him. It presents two rescues of Christian knights by the heroine, after the manner of the *Prise d'Orange*, it has the Emir beheaded instead of allowing him to recant, and it invests Guy with Floripas's lands, as William had been with Orable's. But all these are pure differences of incident. They do not touch the plot, which remains the same, with the exception of the traditional elopement of the heroine. And the heroine remains the same also, prudent, quick in decision, wise in counsel. Surely, the old romance was endowed with great tenacity of life, a tenacity all the more surprising here because the author of *Fierabras* knew of the adventures of Charles and Galienne, and yet did not incorporate them into his story, as we have supposed Orderic Vital did.¹⁰

¹⁰ This knowledge of *Mainet* on our poet's part is shown in the

The intimate relation of the *Fierabras* version to Orléans's account is further indicated by the free treatment the story received at the hands of other writers. The author of *Elie de Saint-Gilles*, for instance, makes the Emir offer the captured Elie his daughter, Rosamond, provided he will turn Pagan. Elie refuses and escapes. Later he is wounded by the infidels, and is secretly carried to Rosamond's tower. She has the power of healing wounds, and Elie is quickly restored to health. In gratitude he becomes her champion against an unwelcome suitor, kills her brother, who has abused her for favoring a Christian, stands a siege by her father in her tower and is finally rescued by Louis. The father is put to death, Rosamond is baptized, and (in the original version) married to Elie. She must have also brought him her land in dower, in the original, inasmuch as she seems to be the sole survivor of the family.

The variations of *Elie de Saint-Gilles* are, as we see, not particularly vital. In spite of its strong immixture of romantic incident, it still preserves the traditional trend of the Eastern story. But with the *Siège de Barbastre* the matter is quite otherwise, and we miss in it essential

warning the Emir receives from one of his council, when Floripas is asking him for the custody of the defiant embassy:

Du rice Challemaine vous devoit ramenbrer,
Que tant nori Galafre, qui l'ot fait adouber;
Puis li tolli sa fille, Galiene au vis cler,
L'enfant Garsilium en fist desirer.

Fierabras, ll. 2735-38, as corrected by Gaston Paris, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*, p. 232.

In considering the investment of the hero with the heroine's lands, in both the *Prise d'Orange* and *Fierabras*, we should remember that Galafre offered to give Charles his kingdom and Galiene, if he would stay in Spain, an offer which may have suggested the dénouement of the two younger poems.

features of the old plot. For the rescue of the captured Commarcis family and its retainers from the tower of Barbastre is accomplished by a Saracen of the town, who thus avenges his private wrongs on the Emir. And the heroine is not the Emir's daughter. She is Malatrie of Cordova, betrothed to the Emir's son, and she is summoned by the Emir to the camp where he is besieging his capital, now in the power of the French. But Malatrie has fallen in love with Girard de Commarcis by hearsay, and has her tent pitched near the tower in the wall, which he is defending. So when Girard makes a sortie one day he comes upon her, and learns of her love. He returns it, and soon contrives her escape into the city. Her Moslem suitor is unhorsed by him in one of the many combats which fill out the poem, and, the French resisting until Louis raises the siege, the union of knight and princess eventually takes place.¹¹

After Orderic, therefore, the story of the enamoured Moslem princess suffered deterioration. Even in *Fierabras*, nearest of the French versions to Orderic, the situation is less simple, the recital more labored. Consequently it is Orderic's narrative that is of paramount importance in the history of the tale in the West. And as Seneca undoubtedly got his caption for argumentation from his Greek teachers of rhetoric, so Orderic as surely heard about Bohemond and Melaz from a returned pilgrim or Crusader. The story-tellers of the Eastern Empire had obstinately refused to forget the romance of the rescued captive, and when reviving religious zeal drove the votaries of Mohammed on to the war with older creeds, the added episode of the rout of Magianism endowed its well-known

¹¹ Ph. A. Becker, *Le Siège de Barbastre*, in *Festgabe für G. Gröber*, pp. 252-266.

incidents with a deeper meaning. Little wonder that the Christians of Godfrey de Bouillon should take advantage of its renewed popularity to restate its moral. To adapt it, however, to the known facts of Bohemond's capture and ransom demanded brains and imagination. This adaptation was surely the work of a man of talent.

Who was this man of talent, of brains and imagination? Is it possible it was Bohemond himself? Could any other than he or his comrades in trouble have possessed the authority to make such a fable pass muster with a sober Latin chronicler? On a later page of his book Orderic tells how Bohemond made his pilgrimage to St. Leonard's in the winter of 1106, paid his vow to the saint, and passed on to a veritable tour of central France. During Lent he visited many castles and towns, made many gifts to shrines, and stood godfather to many children. And everywhere he went he told of his recent experiences. Even at Easter, after he had married Constance of France at Chartres, he took his stand before the high-altar of the cathedral and, with the recital of his own fortunes and exploits, exhorted his audience to follow him against the Greek emperor.¹² And what more telling illustration of the glories of a Crusader's career in Syria could he have used than the story of Melaz's devotion to the French and her conversion to the true faith?

In the spring of 1106 Orderic made a visit to the region north of the Loire.¹³ The countryside was ringing with Bohemond's praises. Orderic may have learned of the hero's "fortunes and exploits" from his own lips. He certainly heard them told by many who had seen him, and, as

¹² *Hist. Ec.*, XI, 12 (edition cited, Vol. iv, pp. 210-213). Orderic's words about Bohemond's plea are: "Casus suos et res gestas enarravit."

¹³ *Op. cit.*, XI, 15 (edition cited, Vol. iv, p. 215).

was his habit, we may suppose he wrote them down. Did they already contain their epic embellishments, the military aid rendered Daliman, the seizure of his tower? A score of years and more were to pass before they were to assume their final shape, years echoing with epic song, and it may well be that during this interval these incidents were added to the original story. But the presence of the tower episode in *Fierabras* might imply that this event had already been incorporated into Orderic's source. The other, wanting in *Fierabras*, Orderic would have adapted from *Mainet*.¹⁴

Now if our conclusion that the story of the enamoured Moslem princess reaches back through its Mohammedan revision to the Greek tale of the rescued captive is well founded, we might derive from its very genealogy the explanation of an interesting feature of its psychology, the character of the heroine. The traits of a Melaz or a Floripas or an Orable—for we may perhaps consider the extant *Prise d'Orange* a product in part of the Eastern story—are not the traits of the medieval woman of the West. Compare their dispositions, for instance, with Bertha's in *Girard de Roussillon*. Even Galienne, who forsakes her own land and creed for her lover's, and who, we may presume, had imbibed some of the spirit of Bustan through Arabic in-

¹⁴ Orderic's loans from the story of William, and perhaps also from the *Chanson de Roland*, in his account of an event that happened while he was in the midst of composing his *Historia*, show how he could combine epic tradition with historical fact. See *The Battle of Fraga and Larchamp in Orderic Vital, Modern Philology*, xi (January, 1914), pp. 339-346.

Orderic could also be the most faithful of reporters, as his picture of the Moslem Princess of Antioch in tears over her farewell to pork proves. The scene must have been intended to raise a laugh in the crowd, but Orderic fails to give us the least notion of humor in it. Nor does he elsewhere in his long narrative.

termediaries, is not the principal actor in *Mainet*. Her sole initiative seems to consist in warding off threatened danger from Charles. But Melaz and her sisters are the action itself. They guide and direct. The knights heed their least word. They are the genuine descendants of the pirate's daughter, who made absolute conformity to her behests, even to the extreme of marriage, the price of her prisoner's freedom. And if the dominance of Bustan in the *Arabian Nights* is not so evident, we may assume that it is because the traditional qualities in her, and which she must have possessed at the end of the eleventh century, had suffered much toning down by the process of harmonizing them with the social conditions prevalent when the collection was given its final shape.

The masterful nature of these women, foreign to France and to the feminine ideal of the French, would therefore be ancestral, inherited. It would have been bequeathed to them by their virile progenitor of classical antiquity. Did their example affect in any degree their more retiring sisters of the West, nurtured in the true faith? Did the romantic heroines of the end of the twelfth century, the Idoines, the Aelises, the Lienors, owe to them some measure of their prudent self-confidence? It would be difficult to say. Orderic, for one, seems to have been impressed by the type. For when he has to chronicle the capture of Baldwin II, of Jerusalem, and his confinement in a Turkish fortress, he (or again it may be his informant) patterns the situation on the adventures of Bohemond and Melaz. Baldwin and his companions free themselves and seize the stronghold. The Emir besieges them to no purpose, and then offers an advantageous armistice. The French are about to accept it, when Fatumia, the Emir's wife, appears in the midst of their council (she resided in this fort-

ress), urges them to break off negotiations and rely on the castle's strength and their valorous renown as knights of France. Should they successfully resist, she will embrace Christianity.¹⁵

The name, Fatumia, betrays the tongue of the returned pilgrim or Crusader. And Fatumia is not altogether a Melaz, any more than Baldwin is anywhere near a Bohemond. She is neither a sweetheart, nor a rescuer. But she is all the rest: a resolute adviser, an enemy to her own people, a willing apostate. In her mental attributes, at least, she fairly takes her stand beside Floripas, Orable and Melaz, a worthy specimen of those resourceful infidel princesses who compelled the unqualified admiration of the romancers of Christian France.

F. M. WARREN.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, XI, 26 (edition cited, Vol. iv, pp. 252-255).

XVII.—KLEIST AT BOULOGNE-SUR-MER

In October, 1803, Kleist secretly left Paris and traveled alone and without the customary passports to the northern coast of France, to the vicinity of Boulogne-sur-mer. In and near this city Napoleon I. was assembling a vast army, with munitions and transports, for the ostensible purpose of making a descent upon England. Kleist wished to enter this army and share its fate on English soil, in the hope of a soldier's death.

The most direct and reliable information we have concerning this episode in Kleist's life is given us in his letter to Ulrike von Kleist dated at St. Omer, in the district Pas-de-Calais about 45 km. inland from Boulogne, Oct. 26, 1803:

“Meine theure Ulrike! Was ich dir schreiben werde, kann dir vielleicht das Leben kosten; aber ich musz, ich musz, ich musz es vollbringen. Ich habe in Paris mein Werk, so weit es fertig war, durchgelesen, verworfen und verbrannt: und nun ist es aus. Der Himmel versagt mir den Ruhm, das Gröszte der Güter der Erde: ich werfe ihm, wie ein eigensinniges Kind alle übrigen hin. Ich kann mich deiner Freundschaft nicht würdig zeigen, ich kann ohne diese Freundschaft doch nicht leben: ich stürze mich in den Tod. Sei ruhig, du Erhabene, ich werde den schönen Tod der Schlachten sterben. Ich habe die Hauptstadt dieses Landes verlassen, ich bin an seine Nordküste gewandert, ich werde französische Kriegsdienste nehmen, das Heer wird bald nach England hinüber rudern, unser aller Verderben lauert über den Meeren,

ich frohlocke bei der Aussicht auf das unendlich prächtige Grab. O du Geliebte, du wirst mein letzter Gedanke sein."

The biographers from Tieck (1821) to Meyer-Benfey (1911) and Herzog (1911) have had almost as much difficulty with this part of Kleist's life as with the journey to Würzburg, and the most recent are in certain respects more unsatisfactory than many of their predecessors.

If we compare their accounts in chronological order we see that the story is complete in detail by 1863. We note a distinct increase in the degree of abnormality ascribed to Kleist. We have no longer a mere recital of the succession of events, but an interpretation, a motivation. A tendency to minimize the importance of details drawn from rather uncertain oral tradition, or to reject them, is accompanied by an injection of theoretical elements drawn from later portions of their subject's life. There is everywhere much dependence of phraseology and still greater dependence of matter, but here and there subjective variations which seem to have no other basis than the writer's desire to find a meaning in the episode which will satisfy his conception of the poet's character.

This is a legitimate function of the biographer, but hazardous unless ample corroborative evidence is at hand. In this case, however, we have not a shred of contemporary evidence as to Kleist's psychic condition between Oct. 5, 1803 and June, 1804, except his letter written at St. Omer. We have to rely upon preceding and succeeding documents, upon general considerations and oral tradition traceable ultimately to Kleist himself or to his traveling companion, Pfuel, who fails us for all events subsequent to the disappearance from Paris.

New data make it possible now to set the events in their proper chronological order, and the writer hopes to

interpret the whole episode more satisfactorily by a reconsideration of all available evidence.

Aside from Kleist's actual suicide in November, 1811, which caused many people to reconstruct their notions of the poet's whole life in the light of what they believed its end to be, there are principally two things which have been drawn upon for this obscure period: (1) certain reports by Pfuel, and (2) letters by Kleist himself, one of June 24, 1804, to Ulrike von Kleist, and another of July 29, 1804, to Henriette von Schlieben, of Dresden.

Pfuel seems to have been somewhat gossipy about his friendship with Kleist. He related to several persons at different times the events of the journey from Dresden *via* Berne, Milan, Geneva, and Lyons to Paris, with its abrupt termination in October, 1803. The variations of his story show that his memory was not very clear, or that he was not very careful in regard to details. (v. Biedermann's *Gespräche*, pp. 96 ff.) What seems reasonably certain from these sources is, that Kleist's moods ranged between great hopefulness and deep depression, as the prospects of finishing his tragedy of *Robert Guiskard* rose and fell. As the difficulties seemed to increase, the moods of depression became preponderant, and from time to time suicide seemed the only escape. There is no good reason to doubt that Kleist asked Pfuel on more than one occasion to join him in a double suicide. But there is little, if anything, in Pfuel's various accounts to justify the view usually held, that the desire for suicide was due to an insane impulse. Ambition and pride coupled with peculiar adversities were the cause.

Wieland's letter to Dr. Wedekind of Mainz, April 10, 1804, suggests a number of elements which, taken together, make up a very fair diagnosis of Kleist's condition, though the emphasis on single items might be shifted:

(1) "seinen auf Selbstgefühl gegründeten, aber von seinem Schicksal gewaltsam niedergedrückten Stolz"; (2) "die Excentricität der ganzen Laufbahn, worin er sich, seitdem er aus der militärischen Karriere ausgetreten, hin und her bewegt hat"; (3) "seine fürchterliche Überspannung"; (4) "sein fruchtloses Streben nach einem unerreichbaren Zauberbild von Vollkommenheit in seinem bereits zur fixen Idee gewordenen *Guiskard*"; (5) "seine zerrüttete geschwächte Gesundheit"; (6) "die Miszverhältnisse, worin er mit seiner Familie zu stehen scheint."¹

A review of Kleist's early life and extracts from his intimate letters will show that the elder Wieland judged the case very well, but at the same time indicate that the emphasis is to be laid primarily upon the external conditions and the temperament of the poet, and only secondarily upon the transient state of his health and his ill success with the *Guiskard*.

Kleist was born into a family with almost exclusively military traditions. His father was a major in the Prussian army, his grandfather a captain of staff, and scores of his kinsmen had been or were army officers. To break with such a tradition was in itself almost a calamity.

Moreover, he was born under a benevolent despotism, whose favorite implement of rule was the army. His childhood fell in the last nine years of the reign of Frederick the Great. To forsake the army for any other career whatsoever in such a militaristic state, was at once to forfeit the favor of the king.

Add to this the fact that Kleist belonged to a family of the oldest nobility, a family over five hundred years old, whose traditions absolutely precluded the choice of cer-

¹ Biedermann, *Heinrich von Kleists Gespräche*, pp. 77 ff.

tain careers open to the middle and lower classes, whose inheritance was an intense pride and consciousness of rank, however much softened by philosophy. Such a man might serve in the army, the civil service, the Church, the university, but a literary career was frowned upon by his class.

Again, Kleist's father died when his son was but eleven years old, leaving him under guardianship² with a fortune too small to support him even in the most modest fashion. His mother died a few years later. During his tutelage additional help was needed. The kinsfolk upon whom he could count for aid were two, his half-sister Ulrike, who helped him financially from time to time, and a distant cousin, Marie von Kleist, who was an intimate friend of the new queen and could help him through her influence at court.

Through the latter young Kleist received his appointment as "Gefreiter Corporal" in the regiment of Royal Guards stationed at Potsdam. This was the king's favorite regiment. The boy was but fifteen years old and there was prospect of promotion. A brilliant military career was before him. The king felt that he had strained a few points in young Kleist's favor to please his queen's good friend. The Kleist family rejoiced, and had every reason to rejoice at the signal favor shown the boy. He was well provided for, in spite of his orphanage and his reduced estates.

But two things were fatal to the permanency of this arrangement: (1) Kleist's tastes and temperament, and (2) the scale of living of the regiment of Royal Guards. Salaries were not sufficient and the needed additions

² Kleist's tutelage lasted till he was twenty-four years old. "Ich bin in einem Jahr majorenn" (v. Letter to Ulrike, October 27, 1800).

either ate into the principal of his estate or had to be advanced by Ulrike or other members of the family, a fact which justified their desire to advise him in any juncture of affairs.

For the time being the former was the more important. The disciple of Rousseau, who came to look upon self-culture as the only worthy aim in life, became disgusted with the mechanical slavery and degrading routine of the army. After enduring seven years of such existence Kleist petitioned to be released, giving as his reason a desire to continue his studies at the university. The king granted the request, though grudgingly. At the express royal command Kleist made the following definite promise:

“Nachdem Sr. Königlichen Majestät von Preuszen mir Endesunterscribenem den aus freier Entschlieszung und aus eigenem Antriebe um meine Studia zu vollenden allerunterthänigst nachgesuchten Abschied aus Höchst Dero Kriegsdiensten in Gnaden bewilliget: so reversiere ich mich hierdurch auf Höchst Dero ausdrücklichen Befehl: dasz ich weder ohne Dero allerhöchsten Konsens jemals in auswärtige Kriegs- oder Zivildienste treten, noch in Höchstdero Staaten wiederum in Königl. Kriegsdienste aufgenommen zu werden, anhalten will; dagegen ich mir vorbehalte, nach Absolvierung meiner Studia Seiner Majestät dem Könige und dem Vaterlande im Zivilstande zu dienen. Diesen wohlüberdachten Revers habe ich eigenhändig ge- und unterschrieben. So geschehen Frankfurt a. Oder den 17. April 1799. Heinrich von Kleist, vormals Lieut. im Regt. Garde.”

Thus at one stroke Kleist forfeited the good-will and active favor of the king, and disappointed and angered his family, who could see in his act nothing but the most stupid and irresponsible folly. From now on he had to

live on the proceeds or principal of his estates and what could be wrung from others, chiefly from the self-sacrificing Ulrike.

Now begins a period of half-conscious, if not quite wholly intentional dissembling. Kleist had to meet in a fashion the wishes of his family, or give up his career of self-culture at the university. He represented to the king and to his family that he intended preparing for a career in the civil service. However, he did almost nothing in that direction during his three semesters at Frankfurt, and the family became impatient. They insisted upon his preparing for an 'Amt.' They wanted him to choose some 'Brotstudium.'

To complicate matters still further Kleist became enamoured of a young friend of his sister, and his love was returned after a fashion. She was Wilhelmine von Zenge, daughter of Maj.-Gen. von Zenge, then in charge of the regiment stationed at Frankfurt. Her parents consented to the betrothal on one condition, that the marriage should not take place until Kleist had an 'Amt.' This merely intensified those "Misshverhältnisse zu seiner Familie"; for here was another group of persons whose wishes were to be considered and whose feelings were to be conciliated by a dissembling wholly foreign to Kleist's temperament.

Add to this the mysterious journey to Würzburg for medical or surgical treatment, his unsettled position in the finance department in Berlin after his return, his reported unwillingness to perform distasteful services required of him, the constant financial drain on his own and the family's resources, his hypersensitive attitude toward those on whom he depended or toward whom he had obligations, the gradual wear of such unsatisfactory conditions upon his health already threatened by intense study, the shock of disappointment at finding his desire of abso-

lute knowledge negatived by the convincing logic of Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, and the result was—a journey to Paris to escape it all.

Against all this only too well grounded distrust and opposition, and these very intelligible and wholly excusable, even commendable demands of his family, Kleist had only *one thing* to set: *his genius*. Of this he alone could judge. He alone could have confidence in it, and its ultimate triumph. As yet he had accomplished nothing more by it than to break from old bonds.

The journey to Paris was not without its keen disappointments. He was under many obligations to Ulrike and had previously given her a promise not to travel in foreign lands without her company. He kept his promise. But thus he was no longer able to travel on his mere matriculation card. He had to secure passports for both. To secure them he had to give a reason for his journey. He could not tell the truth; so he told a half-truth. His object was a *desire to learn*. This was understood to mean study at the University of Paris, and his friends armed him with letters of introduction to various scholars there. The dissimulation had to be kept up by actual calls upon these persons. These letters and these supposed plans of study awakened "expectations" in friends outside the family circle, which Kleist knew he could not fulfill, and he disliked to return and meet them, and have to confess that he had *tried* nothing, *accomplished* nothing.

Under such circumstances, he endured Paris a few months, and then went to Switzerland. The fruit of this journey was his first tragedy, *Die Familie Ghonorez*, or as now named, *Die Familie Schroffenstein*. It aroused some interest, some favorable comment, but the 'Honorar' was not paid, and he himself soon became unjustly harsh in his criticism of it. It certainly was not an "elende

Scharteke," as he called it. However promising, it was not the work with which he dared to return home, face his family, and claim his bride. Its financial returns did not render an 'Amt' any the less necessary. Meanwhile a second drama had dawned upon him, and this seemed so much greater that it promised to be a full justification of his course of life in opposition to tradition, king, fate, family, bride, and learned friends. It treated the Death of Robert Guiskard the Norman. The fragment we have of it shows that it would have been a magnificent drama, if completed, perhaps unsurpassed in all German literature. It deserved Kleist's best devotion as well as the elder Wieland's high praise. Whether we assume that his ideal was too high—a union of classic and romantic styles—or that his powers were too weak ("die halben Talente"), or that he was supersensitive to such defects as had marred his first drama, the one fact is apparent, and of the utmost importance: *Kleist stakes his last hope on this tragedy of Robert Guiskard*. It is to be his justification, his redemption, the only draught that will satisfy his thirst for glory.

Hindrances were constantly thrust in his way. Thwarted in his dream of an idyllic life at Thun, breaking with his bride who would not consent to help him realize a Rousseauistic return to nature, interrupted by months of illness, driven by political accident from Switzerland to Weimar, to Wieland, driven again to Leipzig to escape a new love affair with Wieland's daughter, hounded everywhere by poverty (for his own estate was not wholly exhausted and he was to depend henceforth on charity or his literary earnings), he did not make satisfactory progress with his tragedy. It would have been a marvel if he had done so.

A few passages from Kleist's letters to Ulrike at Frank-

furt, and to other friends, will throw light upon his actions and motives, and completely justify the view we have presented above:

“Es ist wahrscheinlich, dasz ich nie in mein Vaterland zurückkehre” (to C. von Schlieben, Paris, July 18, 1801).

“Mein liebes Ulrikchen, zurückzukehren zu Euch ist, so unaussprechlich ich Euch auch liebe, doch unmöglich, unmöglich. Ich will lieber das Äusserste ertragen.—Lasz mich. Erwinnere mich nicht mehr daran. Wenn ich auch zurückkehrte, so würde ich doch gewisz, gewisz, ein Amt nicht nehmen. Das ist nun einmal abgetan. Dir selbst musz es einleuchten, dasz ich für die üblichen Verhältnisse gar nicht mehr passe.” —“Darum eben sträube ich mich so gegen die Rückkehr, denn unmöglich wäre es mir, hinzutreten vor jene Menschen, die mit Hoffnungen auf mich sahen, unmöglich ihnen zu antworten, wenn sie mich fragen: wie hast du sie erfüllt? Ich bin nicht was die Menschen von mir halten, mich drücken ihre Erwartungen.—Ach es ist unverantwortlich, den Ehrgeiz in uns zu erwecken, einer Furie zum Raub sind wir hingegeben.—Aber nur in der Welt wenig zu sein, ist schmerzhaft, auszer ihr nicht” (to Ulrike, Bern, Jan. 12, 1802).

“Ich arbeite unaufhörlich um Befreiung von der Verbannung—du verstehst mich. Vielleicht bin ich in einem Jahr wieder bei Euch” (to Ulrike, Delosea Insel, May 1, 1802).

“Ich werde wahrscheinlicher Weise niemals in mein Vaterland zurückkehren. Ihr Weiber versteht in der Regel ein Wort in der deutschen Sprache nicht, es heiszt Ehrgeiz. Es ist nur ein einziger Fall, in welchem ich zurückkehre, wenn ich der Erwartung

der Menschen, die ich thörichter Weise durch eine Menge von prahlerischen Schritten gereizt habe, entsprechen kann. Der Fall ist möglich, aber nicht wahrscheinlich. Kurz, kann ich nicht mit Ruhm im Vaterland erscheinen, geschieht es nie. Das ist entschieden, wie die Natur meiner Seele" (to Wilhelmine, Delosea Insel, May 20, 1802).

"Wenn ihr mich in Ruhe ein Paar Monate bei Euch arbeiten lassen wolltet, ohne mich mit Angst, was aus mir werden werde, rasend zu machen, so würde ich—ja ich würde!" (to Ulrike, Leipzig, Mar. 14, 1803).

"Ich erbitte mir also von dir, meine Teure, so viel Fristung meines Lebens, als nötig ist, seiner groszen Bestimmung völlig genug zu tun." "Du wirst mir gern zu dem einzigen Vergnügen helfen, das, sei es noch so spät, gewisz in der Zukunft meiner wartet, ich meine, mir den Kranz der Unsterblichkeit zusammenzupflücken" (to Ulrike, Dresden, July 3, 1803).

"Und so soll ich denn niemals zu Euch, meine teuersten Menschen, zurückkehren? O, niemals! Rede mir nicht zu. Wenn du es thust, so kennst du das gefährliche Ding nicht, das man Ehrgeiz nennt" (to Ulrike, Geneva, Oct. 5, 1803).

In this mood Kleist goes with Pfuel to Paris. The desire for death as the only solution of such a tangled destiny is only too explainable. His attempted suicide in 1803 may appear to us now, just as his actual suicide in November, 1811, did to Pfuel himself, as a most natural and justifiable act. Pfuel classified Kleist's friends at that time into two groups, (1) those who were Christians first and Kleist's friends afterwards, and (2) those who were first of all Kleist's friends and then Christians. The former were horrified at the suicide and heaped con-

demnation upon their former friend: the latter weighed Kleist's act against the undeserved wretchedness of his fate, and understood and pardoned it, and remained his friends, in spite of their Christian professions.

When we consider Kleist's rationalistic deism, his naïve belief in the soul's continued existence in a sphere free from the annoyances and limitations of the life in the flesh ("auf einem andern Stern"), where it might continue its progress toward infinite perfection, there seems to be something in the motive to his act akin to the old Stoic doctrine of the "open door" through which one may retire at will to escape dishonor.

That is, there is nothing in the evidence drawn from the period preceding the episode, which compels us to ascribe to Kleist any disorder of mind bordering on insanity or constituting real mania.

We will now turn to the passages from the subsequent correspondence which refer to these matters.

Home again in Berlin, ambition, at least literary ambition, crushed out, humbled before his family, Kleist yields the point in dispute, and consents to make an effort to secure appointment to an 'Amt.' He reports his experience at the court thus (to Ulrike, Jun. 24, 1804):

"Ich kam Dienstags Morgens mit Ernst und Gleiszenberg hier an, musste, weil der König abwesend war, den Mittwoch und Donnerstag versäumen, fuhr dann am Freitag nach Charlottenburg, wo ich Kökritz³ endlich im Schlosse fand. Er empfing mich mit einem finstern Gesichte, und antwortete auf meine Frage, ob ich die Ehre

³ Karl Leopold von Köckeritz, General Major from 1803 on, was a very incompetent man, who, however, as the favorite of the king, Friedrich Wilhelm III., was much sought after for his reputed personal influence in securing appointments to the various branches of the government service (v. *Allg. Deutsch. Biog.*, xvi, p. 416).

hätte, von ihm gekannt zu sein, mit einem kurzen: ja. Ich käme, fuhr ich fort, ihn in meiner wunderlichen Angelegenheit um Rat zu fragen. Der Marquis von Lucchesini hätte einen sonderbaren Brief, den ich ihm aus St. Omer zugeschickt, dem Könige vorgelegt. Dieser Brief müsse unverkennbare Zeichen einer Gemütskrankheit enthalten, und ich unterstünde mich, von Sr. Majestät Gerechtigkeit zu hoffen, dasz er vor keinen politischen Richterstuhl gezogen werden würde. Ob diese Hoffnung gegründet wäre? Und ob ich, wiederhergestellt, wie ich mich fühlte, auf die Erfüllung einer Bitte um Anstellung rechnen dürfe, wenn ich wagte, sie Sr. Majestät vorzutragen? Darauf versetzte er nach einer Weile: 'sind Sie wirklich jetzt hergestellt?—Ich meine,' fuhr er, da ich ihn befremdet ansah, mit Heftigkeit fort, 'ob Sie von allen Ideen und Schwindeln, die vor kurzem im Schwange waren, (er gebrauchte diese Wörter) völlig hergestellt sind?'—Ich verstünde ihn nicht, antwortete ich mit so vieler Ruhe als ich zusammenfassen konnte; ich wäre körperlich krank gewesen, und fühlte mich, bis auf eine gewisse Schwäche, die das Bad vielleicht heben würde, so ziemlich wiederhergestellt. Er nahm das Schnupftuch aus der Tasche und schnäubte sich. 'Wenn er mir die Wahrheit gestehen solle' fing er an, und zeigte mir jetzt ein weit besseres Gesicht, als vorher, 'so könne er mir nicht verhehlen, dasz er sehr ungünstig von mir denke. Ich hätte das Militair verlassen, dem Civil den Rücken gekehrt, das Ausland durchstreift, mich in der Schweiz ankaufen wollen, Verschiedenes gemacht (O meine teure Ulrike), die Landung mitmachen wollen, usw., usw., usw. Überdies sei des Königs Grundsatz, Männer, die aus dem Militair ins Civil übergingen, nicht besonders zu protegieren. Er könne nichts für mich tun.'—Mir traten wirklich die Tränen in die

Augen. Ich sagte, ich wäre im Stande, ihm eine ganz andere Erklärung aller dieser Schritte zu geben, eine ganz andere gewisz, als er vermutete. Jene Einschiffungsgeschichte, z. B. hätte gar keine politischen Motive gehabt, sie gehöre vor das Forum eines Arztes, weit eher, als des Cabinets. Ich hätte bei einer fixen Idee einen gewissen Schmerz im Kopfe empfunden, der unerträglich heftig steigernd, mir das Bedürfnis nach Zerstreuung so dringend gemacht hätte, dasz ich zuletzt in die Verwechslung der Erdachse gewilligt haben würde, ihn los zu werden. Es wäre doch grausam, wenn man einen Kranken verantwortlich machen wollte für Handlungen, die er im Anfall von Schmerzen beging.—Er schien mich nicht ganz ohne Teilnahme anzuhören.—Was jenen Grundsatz des Königs beträfe, fuhr ich fort, so könne er des Königs Grundsatz nicht immer gewesen sein. Denn Se. Majestät hätten die Gnade gehabt, mich mit dem Versprechen einer Wiederanstellung zu entlassen: ein Versprechen, an dessen Nichterfüllung ich nicht glauben könne, so lange ich mich seiner noch nicht völlig unwürdig gemacht hätte.—Er schien wirklich auf einen Augenblick unschlüssig. Doch die zwangvolle Wendung, die er jetzt plötzlich nahm, zeigte nur zu gut, was man bereits am Hofe über mich beschlossen hatte. Denn er holte mit einem Male das alte Gesicht wieder hervor und sagte: ‘Es wird Ihnen zu nichts helfen. Der König hat eine vorgefaszte Meinung gegen Sie. Ich zweifle, dasz Sie sie ihm benehmen werden, etc., etc.’”

About a month later (July 29, 1804) he gives a different account of the episode under discussion in a letter to his friend Henriette von Schlieben in Dresden: “Von dort aus (Varese, Madonna del Monte) bin ich, wie von der Furie getrieben, Frankreich von Neuem mit blinder

Unruhe in zwei Richtungen durchreist, über Genf, Lyon, Paris, nach Boulogne-sur-mer gegangen, wo ich, wenn Bonaparte sich damals wirklich nach England mit dem Heere eingeschifft hätte, aus Lebensüberdruß einen rasenden Streich begangen haben würde; sodann von da wieder zurück über Paris nach Mainz, wo ich endlich krank niedersank, und nahe an fünf Monaten abwechselnd das Bett oder das Zimmer gehütet habe. Ich bin nicht im Stande vernünftigen Menschen einigen Aufschluß über diese seltsame Reise zu geben. Ich selber habe seit meiner Krankheit die Einsicht in ihre Motiven verloren, und begreife nicht mehr, wie gewisse Dinge auf andre erfolgen konnten."

This later note assigns 'Lebensüberdruß' as the motive for his attempted death in the descent upon England, and this is consistent with Kleist's preceding experience, as we have shown. Surely the explanation offered Köckritz, that it was a 'Gemütskrankheit' of such a degree as to relieve him of all responsibility, is something more than 'Lebensüberdruß.' That he has lost all insight into his motives, is surely not quite consistent with the claim made to Köckritz, that he could explain the whole affair so satisfactorily that all blame must disappear.

The above-quoted letter to Ulrike is generally accepted by Kleist's biographers at its face value. This displays 'Pietät,' but is curious in view of Kleist's own confession that he could give no account of the matter to reasonable men, and had himself lost all insight into his motives. We must remember that Kleist is seeking from an incensed monarch reinstatement into office to please an insistent and disappointed family. As he had dissembled before in respect to his 'Amt,' and had not shrunk from actual falsification in regard to details of his Würzburg journey, had resorted to a trick hardly distinguishable from open

fraud to get a matriculation card at Leipzig University, made a disingenuous and mostly false representation of his object in going to Paris the first time, in order to secure passports, we must not shut our eyes to the possibility of distortion, if not misrepresentation, here. He had the strongest possible motive to throw the most favorable light upon the whole episode.

The act had been given political significance by King and Cabinet.—“Ideen und Schwindeln, die vor kurzem im Schwange waren.” Kleist’s evident anxiety to secure a promise that the letter would not be taken before a cabinet or military tribunal, is confession that the contents were of a political nature. King and Cabinet had apparently concluded from Kleist’s desire to join Napoleon’s army, that he was affected by the principles of the French Revolution, whose embodiment they saw in the First Consul.⁴ Such sympathy was then abundant in the western portions of Prussia, and even in the capital. Accordingly, Kleist denies that his desire to join Napoleon’s army had any political motives, and offers to explain it in a way wholly unsuspected by Köckritz. The explanation turns out to be an excuse, ‘Kopfschmerzen’ caused by a ‘fixe Idee,’ that demanded ‘Zerstreuung,’ which he sought in this military escapade, for which it would be

⁴ “Im Allgemeinen dürfte man sagen, dass der gegen früher bemerkbare Unterschied darin bestand, dass, während es sich bisher um allgemeine Freiheitsverherrlichung gehandelt hatte, nun die spezielle Vorliebe für Frankreich, besonders für Napoleon als den Retter aus der Not, sich hervorwagte.” Geiger, *Berlin*, Bd. II, p. 56. Cf. Gentz’s opinion of the French Revolution cited *ibid.*, p. 42; also the Berlines estimate of Napoleon as “der neu entstandene ägyptische Prophet Bonaparte”—“einen von Gott hoch erleuchteten, geistvollen Mann, von dessen Seite alles Gute herkomme” (1799, *ibid.*, p. 57).

cruel to hold him responsible, since it was due to such sufferings.

Whether this explanation explains, may be left to the acumen of the reader. However, it may not be necessary to assume an intentional misrepresentation. It is possible that Kleist had passed through certain psychological and political crises within a few months' time, which made it impossible for him to see his past actions in their true light. An intensely imaginative person is inclined to use his own past as material for artistic reconstruction, just as he would use any other historical data. This elaboration may be conscious or unconscious. In such persons uncontrolled memory may be very unreliable, though no intention to distort is present. Intense feelings have still greater power than the imagination to disturb the normal process of remembering. Kleist was a man of unsurpassed imaginative powers and of unequalled intensity of feeling. His memory may have been peculiarly unreliable.

An examination of the historic background of this period is needed as a control in the interpretation of the letters and of the whole episode to which they refer.

For the present, the most patent fact in the record of the visit to Köckritz at the palace is the existence of a letter from Kleist, which is in the hands of the king. It is clear that its contents could be interpreted in such a way as to incriminate the writer. We have seen how Kleist tried to break the force of this interpretation by ascribing to his letter "*unverkennbare Zeichen einer Gemütskrankheit*," which had certainly not been recognized by his Majesty's Cabinet.

Unfortunately, this letter is lost. It is not in the *Kgl. Geheim. Staatsarchiv*, and is not likely to have been preserved elsewhere. One might hazard a surmise that

powerful and interested hands, possibly no other than those of Marie von Kleist, the queen's friend and Kleist's good genius at court, were able to get possession of it and destroy it, in order to keep it from appearing before a tribunal. As to its contents, we are left to make shrewd guesses based upon references to it.

We know that it was written by Kleist to Marquis von Lucchesini, Prussian ambassador at Paris, and forwarded by him to the king, Friedrich Wilhelm III. at Berlin. New evidence helps us to be a little more specific. Most of the biographers merely affirm that it requested passports, which were sent at once, but in such a form as to compel a return to Potsdam. But it must have contained something much more important than a simple request for passports, or the ambassador would not have sent it on to the king, and the king would not have been so angered by it. Ulrike's account⁵ says that Kleist begged the king's permission to join the expedition against England. She was with her half-brother almost immediately after his return to Berlin, and enjoyed his confidence more than any other person; so that this testimony is tolerably direct. It is probable enough in itself that Kleist would ask such permission, after solemnly pledging the king, in the above-cited 'Revers,' not to enter the military service of any foreign power without the royal consent. The words of Köckritz show that King and Cabinet are in possession of knowledge concerning his plan to join the forces at Boulogne, which could hardly have been derived from any other source than Kleist's own letter, unless the ambassador's report contained it, and he would have been wholly dependent upon the original letter. The other matters mentioned by Köckritz, the withdrawal from the

⁵ Biedermann, *l. c.*, pp. 53 ff.

army, the desertion of the civil service, his travels in foreign parts, his plan of settlement in Switzerland, his literary work, were all matters of common knowledge in military and government circles in Berlin, so that only the Napoleonic episode need be referred to the lost letter. To prove still more conclusively that this information did not come through the regular ambassadorial report from Paris, I insert here the text of Marquis von Lucchesini's report, which has been kindly furnished me by the Kgl. Geheim. Staats-archiv in Berlin. It bears the date Oct. 31, 1803, and is as follows: "Un jeune Mr. de Kleist, ci-devant officier au premier bataillon des gardes, qu'un désir vague d'instruction avait ramené depuis trois semaines à Paris avec le Sr. de Pfuel, avait disparu à l'improviste et nous a fait craindre pour sa vie. Je viens d'apprendre dans ce moment que sans se munir de mes passeports et sans aucune autorisation de la police de Paris, il est allé à St. Omer, où il pouvait courir le risque mérité, surtout en temps de guerre, d'être arrêté comme suspect et compromettre aussi la protection que sa qualité de sujet Prussien lui assurait ici."

Having considered the circumstances which led up to the incidents in question, and having examined the subsequent references to them, in both cases showing that reasons exist for modifying the current views in the direction of greater moderation, an emphasis of the sanity of the poet at that period, rather than an exaggeration of his abnormality, we will now take up the extant St. Omer letter itself, the only documentary evidence of unquestioned validity, to see whether it contains elements which necessarily point to madness.

I believe that anyone taking up the letter for a first reading, without being prejudiced by the legend handed

down by the biographers, will find a certain intensity of phraseology, an exaltation of spirit, such as is found on page after page of Kleist's literary works, but nothing more, nothing unusual, nothing abnormal, if he takes the poet's well-ascertained temperament as the norm, rather than that foolish abstraction, an average man. Confused or disordered the letter certainly is not. No intellectual disturbance is betrayed by a lack of perspicacity. It is certainly far removed from the "wildest ecstasy." The words do not "fall like pyramids, each greater and mightier than the preceding." They do not "overtopple one another."

Whether the whole scheme deserves to be called "den kopflosen Plan," "der wahnwitzige Vorsatz" (Brahm), or "gerade das Irrsinnigste, das seinem Innern am schärfsten widersprach" (Herzog), may be judged from the following considerations.

While involving what seem to us errors of judgment, it was not more impractical than other plans of Kleist which have been explained without recourse to mania. Cf. plans of marriage, made in Berlin, which involved renunciation of all prejudices of rank and claims of family tradition, and a domestic establishment supported on his estates, while he devoted himself to self-culture: also the plan of settlement in Switzerland, as a 'Bauer,' to realize his dream of a return to Nature: also his whole dream of a union of Austria and Prussia against Napoleon under the hegemony of Austria: etc., etc.

Kleist wished to cast away his life. The French army was mustering at Boulogne-sur-mer. It was officially given out that a descent was to be made upon England. Napoleon, to be sure, in a conversation with Metternich⁶ at a

⁶ *Memoirs of Prince Metternich*, Vol. I, p. 48, foot-note.

later date, denied that he had ever really intended to attempt the invasion, and assured him that he was keeping the English navy occupied while gathering strength against Austria. The naval officers of England also refused to believe in the imminence of an attack of that sort; but the army officers and the English people generally believed in the danger. All Europe seems to have believed in the feasibility of the descent and in Napoleon's intention to strike the threatened blow, when the favorable conjunction of events should arise. Good English publicists of today still express their belief in the reality of the menace, though confident of disastrous results, if a landing had been attempted, or even successfully made. German officials of today are said to entertain some such plan of descent in case an Anglo-German war should have to be waged. If Kleist believed in the imminence of the attack, and considered it unusually hazardous, and likely to offer him a military death, he was simply one among thousands of intelligent Europeans who entertained the same beliefs.

Further, though Kleist was disappointed in the society and learning of Paris, and called the Parisians "*Affen der Vernunft*," and after 1805 became the bitterest hater of Napoleon, we have no right or reason, either to assume that the poet confused Napoleon, the incarnation of the spirit of human liberty, with those Parisian '*Affen*,' or to antedate his hatred of the Consul. Previous to 1805 Kleist was rather individualistic and unpolitical, not national but cosmopolitan. Though he bore a part in the war of the First Coalition for the restoration of the royal family of France, he longed for peace, for an opportunity to redeem in some more humane way the time they were killing so immorally in the campaign. With such an attitude, he must have greeted the peace of Basel and Prussian

neutrality with great satisfaction, as the majority of Prussians of his time did. He probably shared in the general sympathy of the Prussians with the French Republic, with its great principles, at least.⁷ He may have been shocked at the regicide and the excesses of the republicans, but enthusiastic over the return of Bonaparte from Egypt, and the establishment of the Consulate. We may properly conceive of Kleist as sharing the general Prussian opinion, that Napoleon, by the treaties of Lunéville and Amiens, was the founder and powerful guarantor of European peace.⁸ This is not a pleasant chapter for the Prussian of today, but he should not allow mere sentiment to distort his presentation of fact. Napoleon was not considered Prussia's 'Erbfeind.' In fact the alliance between the Napoleonic consular government and the Prussian monarchy was closer than that of the latter with any other Continental power.⁹ Though Prussia was nominally neu-

⁷ V. Gentz's opinion of the French Revolution. "Wie Gentz dachten auch die übrigen Kreise der höher Gebildeten" (Geiger, l. c., p. 42).

⁸ "Quant à la Prusse, elle avait seule à se plaindre des stipulations secrètes du traité de Campo Formio; *mais elle conservait encore la croyance*, malheureusement erronée, que l'intention du premier consul était réellement *de pacifier l'Europe, comme de la préserver de tout bouleversement intérieur*" (Hardenberg, *Mémoires tirés des Papiers d'un Homme d'État*, tome huitième, p. 16). "Aussi l'annonce de la paix de Lunéville produisait-elle une allégresse vive et générale. Dans les transports qu'elle fit éprouver on croyait voir succéder la plus brillante prospérité à l'oppression dont on avait souffert, et les espérances à cet égard n'avaient pas plus de bornes que les désirs toujours exagérés du vulgaire" (*ibid.*, p. 49).

⁹ "Mais arrêtons-nous ici aux intérêts de la Prusse *qui se lieit essentiellement à ceux de la France, etc.*" (Hardenberg, l. c., p. 227). "Puis, tandis que l'Empire tombait en ruine, le premier consul semblait vouloir rendre la Prusse assez puissante pour devenir la protectrice de l'Allemagne septentrionale, *intention, qu'il ne cessa de manifester jusqu'à l'époque de la rupture du traité d'Amiens*"

tral, the only thing which, on various occasions, prevented her from allying herself with France against England was the well-grounded fear that the latter's navy would instantly ruin her commerce in the Baltic and elsewhere. Kleist's desire to enter Napoleon's service was not therefore an evidence of mental disorder.

The expression "unser aller Verderben lauert über den Meeren" has caused some difficulty. Herzog's facile assertion that the whole conception is transferred to the sphere of historic reality from the drama *Robert Guiskard* is certainly ill-grounded. A little attention to the drama itself should have prevented this error. The destruction of all the Normans does not lie in wait for them beyond seas. Its source is the pest raging in the camp before the walls of Stamboul, and the people plead to be led beyond seas as the only means of escape from universal destruction.

Franz Muncker's interpretation might be accepted at once as the simplest and most natural, if not too obvious. 'Unser aller' refers to the French army of invasion, and the 'Verderben' is the disastrous result likely to attend an attempt to cross the Channel in spite of the watchful British Channel fleet.

Another interpretation is possible. 'Unser aller' may refer to Kleist's countrymen, or even to Europeans in general, and 'Verderben' may have a larger sense, as the ruin of European prosperity under England's commercial policy. England's insistence upon the 'dominium maris' and her practical control of commerce put all Europe at

(p. 240). "Le roi avait même assez de peine à résister aux instances de Bonaparte pour s'unir à lui contre l'Angleterre... et il était dans la politique de Frédéric Guillaume de n'avoir à combattre ni pour ni contre la France" (p. 345).

her mercy.¹⁰ This forced Prussia at one time into a hostile league of the northern powers against England. Also England's money, in form of subsidies and gratuities at the European courts, came near being all powerful in moulding the policies of these courts in war and peace. Just at the time of this military project England was in nominal isolation, as a result of the peace of Amiens; but her agents and her gold were at work preparing a new curb to the power of Napoleon. This meant war, war in which Prussia could not maintain her neutrality, war hateful to all whose advantages depended upon the maintenance of peace. England's dogged fight against Napoleon might seem, and did seem to many, an unjustifiable assault upon the Protector of Europe, the great Pacifier. If this interpretation should prove correct, then Kleist could feel that his life would not merely be terminated, but sacrificed against a common enemy. At present the historical evidence is not complete enough to be decisive.

On either interpretation Kleist's conduct is not 'kopflös' nor 'wahnsinnig' but based on a sensible view of the situation.

¹⁰ "Car son acceptation (the cession of Hanover to Prussia) unissait hostilement la Prusse à la France contre le reste de l'Europe maritime ou continentale, et pouvait la précipiter dans une guerre générale et terrible, dont le cours eût été ruineux et l'issue incertaine" (Hardenberg, *l. c.*, p. 266). "Mais l'importance de son (England's) commerce, lié à celui de toute l'Europe, et la prépondérance de sa marine qui la rend aggressive partout, vulnérable nulle part, lui impriment une telle vie politique, une telle influence sur la prospérité des autres états, qu'on peut la considérer comme le siège du principe vital du corps social européen" (*ibid.*, p. 219). "Cependant, on se battait de part et d'autre *aux dépens des puissances neutres*. L'Angleterre, en bloquant les côtes dont on lui interdisait le commerce, ruinait celui de la Basse-Allemagne" (1803, *ibid.*, p. 226).

Now, if all this is true, and if his profession to Henriette von Schlieben is trustworthy, how could Kleist lose insight into his motives? Naturally enough, if we remember the dates. October 26, 1803, he is in St. Omer. In November he breaks down at Mainz, his illness caused not so much by physical overwork and overstrain as by the crushing sense of being compelled to return home and face his family and friends, a ruined man without fame and almost without self-respect. He is in his bed or in his room for five months, a recluse from the world, giving scant heed to events in the political arena. In June, 1804 he returns to Berlin to face life with whatever grace he can, and have another trial with his fate.

During this period the banishment of the republican Moreau to America occurs. On March 20, 1804 the Duke d'Enghien, taken in a raid on his asylum at Ettenheim, is put to death by Napoleon's orders.¹¹ It became evident by this sacrifice of republican and of royal prince that Napoleon was making the paths straight to an imperial throne. In June, 1804 he occupied neutral Hanover with his army. Prussian neutrality could not long remain sacred to an ambitious despot who was on the point of throwing off the Consular mask and assuming the imperial title. Instead of a protector of the peace of Europe men now saw in him only the ambitious and unscrupulous autocrat, to whom no obligations were sacred, and with

¹¹ "En Prusse cette nouvelle (the execution of the Duc d'Enghien) causa la sensation la plus douloureuse" (Hardenberg, *l. c.*, p. 332). "La violation du territoire de l'Empire, l'arrestation et le meurtre du duc d'Enghien avait excité hors de la France comme dans son sein la plus vive horreur" (*ibid.*, p. 352). "Événements qui firent plus que jamais fermenter les esprits dans le cabinet prussien, où dominait une opinion politique devenue toute antifranaïaise" (1804, *ibid.*, p. 414).

whom there could be no settled peace. When Kleist emerged from solitude it was into this changed Europe that he came, and he felt as keenly as the rest, possibly more keenly because of his earlier admiration, the terrible menace of the emperor to German independence. From the new point of view of bitter hatred his previous actions must seem inexplicable. His own interpretation, partly unconsciously, partly intentionally, took the hue it bears in his letter to Ulrike concerning the visit to Köckritz.

Thus again in the St. Omer letter no evidence of mental disorder is discoverable, more than is involved in the mere desire to end a wretched life.

The chronology of the events may now be considered. Kleist was in Geneva October 5. He is in St. Omer October 26. October 31 Marquis von Lucchesini reports to Berlin the arrival of the letter of Kleist at the embassy in Paris. This report says that Kleist and Pfuel came to Paris "*depuis trois semaines*," *i. e.*, about October 10. This is reasonably consistent with a journey from Geneva *via* Lyons to Paris. The date of the sudden flight from Paris is not so definitely ascertainable. As he went "*zu Fusz*," and the distance from Paris to St. Omer is at least 180 to 200 km., it must have required at least a week, probably longer, though he went "*in blinder Unruhe*." On the assumption that he wrote to Ulrike at once on arriving, the date of the "*quarrel*" and departure from Paris must have fallen about the middle of October. Oral tradition says that Kleist received the requested passports "*nach vier Tagen*."¹² As the request for them arrived in Paris on

¹² No direct evidence as to the speed made by the stage coaches between St. Omer and Paris in 1803 is before me. In 1793 Kleist made a journey from Frankfurt a/O. to Frankfurt a/M. *via* Leipzig, Erfurt, Gotha, Eisenach, Gelnhausen, and Hanau, spending one whole day in Leipzig. The journey of over 450 km. in an air line

the last day of October, it must have been written about the 28th or 29th, after the letter to Ulrike, not before, as implied by Wilbrandt and Brahm. It was written in St. Omer, not at Boulogne. The passports reached him about November 2 or 3, and several days later he must have been back in Paris on his way to Potsdam. Kleist himself says he went to Boulogne. If this is literally true, and Boulogne does not stand merely as a general designation for the whole region in which the army of Napoleon was encamped, he must have gone on from St. Omer to Boulogne while awaiting the passports, for he could not have gone later. This gives some slight color to the other tradition that he was protected by a French Surgeon-Major and taken as his servant to Boulogne.

We are now able to substitute for the incorrect or distorted accounts of previous biographers the following: Kleist and Pfuel arrived in Paris about October 10, 1803, accompanied by Herr and Frau von Werdeck, whom they had met in Switzerland. They spent some days together in pleasant companionship, but in one of his moods of depression, when his future seemed hopeless, Kleist requested Pfuel to join him in suicide. Pfuel refused, and used his strongest arguments to induce Kleist to give up all thoughts of such an end. Kleist had believed Pfuel capable of understanding him, had considered him the only

required just eight days, *i. e.*, seven days' travel. A similar speed would cover the distance from St. Omer to Paris in a fraction over two days. In 1800 the return journey from Würzburg to Berlin, 47 old Prussian miles=220 English miles=254 km., required just five days. This speed would make the St. Omer-Paris trip in less than three days. During one portion of the journey the coach made 4 Pr. m. in five and one-half hours. At this pace the trip from St. Omer to Paris would take about one and one-half days. The correctness of the traditional "nach vier Tagen" may be accepted without question.

man who could appreciate the tragedy of his life and genius. This argument, the most serious of the kind they had yet had, revealed the gulf of misunderstanding between them and intensified Kleist's sense of loneliness. The companionship in death, upon which he had fondly reckoned as a solace, was shown to be a baseless dream. The argument grew heated, became a "quarrel," and Kleist left his lodgings, and departed from the city. While Pfuel and the Werdecks were seeking him in vain, even among the dead in the Morgue, he was traveling northward toward St. Omer, not resolved to seek death alone (Brahm) but to find companionship in death among the French soldiery; not wandering without a goal (Brahm) but with the enlistment in Napoleon's army clearly fixed upon; not seeking death in any form whatever (Brahm), for he shrank from dying without companionship and from execution as a spy, but the honorable death of a soldier in battle. On the way to St. Omer he may well have met a troop of conscripts. There is nothing improbable in the tradition that he tried to substitute himself for one of them and was refused, since these Frenchmen knew what penalty desertion brought, and that such unauthorized evasion of the conscription was desertion, and easily discoverable besides. In St. Omer on October 26 he writes his farewell greetings to his sister Ulrike in words of exalted devotion to her and to his crushed ideal, giving her in a few brief, clear words a sufficient account of his recent movements and his plan of escape from this world's tragedy. Being so near the encampment, he delays some time at St. Omer. On leaving to make the last stage of his journey to the coast he probably meets by chance a French Surgeon-Major whom he had known before in Paris, and who, astonished to find a Prussian citizen without a passport at the seat of war, explains to him his danger of sharing the fate of

another Prussian nobleman, who had recently been arrested and shot as a supposed Russian spy. Revulsion from such an inglorious end (Cf. *Prinz Friedrich von Homcapable* of understanding him, had considered him the only had yet had, revealed the gulf of misunderstanding bequis von Lucchesini, at Paris, requesting permission to join the Napoleonic army at Boulogne, possibly adding some reason for the request, and demanding passports guaranteeing his safety while awaiting enlistment or embarkation. This letter, sent from St. Omer about October 28 or 29, arrived in Paris October 31. The ambassador, realizing the delicate situation of Prussia as a neutral state in the war between France and England, and not daring to give official sanction to the enlistment of a Prussian subject, a former military officer, sent the letter on to the king, but without comment, and sent passports to Kleist which forced him to return to Potsdam at once *via* Paris. While waiting for these Kleist was allowed to enjoy the protection of the Surgeon-Major, passing himself for the latter's servant, and thus perhaps accompanied him to Boulogne. On arrival of the passports, about November 2 or 3, Kleist returned at once to Paris. The failure of Napoleon to make the descent had no influence whatsoever in determining this action, as is generally affirmed, on the authority of the letter to Henriette von Schlieben. On arriving in Paris Kleist was apparently in good spirits and was as normal as ever. On his way home, he broke down at Mainz, the first city on the German border. His disease puzzled the physician. It was probably due to the crushing sense of being compelled to return home and face his family—an acknowledged failure, an object of pity or of scorn, or at best a dependent upon charity. •

JOHN WILLIAM SCHOLL.

XVIII.—SPENSER AND THE *MIROUR DE L'OMME*

It has been tacitly assumed that the *Mirour de l'Homme* lived only in its name (and even in that somewhat equivocally) until the discovery of the single extant manuscript in 1895. To suggest that the poem not only did not die when it was born, but that on the contrary it was well known to Spenser, and that it gave to the *Faerie Queene* one of its most famous purple patches—such a suggestion, one may readily grant, would occur offhand to no one. Yet there is weighty evidence in support of just this contention, and that evidence it is the object of this paper to present. That the case is one which challenges somewhat sharply our established preconceptions, and that it must rest on firm ground to command assent, I am thoroughly aware.

I

In the fourth canto of the first book of the *Faerie Queene* occurs the brilliant description of the progress of Pride, in a chariot drawn by the beasts on which are mounted the other six Deadly Sins. It is vividly pictorial in its effect, with its details sharply visualized in Spenser's most characteristic vein. Dealing as it does with one of the most conventional of all mediaeval themes, its warp, of course, is made up in part of the familiar commonplaces. But the pattern is strongly individual; in certain striking details the passage stands alone and unmatched among the hitherto noted literary treatments of the Seven Deadly Sins. That, to be sure, is in large measure due to the fact that it is Spenser who this time

is treating them. But nothing is more characteristic of Spenser than his weaving together, into a fabric peculiarly his own, of borrowed strands. For his imagination (it is clear) was exquisitely sensitive to suggestion, and when he imagines most vividly the initial stimulus is seldom far to seek. In a word—and though a paradox, his practice gives it proof—when he is most original we have fullest warrant for suspecting some antecedent influence that has sprung his imagination with a word or phrase or, particularly, with a hint of pictorial possibilities. But no source of what is thus peculiarly Spenserian in the great progress of the Seven Deadly Sins has yet been found.

The traits which combine to give the description its distinctive character may be readily summarized. In the first place, to the device of representing each Sin as riding on a symbolic animal Spenser has added the further symbolizing touch of depicting each Vice as holding an appropriate object in its hand. Second, with each of the six Sins thus pictured he has associated a specific malady (in the case of Wrath, a number of maladies). And finally, he has elaborated each portrait by a massing of vividly pictorial or sharply characterizing details. I wish to point out that in the description of the marriage of Pride and the World in the *Mirour de l'Homme* Gower represents each of the Sins as riding on a symbolic beast, and also as carrying an appropriate object in its hand; that in the fuller account of the Sins which follows he associates each with a specific malady; and that a very large number of Spenser's most strongly visualized details are present (though less closely focussed) in Gower. And finally, it will be seen that the correspondences are not only general, but in many cases definitely verbal. In no other treatment of the Seven Deadly Sins, so far as I

know, does the same combination of salient details occur. And the verbal parallels, taken in conjunction with this fact, seem to point to but one conclusion.

The passage in the *Mirour* with which we are first concerned is the section beginning at line 841, with the rubric: "Comment les sept files du Pecché vindront vers leur mariage, et de leur arrai et de leur chiere." For purposes of immediate comparison I shall quote it in full. The corresponding stanzas in Spenser² are readily accessible, and it is assumed that they will be before the reader.

Chascune soer endroit du soy
 L'un apres l'autre ove son conroi
 Vint en sa guise noblement,
 Enchivalchant par grant desroy;
 Mais ce n'estoit sur palefroy,
 Ne sur les mules d'orient:
 Orguil qui vint primerement
 S'estoit monté moult fierement
 Sur un lioun, q'aler en coy
 Ne volt pour nul chastiment,
 Ainz salt sur la menue gent,
 Du qui tous furent en effroy.

850

Du selle et frein quoy vous dirray,
 Du mantellet ou d'autre array?
 Trestout fuist plain du queinterie;
 Car unques préee flouriz en mail
 N'estoit au regarder si gay
 Des fleurs, comme ce fuist du perrie:
 Et sur son destre poign saisie
 Une aigle avoit, que signefie
 Qu'il trestous autres a l'essay
 Volt surmonter de s'estutye.
 Ensi vint a la reverie
 La dame dont parlé vous ay.

860

Puis vint Envyee en son degré,
 Q'estoit desur un chien monté,
 Et sur son destre poign portoit

² F. Q., I, iv, 17-35.

Un espervier q'estoit mué:
La face ot moult descolouré
Et pale des mals que pensoit, 870
Et son mantell dont s'affoubloit
Du purpre au droit devis estoit
Ove cuers ardans bien enbroudé,
Et entre d'eux, qui bien seoit,
Du serpent langues y avoit
Par tout menuement proudré.

Après Envy vint suiant
Sa soer dame Ire enchivalchant
Moult fierement sur un sengler,
Et sur son poign un cock portant. 880
Soulaïne vint, car attendant
Avoit ne sergant n'escuier;
La cote avoit du fin acier,
Et des culteals plus d'un millier
Q'au coste luy furent pendant:
Trop fuist la dame a redouter,
Tous s'en fuient de son sentier,
Et la lessont passer avant.

Dessus un asne lent et lass
Enchivalchant le petit pass 890
Puis vint Accidie loign derere,
Et sur son poign pour son solas
Tint un huan ferm par un las:
Si ot toutdis pres sa costiere
Sa couche faite en sa litiere;
N'estoit du merriem ne de piere,
Ainz fuist de plom de halt en bass.
Si vint au feste en tieu maniere,
Mais aulques fuist de mate chere,
Pour ce q'assetz ne dormi pas.

Dame Avarice apres cela
Vint vers le feste et chivalcha
Sur un baucan qui voit toutdis
Devers la terre, et pour cela
Nulle autre beste tant prisas:
Si ot sur l'un des poigns assis
Un ostour qui s'en vait toutdis
Pour proye, et dessus l'autre ot mis
Un merlot q'en larcine va.

Des bources portoit plus que dis, 910
 Que tout de l'orr sont replenis:
 Moult fuist l'onour q'om le porta.

Bien tost apres il me sovient
 Que dame Gloutonie vient,
 Que sur le lou s'est chivalché,
 Et sur son poign un coufle tient,
 Q'a sa nature bien avient;
 Si fist porter pres sa costée
 Beau cop de vin envessellé:
 N'ot guaire deux pass chivalchée, 920
 Quant Yveresce luy survient,
 Saisist le frein, si l'ad mené,
 Et dist de son droit heritée
 Ques cel office a luy partient.

Puis vi venir du queinte atour
 La dame q'ad fait maint fol tour,
 C'est Leccherie la plus queinte:
 En un manteal de fol amour
 Sist sur le chievre q'est lechour,
 En qui luxure n'est restreinte. 930
 Et sur son poign soutz sa contrainte
 Porte un colomb; dont meint et meinte
 Pour l'aguarder s'en vont entour.
 Du beal colour la face ot peinte,
 Oels vairs riantz, dont mainte enpeinte
 Ruoit au fole gent entour.

Et d'autre part sans nul demeure
 Le Siecle vint en mesme l'eure,
 Et c'estoit en le temps joly
 Du Maii, quant la deesce Nature 940
 Bois, champs et préés de sa verdure
 Reveste, et l'oiseil font leur cry,
 Chantant deinz ce buisson flori,
 Que point l'amie ove son amy:
 Lors cils que vous nomay desseure
 Les noces font, comme je vous dy:
 Moult furont richement servy
 Sanz point, sanz reule et sanz mesure.*

* *The Complete Works of John Gower*, ed. G. C. Macaulay, Oxford, 1899, Vol. I, pp. 13-14.

Certain divergences between the two accounts may at once be given their due weight. In the first place, the *order* of the Sins is not the same. The succession in Spenser is Pride, Idleness, Gluttony, Lechery, Avarice, Envy, Wrath. In Gower the order is the more conventional one—Pride, Envy, Wrath, Idleness, Avarice, Gluttony, Lechery.⁴ But the difference in arrangement has no significance. The order in the *Assembly of Gods*⁵ is Pride, Envy, Wrath, Avarice, Gluttony, Lechery, Idleness. In *Piers the Plowman* (Passus v) the series is Pride, [Lechery], Envy, Wrath, Lechery, Avarice, Gluttony, Idleness.⁶ And other variations are numerous.⁷

⁴ Dante, *Purgatorio*; *Cursor Mundi* (Book of Penance); *Kalender of Shepherdes*; Chaucer, *Parson's Tale*; etc. Except that Wrath and Envy are interchanged, this is also the order in *Handlyng Synne*, as it is likewise (with the interchange of Gluttony and Lechery) in the *Ayenbite of Inwyrt* and *Le Mireour du Monde*.

⁵ Professor MacCracken's rejection of the poem as Lydgate's seems to be warranted by the evidence. See *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate* (E. E. T. S., 1911), pp. xxxv-vi.

⁶ In Passus II, 79 ff., Lechery and Avarice are interchanged.

⁷ In the *Cursor Mundi* (Castle of Love) the order is Pride, Envy, Gluttony, Lechery, Avarice, Wrath, Idleness. In the *Lay Folks Catechism* it is Pride, Envy, Wrath, Gluttony, Avarice, Idleness, Lechery; in Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests*, Pride, Idleness, Envy, Wrath, Avarice, Gluttony, Lechery; in the *Castle of Perseverance*, Avarice, Pride, Wrath, Envy, Lechery, Gluttony (the last two interchanged when the Sins actually appear); in *Nature*, Pride, Avarice, Wrath, Envy, Gluttony, Idleness, Lechery; in Dunbar, Pride, Wrath, Envy, "Sweirnes" (= Idleness), Lechery (with Idleness), Gluttony. See further Professor Tupper's article on "Chaucer and the Seven Deadly Sins" (*Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXIX, March, 1914), p. 94, especially note 1. Professor Tupper's statement that "in all lists, however, Pride is the first of the sins," is not quite correct. See the order in the *Castle of Perseverance* above (where Pride is second), and compare de Deguileville, *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man* (E. E. T. S., pp. 316 ff.), where the order is [Idleness], Gluttony, Lechery (under the guise of Venus), Sloth, Pride, Envy, Wrath, Avarice.

No valid conclusion, accordingly, may be drawn from this particular divergence. The *sex* of the Sins, moreover, is different in the two accounts. In the *Mirour* all seven are the daughters of Sin and Death; in the *Faerie Queene* Pride is a "mayden Queene," the others—her "six sage Counsellours"—are masculine. But the sex of the Sins is inherent in the fundamental plan of Gower's poem; the divergence in Spenser grows out of his conception of the House of Pride, and is susceptible of interpretation as representing a perfectly familiar mode of adapting borrowed material. The same may be said of the fact that in Gower the Sins ride in procession single file, while in Spenser they ride, apparently, side by side.⁸ Inasmuch as Gower's plan demands at this point a bridal procession, Spenser's a chariot drawn by a team, the difference in detail is again inherent in the difference in plan. In a word, the divergences are either without significance (as in the case of the order of treatment), or else they grow out of the different settings of the situation in the two poems, and are so without real bearing on the point at issue.

It is likenesses, however, with which we are most concerned. And, quite apart from details, the similarities between the two descriptions both in general conception and even in method are obvious—so obvious, indeed, as to constitute in themselves (especially after even a cursory survey of the other treatments of the Seven Deadly Sins)

⁸ Spenser's picture here is not clear at a glance. The "six un-equall beasts" on which the Sins ride draw the chariot of Pride. Idleness is spoken of as "the first," and is represented as having "guiding of the way," while Gluttony rides "by his side." Lechery rides "next to him," Avarice, "by him"; Envy, "next to him," Wrath, "him beside." The alternation of "next to him" with "by his side," "by him," "him beside," seems to point to a procession two and two.

a strong piece of presumptive evidence. For in Gower's concrete and definitely visualized imagery are precisely the elements on which Spenser's imagination was wont to seize for transmutation in his own alembic, and the lines in the *Faerie Queene* stand to those in the *Mirour* in a relation strikingly similar to that which other well known passages in Spenser bear to Ariosto.⁹

But such evidence can at best be merely presumptive, and the general parallel, however striking, is inconclusive. It is necessary to examine closely the details. And it will

⁹ See, in particular, Professor R. E. Neil Dodge's illuminating discussion of "Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto," in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. XII (1897), pp. 151-204. Professor Dodge's brief summary may be quoted here, for it is highly pertinent to this discussion: "When he copies Ariosto it is almost always with a change. He may take the facts of a plot one by one as they stand in his original; the peculiar rendering will always be his own. He may adopt a situation—it will be with certain modifications which alter its character. He may imitate a reflective passage—the spirit of the version will be new" (p. 196). Compare p. 197: "Every passage borrowed might be recast, modified, animated with another spirit," etc. Of all this Professor Dodge's article itself gives ample illustration. Two more recent statements bearing on Spenser's methods of borrowing and adapting may be cited. The first is from an article by Professor E. A. Hall ("Spenser and Two Old French Grail Romances") in the same *Publications*, Vol. XXVIII (Dec., 1913): "The acceptance of the variations as Spenser's own contribution to the episode . . . does not require the embarrassing qualification that the poet has in this instance handled source material in a manner differing in any respect from his recognized method. Everywhere in Spenser we find borrowed matter, sometimes from one source, sometimes from two or more sources, combined with the stuff of the poet's own fancy after the fashion of a patchwork quilt, but in a pattern superior to any of his originals," etc. (pp. 542-43). Compare also Professor Reed Smith's study (*Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XXVIII, March, 1913, pp. 82-85) of "The *Metamorphoses* in *Muiopotmos*," especially the remarks on Spenser's method of borrowing (Note 5, p. 84).

simplify matters to present the more salient facts in tabular form.

Sin.	Beast.		Object carried.		Malady.	
	Gower	Spenser	Gower	Spenser	Gower	Spenser
[Pride]	lion		eagle	mirror	frenzy ¹¹	
Idleness (3) ¹⁰	ass	ass	owl	breviary	lethargy	fever
Gluttony (5)	wolf	swine	kite (+ vessel of wine)	bouzing can	"loup roial"	dropsy
Lechery (6)	goat	goat	dove	burning heart	leprosy	pox (?)
Avarice (4)	horse	camel	hawk (+ "bources")	[gold]	dropsy	gout
Envy (1)	dog	wolf	sparrow- hawk	[toad]	fever ("ethike")	leprosy
Wrath (2)	boar	lion	cock	burning brand	cardiacle	spleen, palsy, etc.

It should be kept in mind that the essential correspondence in the two accounts, so far as the facts of the table are concerned, is the striking conjunction in both of symbolic animals, symbolic objects carried in the hand, and symbolic maladies. That both beasts and objects (leaving for the moment the maladies out of account) should vary, is to be expected, when a greater artist is dealing with the symbolism. But even so the direct correspondences are closer than at first appears. Idleness in Spenser rides "upon a *slouthfull Asse*";¹² in Gower it is "*dessur un asne lent et lass.*"¹³ And

¹⁰ The order of the Sins is that in Spenser. The figure in parenthesis represents the place of the Sin in Gower's order.

¹¹ For the references in the case of the maladies see below, p. 408.

¹² St. XVIII, l. 7. Hereafter, in giving the references to Spenser, the Roman numeral will indicate the stanza; the Arabic, the line.

¹³ L. 889. But compare also the "*dull asse*" in the *Assembly of Gods* below, p. 398.

"his heavie hedd" ¹⁴ corresponds to "de mate chere." ¹⁵ Gluttony's "bouzing can" ¹⁶ is in Gower as the "beau cop de vin envessellé." ¹⁷ Lechery in Gower rides "sur le chievre q'est lecchour"; ¹⁸ in Spenser he rides upon "a bearded Gote, whose rugged heare . . . was like the person selfe whom he did beare." ¹⁹ The "burning hart" which he bears in his hand takes the place of the dove, and is not in Gower's description of Lechery. But it is in his account of Envy, as the "cuers ardans" of l 73. Avarice in Gower "des bources portoit plus que dis, *Que tout de l'orr sont replenis.*" ²⁰ In Spenser, "two iron coffers hung on either side, *With precious metal full as they might hold.*" ²¹ Envy's kirtle in Spenser is "of discolourd say"; ²² in Gower, Envy's face is "moult descolouré." ²³ This kirtle in Spenser is "ypaynted full of eies"; ²⁴ in Gower "son mantell dont s'affoubloit [compare Spenser's "all in a kirtle . . . he clothed was"] Du purple au droit devis estoit *Ove cuers ardans bien enbroudé.*" ²⁵ The burning hearts have been transferred to Lechery; the eyes more fittingly (cf. xxx, 7; xxxi, 6) take their place. In Envy's bosom, in Spenser, lies "an hatefull Snake"; ²⁶ in Gower, between the burning hearts are scattered serpents' tongues. ²⁷ To Wrath's dagger correspond "des culteals" in Gower. ²⁸ I grant at

¹⁴ XIX, 5.¹⁵ L. 899.¹⁶ XXII, 6.¹⁷ L. 919. See also below, p. 415.¹⁸ L. 929.¹⁹ XXIV, 2, 4.²⁰ Ll. 910-11.²¹ XXVII, 3-4. See also below, p. 424, n. 49.²² XXXI, 1.

²³ L. 869. Envy is also "megre, pale and lene, *Dyscolouryd*" ("descoloree" in the French text of *Le Romant des trois pelerinaiges*) in de Deguileville (E. E. T. S., p. 401, ll. 14867-68). Too much stress, accordingly, may not be laid on this detail.

²⁴ XXXI, 2.²⁵ Ll. 871-73.²⁶ XXXI, 3-4.²⁷ Ll. 874-76. Compare also below, pp. 436, 442, 446.²⁸ L. 884.

	Gower	Spenser	<i>Assembly</i>	<i>Ancren Riwle</i>
Pride	lion	—	lion	lion
Idleness	ass	ass	ass	bear
Gluttony	wolf	swine	bear	sow
Lechery	goat	goat	goat	scorpion
Avarice	horse	camel	elephant	fox
Envy	dog	wolf	wolf	adder
Wrath	boar	lion	boar	unicorn

Spenser agrees with Gower in four out of the seven animals, and in two cases (those of Idleness and Lechery) the association of the animal and the Vice corresponds.³² The *change* in the case of the *lion*, moreover, is no less significant than the agreement. Wrath in Gower rides upon a boar; in Spenser he is mounted on a lion. Now in the *Mirour* it is Pride who is borne by a lion. In the *Fairie Queene*, however, Pride is in the chariot drawn by the remaining Sins, so that her lion is available for other use. And it is difficult to doubt that it is from Pride in the *Mirour* that Spenser has transferred the lion to his own Wrath. For Gower's description is at once uncommonly pictorial and apt: "un lioun, q'aler en coy

³² It is at least possible that the author of the *Assembly* may have known Gower's account. At all events the two passages agree in five out of the seven animals, and in four cases (those of Pride, Idleness, Lechery, and Wrath) the assignment of animals to vices corresponds. It is of course further possible that Spenser may have known the procession in the *Assembly*. He agrees with it in four of the seven animals, and in three cases (those of Idleness, Lechery, and Envy) the conjunction of animal and vice is identical. But the crucial test of the combination in one account of animals, objects, and maladies—quite apart from verbal agreements—throws the procession in the *Assembly* decisively out of court, except as a possible subsidiary source.

Ne volt pour nul chastement, Ainz salt sur la menue gent, Du qui tous furent en effroy." ³³ And it is precisely this distinctive touch ³⁴ which appears condensed in Spenser's phrase: "Upon a Lion, loth for to be led." ³⁵ As for the other three changes, one can perhaps only guess. But the swine (associated with Gluttony in both the *Ancren Riwe* and the *Ayenbite of Inwyte*) is obviously more in keeping with the superb grossness of Spenser's conception of Gluttony than the wolf, and the wolf, thus available for other use, may readily have been transferred (possibly under the influence of the *Assembly*) to Envy, to whose malicious and devastating character, as Spenser conceives it, it is certainly more appropriate than the dog. Spenser's choice of the camel for Avarice will be discussed below; ³⁶ and Gower's rather inept assignment of the horse cried out in any case for the reviser's hand.

The changes in the objects carried—once the idea of such objects was suggested—are again what we should expect. Gower's symbolism is general; the object chosen—in each case a bird (with the addition, in the case of Gluttony and Avarice, of two objects *which also appear in Spenser*) ³⁷—is broadly appropriate to the Vice, rather than an integral part of a description conceived and executed as an artistic whole. In Spenser, on the other hand, the objects—in no case a bird—are part and parcel of a *composition*; as in Gower, they have a symbolic relation to the Vice, but they also blend with the other details to create a unified impression. Their choice, in other words, is determined not only by their symbolic, but also

³³ Ll. 849-52.

³⁴ Compare, for instance, the conventional "roaring lion" of the procession in the *Assembly*.

³⁵ XXXIII, 2.

³⁶ See p. 424.

³⁷ See above, p. 396; below, pp. 415, 424.

by their artistic value. Thus the conception of Idleness is dominated by the religious aspect of Somnolence, and the unused breviary—instead of an owl "*pour son solas*"—is completely in harmony with that. Gluttony's "*bouzing can*" (with its suggestion in Gower) follows inevitably from the rest of the description; the kite, however apposite to the Vice *per se*, would be extraneous to the composition. Lechery's burning heart (the hint for which is also found in Gower) and Wrath's burning brand are organically symbolic—they grow out of their respective conceptions and at the same time focus them; the dove and the cock in Spenser's setting would strike a discordant note. And this more organic treatment is carried one step farther in the case of Avarice and Envy, whose hands are occupied, in the one case with telling the gold, in the other with holding the toad. In either description the bird would be a mere mechanical device. Once more, given on the one hand the apt suggestion of a symbolizing object, given on the other Spenser's gift for composing—for harmonizing descriptive details into organic unity—and the naïve symbolism of Gower's birds would inevitably give place to emblems of a subtler sort.

One may, however, agree that Spenser *would* have done thus or so, and yet be unconvinced that he *did* just these things—that the case, after all, is anything but hypothetical. Let us see, accordingly, if there are other indications that point more directly toward borrowing on Spenser's part. We have so far left Pride out of the reckoning. She must, however, be brought into the account.³⁸ In the

³⁸ In both passages Pride is a woman. And in Gower, as in Spenser, she is set off sharply from the other Sins. Not only is she represented as their leader ("*Orguil, des autres capiteine,*" l. 1045)—a distinction which is of course a commonplace of commonplaces—but the pomp and circumstance of the marriage centers about her.

Faerie Queene her position in the chariot takes her out of the procession of four-footed beasts, but it does not deprive her of her symbolic object. In Gower the bird is—fittingly enough—an eagle. But Spenser's symbolism is once more *inherent*:

And in her hand she held a mirrhour bright,
Wherein her face she often vewed fayne,
And in her selfe-lov'd semblance took delight.³⁹

The significance of the emblem in the *Mirour*, however, is retained in the *Faerie Queene*. The eagle in Gower "*signefie Qu'il trestous autres a l'essay Volt surmonter de s'estutye.*"⁴⁰ Spenser remarks of Pride:

For to the highest she did still aspyre,
Or, if ought higher were than that, did it desyre.⁴¹

When the Redcrosse Knight and Duessa have made obeisance to Pride "on humble knee,"

With *loftie eyes*, halfe loth to looke so lowe,
She thancked them *in her disdainefull wise*;
*Ne other grace vouchsafed them to showe.*⁴²

So in the *Mirour*:

Desdaign, quant passe aval la rue,
Par fier regard les oels il rue

³⁹ x, 6-8. Pride in the *Pilgrimage* also

Held a large merour in hyr hond,
Hyr owgly fletuyrs to behold and se (ll. 14002-03).

In the *Pelerinaige*:

Et vng mirouer luy tenoit
Afin que dedans regardast
Et que sa face elle y mirast. (*Romant*, f. xlviij).

But the fitness of detail is sufficiently obvious in any case.

⁴⁰ Ll. 860-61.

⁴¹ xi, 8-9.

⁴² xiv, 1-3.

*Dessur les povres gens menuz . . .
Que ne respont a leur saluz.*⁴³

Pride's chariot is

*Adorned all with gold and girlonds gay,
That seemed as fresh as Flora in her prime.*⁴⁴

Orguil's saddle and bridle are

*Trestout . . . plain du queinterie;
Car unques prée flouriz en maii
N'estoit au regarder si gay
Des fleurs, comme ce fuist du perrie.*⁴⁵

Moreover, Spenser gives Pride (so far as I know) a unique parentage:

*Of griesly Pluto she the daughter was,
And sad Proserpina, the Queene of hell.*⁴⁶

⁴³ Ll. 2257-59, 2262. These lines are from a direrent portion of the *Mirour*, where Pride is dealt with in detail. The significance of this fact will appear later (see below, sec. II). Todd properly refers "with loftie eyes" to Prov. xxx, 13. But Gower translates Prov. xxx, 13 a few lines below:

*De celle generacioun
Portant les oels d'elacioun
Ove la palpebre en halt assise,
Que ja d'umiliacioun
Ne prent consideracioun (ll. 2293-97).*

The verse reads in the Vulgate: "Generatio cujus excelsi sunt oculi, et palpebrae ejus in alta surrectae."

⁴⁴ xvii, 2-3.

⁴⁵ Ll. 855-58.

⁴⁶ xi, 1-2. In the very remarkable account of the coronation of Pride in the thirteenth-century *Renart-le-Nouvel* of Jacquemars Gielée (text in *Le Roman du Renart*, ed. Méon, Paris, 1826, Vol. iv, pp. 125 ff.; see also *Renart-le-Nouvel*, ed. Houdoy, Paris, 1874) Proserpine is the mistress of Orguel:

*K'envoïé li ot Proserpine
Del puc d'Infier, c'or d'amor fine
Amoît Orguel et Orgeus li,*

Her descent in Gower (where she is the daughter of Sin and Death) is different, but in the very next section of the *Mirour*, in the account of the marriage of Pride and the World,⁴⁷ three lines after the mention of her parentage we read:

Au table q'estoit principal
Pluto d'enfern Emperial
*Ove Proserpine s'asseoit.*⁴⁸

And immediately there follows an account of the feasting at the wedding which concerns us nearly:

Dont fuist leur *feste et joye* maire . . .⁴⁹
 Mais pour servir d'especial
 Bachus *la sale* ministroit,
 Et Venus plus avant servoit
 Toutes *les chambres* del hostal.⁵⁰

So in Spenser, after "the solace of the open aire,"

That night they pas in *joy and jollity*,
Feasting and courting both in *bowre and hall*.⁵¹

The ministrations of Bacchus and Venus correspond

Mais à Pluto pas n'abieli,
 Car il en fu en jalousie (ll. 233-37).

In this account Pride is masculine, and the other six Sins are "sis Dames" (ll. 1173 ff.), who come to meet Pride two by two, but "à pie" (l. 1181), in the order Wrath and Envy, Avarice and Idleness, Luxury and Gluttony. But there are no farther parallels. See ll. 1172-1247. Pluto and Proserpine also appear (together with Jupiter, Saturn, Apollo, Mercury, Neptune, and Mars) in *Le Tornoement de l'Antechrist* (p. 18), but in no immediate connection with Pride.

⁴⁷ "Coment lez sept files du Pecché furent espousez au Siecle, des quelles la primere ot a noun dame Orguil."

⁴⁸ Ll. 961-63.

⁴⁹ Compare, in the same account, "Del tiel *revel*, del tiele *joye*" (l. 999).

⁵⁰ Ll. 960, 969-72.

⁵¹ XLIII, 5-6.

exactly to "feasting and courting,"⁵² and "bowre and hall" (like "joy and jollity") are verbally carried over. But that is not the only verbal correspondence. Bacchus and Venus would scarcely fit at this point into Spenser's scheme, along with Sansfoy and Duessa. They are not, however, the only ones who serve at Pride's wedding. Thirteen lines farther on occurs the following:

*Lors Gloutonie a grant mesure
Du large main mettoit sa cure
As grans hanaps du vin emplir.*⁵³

The next lines in Spenser are as follows:

For Steward was *excessive Gluttony*,
That of his plenty poured forth to all.

But even that is not all. For Spenser has apparently remembered an earlier summary of the Sins in the *Mirour*, and with his close paraphrase of Gower's three lines in the account of the marriage on which he is freely drawing, *he has interwoven the very phraseology of the earlier passage*:

*Accidie estoit son chamberer,
Et Glotonie de son droit
Estoit son maistre boteller.*⁵⁴

For Steward was *excessive Gluttony*,
That of his plenty poured forth to all;
Which doen, *the Chamberlain, Slowtk*, did to
rest them call.⁵⁵

We shall have abundant evidence later of the same sort of selection and dexterous combination on Spenser's part.

⁵² So far as "courting" is concerned, see further ll. 981-83:

Car mainte delitable geste
Leur dist, dont il les cuers entice
Des jofnes dames au delice.

And compare ll. 1009-20, 1045-56.

⁵³ Ll. 985-87.

⁵⁴ Ll. 296-98.

⁵⁵ XLIII, 7-9

But even were that not so, the last five lines of the forty-third stanza put the burden of proof on the *denial* of his borrowing. And it will be observed that it is precisely the same sort of readjustment for his own purposes (in this case *demonstrable*) which we have seen (where it was more a matter of *assumption*) in the case of the animals and the birds.

Nor does this exhaust the parallels in the stanzas immediately following the account of the Progress. In Spenser,

. . . after all, upon the wagon beame,
Rode Sathan with a smarting whip in hand,
With which he forward lasht the laesy teme.⁵⁶

In Gower, the lines that immediately follow *his* account of the procession are these:

As noces de si hault affaire
Ly deables ce q'estoit a faire
*Tout ordena par son devis.*⁵⁷

To the "huge routs of people [that] did *about them* band" in Spenser (xxxvi, 5) corresponds the "*fole gent entour*" (l. 936) and "*la menue gent*" (l. 851) on which Pride's lion leaps in Gower. The "*fresh flowering fields*" in which Spenser's company sports (xxxvii, 3) are paralleled by the "*champs et prées de sa verdure Reveste*" and the "*buisson flori*" (ll. 941-43) which give the setting of the procession in the *Mirour*.⁵⁸ Instinctive prepossessions aside, the evidence seems clear that Spenser has done with Gower what we know that he did with Ariosto

⁵⁶ xxxvi, 1-3.

⁵⁷ Ll. 949-51.

⁵⁸ The two lines, moreover, which close the account of the feast in Gower correspond word for word with a line in one of the earlier stanzas in Spenser which likewise describe the House of Pride:

Et pour solempnement tenir

and Tasso, with Ovid and Chaucer and the romances. Even on the ground of the facts so far before us, it is hard to escape the conclusion that the entire fourth canto is an amazing piece of marquetry—that in its composition Spenser characteristically culled and dovetailed as he wrote. The importance in particular of just this group of parallels that involve the *background* of the two accounts is obvious. For they are entirely independent of the treatment of the Seven Deadly Sins as such. They constitute, that is, a *differentia* of this particular treatment, and this *differentia* of Gower's account appears in Spenser too.^{58a} And the way in which not only the description of the procession in Gower (of which there is still much more to say), but also his account of the feast, is inlaid (unless I much mistake) in Spenser's own narrative " [speaks] the praises of the workman's witt" no less than the "goodly heape" of the House of Pride itself.

The consideration of Pride and "of the feste that was at hir weddinge" has withdrawn our attention from Spen-

Le feste, a toute gent ovrir
 Les portes firon t a toute hure (ll. 994-96).

Arrived there, they passed in forth right;
 For still to all the gates stood open wide (vi, 1-2).

"Still" = *a toute hure*; "to all" = *a toute gent*; "the gates" = *Les portes*; "stood open" = *ovrir . . . firon*. The only word in Spenser's line (barring "For") which does not literally translate a corresponding word or phrase in Gower is the rhyme-word "wide." But striking as the verbal identity is, it is possible that in this case the two poets are simply expressing a very common idea in the obvious words, and that the correspondence is accidental. It would certainly have no value whatever were it an isolated parallel. Standing as it does, however, in immediate connection with a number of other close parallels too numerous and too remarkable to be safely regarded as coincidences, this line too is very possibly an instance of verbal memory on Spenser's part.

^{58a} See especially below, p. 449.

ser's treatment of the other six Sins, and to that we may now return. I have said that, in both Spenser and Gower, each Sin is associated with a definite malady. This association, in Gower, occurs in the elaborate exposition of the Seven Sins which immediately follows the account of the marriage of Pride. And it appears in each case as a part of the final summarizing section.⁵⁹ In Spenser, too, it serves, in each instance, as the final characterizing detail. I shall repeat the tabular view, so far as it includes the maladies:

	Gower	Spenser
Pride	frenzy ⁶⁰	_____
Idleness	lethargy ⁶¹	fever
Gluttony	loup roial ⁶²	dropsy
Lechery	leprosy ⁶³	pox
Avarice	dropsy ⁶⁴	gout
Envy	fever ⁶⁵	leprosy
Wrath	cardiacle ⁶⁶	spleen, palsy, &c.

The two lists have three of the seven diseases in common; in no instance, however, do Spenser and Gower associate the same malady with a given Sin. But once more, it is the common device which is the essential point. A different application, in Spenser's case, is what, *a priori*, we should expect. Some of the divergences—I think it is not difficult to see—are due (as in the case of the objects carried) to the necessities of the case, or to a finer sense of

⁵⁹ See below, pp. 410-11.

⁶⁰ Ll. 2525-32.

⁶¹ Ll. 6157-68; cf. xx, 5-8.

⁶² Ll. 8521-32; cf. xxiii, 6-8.

⁶³ Ll. 9637-72; cf. xxvi, 6-8.

⁶⁴ Ll. 7603-08; cf. xxix, 6-8.

⁶⁵ Ll. 3817-28; cf. xxxii, 8.

⁶⁶ Ll. 5093-5100; cf. xxxv, 7-8.

fitness.⁶⁷ But at least two (if not three) give evidence of having been suggested by Gower. The least significant may be briefly mentioned here. In the *Mirour* dropsy is associated with Avarice. In the *Faerie Queene* it is assigned to Gluttony. But that the one passage has suggested the other seems probable. Spenser's lines are as follows:

And a dry dropsie through his flesh did flow,
Which by misdiet daily greater grew.⁶⁸

Gower's lines are these:

Cil q'ad le mal d'idropesie,
Comme plus se prent a beverie,
Tant plus du soif desnatural
Ensecche.⁶⁹

The two agree not only in the idea of *thirst* (which is not remarkable),⁷⁰ but also in the emphasis on its increase

⁶⁷ Leprosy, with its medieval associations, is appropriate enough to Lechery. The change, however, to the unnamed but easily identified disease—

. . . that foule evill, which all men reprove,
That rots the marrow, and consumes the braine—

was practically inevitable, after pox, as the accompaniment of lechery, had been defined and differentiated. Gout is a more realistic, more picturesque (if less conventionally symbolic) disease for Avarice than dropsy. On the other hand, the highly symbolic group of diseases—"The swelling Splene, and Frenzy raging rife, The shaking Palsey, and St. Fraunces fire"—form a striking climax to the long catalogue of mischiefs that follow Wrath; Gower's cardiacle (entirely appropriate in *fact*) would in this case have come in as an anticlimax. Indeed, the plan of this particular stanza (and that, as we have seen, is with Spenser a paramount consideration) excludes the treatment he has accorded the diseases in the other instances, where they prey upon the Sin itself.

⁶⁸ XXIII, 7-8.

⁶⁹ Ll. 7603-06.

⁷⁰ "Signa autem hydropsis . . . sunt . . . sitis inextinguibilis (Bernardus Gordonius, *Lilium medicinae*, Particula VI, cap. v—

by what it feeds on. The case of Envy is particularly striking, but I shall reserve it (together with that of Idleness) for discussion below,⁷¹ where the evidence becomes cumulative.

II

Up to this point we have been concerned with the agreement of the two accounts in the threefold conjunction of animals, symbolic objects, and maladies—a conjunction without other parallel—and with the adroit interweaving of Gower's description of the wedding feast with Spenser's narrative. The divergences in detail (however accounted for) between the two lists of animals, objects, and maladies may be felt to deprive their agreement (however unique) of entire conclusiveness. On the other hand, the verbal borrowings in the dovetailed fragments of the festival seem to admit no alternative. And we have now to consider a mass of correspondences of a similar sort, which should go far, I think, to dispel any lingering doubts. The list is too long to give entire, and I shall select those details which are most significant. They involve especially the portraits of Gluttony, Envy, Avarice, Idleness, and Wrath.

Spenser's descriptions of the six Deadly Sins (excluding Pride) subsume, in each case, characteristics which are frequently, in other accounts, distributed among the various "branches" or "species" of the respective Sins. In Gower (in the long section of the *Mirour* that follows the recital

ed. 1550, p. 543); "Quantum [signum] est *sitis*" (Valescus de Taranta, *Philonium*, Lib. v, cap. 8—ed. 1526, f. ccliv). The older commentators misunderstood "dry," and Upton's emendation "dire dropsy" (see Warton's note in the 1805 *Variorum*) and Collier's "hydropsy" are of course unnecessary.

⁷¹ See pp. 436, 428.

of the marriage of the seven Vices) this distribution is actually made between their progeny. Each Vice bears the World five children, and each of these is characterized at length. And each of the five accounts is followed by a section bearing the rubric: "La discripcioun d'Envie [Ire, etc.] proprement" (or "par especial"). What Spenser has done—if evidence has any meaning—is to draw freely for suggestion on these very detailed and often vivid "characters."¹ For the sake of brevity, I shall give the parallels, in what follows, with as little comment as possible.

It has long been recognized that Spenser's Gluttony is in part modelled on the classical descriptions of Bacchus and (especially) Silenus, and that Vergil, Ovid, Aristotle, and the Bible have contributed to the thoroughly Spenserian mosaic. I shall first give the evidence that certain details for which parallels have not hitherto been adduced are drawn from Gower, and then return to the lines which represent, in part at least, other influences.

With which he *swallowed up* excessive feast,
For want whereof *poore people oft did pyne*.^{1a}

. . . *ensi pour maintenir*
Sa guele il fait avant venir
Ce q'est dedeinz le mesuage
Des povres, dont se fait emplier:

¹ It is not (be it said at once) that there are in the portraits only such traits as appear nowhere else. To suggest that Spenser knew the Seven Deadly Sins only through Gower would be a palpable absurdity. That he knew other treatments and remembered them, admits no doubt. On conventions common to both, then, I shall lay but little stress. But even where the traits that are common to the two poems are more or less conventional, it is obvious that they must be interpreted in the light of the massing of correspondences that are *not* mere conventions of the *genre*.

^{1a} XXI, 6-7.

L'en doit tieu feste trop haïr
 Dont l'autre plourent lour damage.²

His belly was upblowne with luxury . . .
 And all the way, most like a brutish beast,
 He spued up his gorge, that all did him deteast.³

Il porte d'omme l'estature,
 Et est semblable de nature
 Au chien, qant ad le ventre enflé
 Plain de caroigne et vile ordure,
 Dont pardessoutz et pardessure
 S'espurge, et est trop abhosmé.⁴

Spenser's "belly . . . upblowne" is identically
 Gower's "ventre enflé"⁵; "most like a brutish beast" is

² Ll. 8431-36. So four lines later:

Par tout le paiis enviroin
 N'y laist gelline ne capoun,
 Ainz tolt et pile a sa pitance,
 Ove tout celle autre appourtenance;
 Et si ly povre en fait parlance,
 Lors fait sa paie du bastoun . . .
 Ne luy soufflist tantsoulement
 Ensi piler du povre gent,
 Ainçois des riches aprompter
 Quiert et leur orr et leur argent,
 Pour festoier plus largement;
 Car riens luy chalt qui doit paier,
 Maisq'il s'en pourra festoier . . .
 Maldit soit tieu festoient!

(Ll. 8440-45, 8449-55, 8460).

Cf. also ll. 8407-08.

³ XXI, 3, 8-9.

⁴ Ll. 8347-52. Cf. ll. 8333-34:

Car de son ventre le forsfait
 Est de vomite en grant danger.

See, indeed, the whole section.

⁵ Luxury, too, is directly associated with Gluttony at least twice in the pertinent passages in Gower. See ll. 8605-06; 985, 989. Upton's parallel for "His belly was upblowne with luxury"—"Inflatum

"semblable de nature Au chien"; Gower's fourth line is summed up in "his gorge"; and the verbal identity of the last lines in each needs no comment.⁶

His drunken corse he scarce upholden can:
In shape and life *more like a monster then a man*.⁷

Ce fait homme yvre en son degré.
Car il n'ad corps, ainz enfiéblis
Plus que dormant s'est endormis . . .
Il n'est pas homme au droit devis,
Ne beste, ainz est *disfiguré*,
Le monstre dont sont abhosmé
Dieus et nature a leur avis.⁸

"Disfiguré" appears in the preceding stanza as "*deformed* creature"; the other verbal parallels, I think, speak for themselves.⁹

hesterno venas, ut semper, Iaccho" (Vergil, *Ecl.*, vi, 15)—is not verbal (except in "inflatum"), and it is not accompanied (as in the case of "ventre . . . enflé") by further parallels for almost every word of its immediate context.

⁶ Somewhat earlier in the description of the five daughters of Gluttony, Gower has also laid emphasis on the Glutton's belly:

So large pance au plein garnie,
Sicome le grange est du frument (ll. 7737-38).

And he at once proceeds to compare it to the tautness of a tennis ball (ll. 7741-45). Vomit is also associated with Gluttony in *Le Pelerinaige*. Gluttony says she is properly called "Gastrimargie," and that is "vne plongerie et submersion de morceaulx." Then (she continues),

Puis quen mon sac les ay plungiez
Et si te dy bien quen sachez
Jen ay que renomir et rendre
Ma conuenu et hors respandre (f. xliiii^{vo}).

See the *Pilgrimage*, ll. 12839-49. But the other details are wholly wanting.

⁷ xxii, 8-9.

⁸ Ll. 8187-89, 8193-96.

⁹ The corresponding passage in the *Confessio Amantis* (vi, 44-47) is as follows:

Whose mind in meat and drinke was *drowned* so.¹⁰

Dont [au boire] l'alme pert le seignourage
Du corps, et corps de son outrage
Tres tous ses membres *plonge et noie*.¹¹

Full of diseases was his carcas blew.¹²

De Gule quiouldra chanter
Ses laudes, om la poet loer
De sesze pointz, dont je l'appelle:
L'estommac grieve au digestier,
La resoun trouble au droit jugier,
Le ventre en dolt ove la bouelle,
La goute engendre et la cervelle
Subverte, et l'oill de cil ou celle
Cacheus les fait enobscurer,
La bouche en put plus que chanelle,
L'oraille auci et la naselle
Du merde fait superfluer.¹³

And the "dry dropsie" of the next line has been discussed above.

And for the time he knoweth no wyht,
That he ne wot so moche as this,
What maner thing himselven is,
Or he be *man*, or he be *beste*.

I shall take up below the part played by the *Confessio* in Spenser's rather startling procedure. It is sufficient to note here that it is clearly the *Mirour* and not the *Confessio* on which, in this instance, he has drawn. None of the passages from the *Mirour* thus far cited have been taken over by Gower into the *Confessio*. He explicitly confines (vi, 11-14) his treatment of Gluttony to two branches—"Dronkeschipe" and "Delicacie."

¹⁰ XXIII, 4.

¹¹ Ll. 8122-24. The phrase "plonge et noie" perhaps represents a commonplace. Gluttony (as "Gastrimargie") in the *Pelerinaige* remarks: "Trestous lopins ie plunge et noye" (f. xliiii^{vo}). But the turn given to the phrase in de Deguileville (where the morsels which Gluttony swallows are drowned in her "sac") is very different from that in Gower and Spenser, where it is the mind or the members controlled by the mind that are drowned in meat and drink—or (as in Gower) in drink alone.

¹² XXIII, 6.

¹³ Ll. 8593-8604.

The correspondences thus far given are scarcely susceptible of more than one interpretation. In his description of Gluttony, Spenser has drawn upon Gower, it would seem, for the suggestion of a number of his most vivid touches. But he has characteristically interwoven them with materials from other sources. Even in such cases, however, the hint in at least one instance may have come from Gower. The "bouzing can" has been identified with the "cantharus" in Vergil's description of Silenus.¹⁴ But Gower's "beau cop de vin envessellé" may certainly have been the intermediary, if not the sole suggestion.¹⁵ Silenus (this time by way of Ovid) does perhaps appear in *xxii*, 8: "His dronken corse he scarce upholden can."¹⁶ And that the vine leaves and ivy garlands of stanza *xxii* belong to either Bacchus or Silenus there is little doubt. The crane's neck seems to go back ultimately to the *Nichomachean Ethics*,¹⁷ but it had evidently become a commonplace.¹⁸ In a word, the portrait of Gluttony is a composite, but by far the largest contribution is John Gower's.

¹⁴ *Ecl.* vi, 17: "Et gravis attrita pendebat cantharus ansa" (Upton).

¹⁵ The line "And eke with fatness swollen were his eyne" (*xxi*, 4) has been properly referred to the Prayer Book version of the Psalms (*Psa.* lxxiii, 7; "Their eyes swell with fatness"). But Gower writes:

C'est ly pecchés dont Job disoit
 Qe tout covert du crasse avoit
 La face (ll. 7777-79) —

and this may have suggested to Spenser the happier phrase.

¹⁶ *Met.* iv, 27: "Et pando non fortiter haeret asello."

¹⁷ *III*, 13.

¹⁸ Cf. the *Pilgrimage*:

By that golet, large and strong,
 Off mesour nat .iij. Enche long;
 I wolde, ffor delectacioun,

The case of Avarice is no less remarkable. I shall give at once the more striking parallels.

*And unto hell him selfe for money sold:
Accursed usury was all his trade.*¹⁹

*Cil q'ensi doublement usure
Et fait le vice ou le procure,
Au deables est le droit marchand;
Dont en la Cité q'est obscure
Pour gaign q'il prent a present hure
Prendra le gaign del feu ardant.*²⁰

*Ne scarce good morsell all his life did taste,
But both from backe and belly still did spare,
To fill his bags, and richesse to compare:
Yet childe ne kinsman living had he none
To leave them to . . .*²¹

*L'enfrons eschars au mangerie
Ne quiert avoir amy n'amy,
Ainz tout solein s'en vait mangant;
Et de s'escharceté menant
Les grans tresors vait amassant,
Nonpas pour soy, car sa partie
N'en ose prendre a son vivant,
Dont un estrange despendant
Après sa mort tout l'esparglie.*²²

It is worth while to dwell for a moment on this passage. The first line (l. 3) in Spenser is an easy inference from the first three lines in Gower. But the next two lines in Spenser, as compared with the next two lines in Gower,

That yt were (off his ffacoun)
Long as ys a kranys nekke [col de gruel]
(ll. 12899-903).

See also *Ayenbite of Inwyt* (E. E. T. S.), p. 56, and compare Professor Dodge's note in the *Cambridge Spenser*. Alciati may be best consulted in the edition of 1546. To his lines under Gula add those under Invidia and Avaritia.

¹⁹ XXVII, 7-8.

²⁰ Ll. 7303-08.

²¹ XXVIII, 3-7.

²² Ll. 7528-36.

afford a signal exemplification of Spenser's procedure. *Menant* (l. 7531) is not in Professor Macaulay's glossary. It is, however, a variant form of *manant* ("rich, opulent"), of which numerous examples are given in Godefroy.²³ Gower's "et de s'escharceté menant" ("rich from his stinginess") becomes "But both from back and belly still did spare To fill his bags." The abstract, rather epigrammatic line of the original has been expanded into a concrete and picturesque equivalent, and the "richesse to compare" which follows is, of course, "les grans tresors vait amassant" of Gower's next line. The correspondence of the following lines is obvious. The three statements, that is, in Spenser's four and a half lines (3; 4-5; 6-7) follow the same order, with the same connection, and in part with actual paraphrase, the corresponding statement in Gower.²⁴

And now I come to a phase of the matter on which I enter with some hesitation. For the procedure which Spenser seems to have followed is too remarkable to command assent without indubitable evidence. Yet the evidence (which, as we shall see, extends beyond this passage) seems again to point to only one conclusion. And one's instinctive skepticism is after all perhaps without full warrant.

²³ The form *manant* occurs in l. 5807 of the *Mirour*: "Et d'estre riches et *manant*"; l. 17260: "Si tu n'es riche et bien *manant*." It is in the combination "riche et *manant* [*menant*]" that the word commonly occurs, and it would have offered no difficulty to Spenser.

²⁴ The idea of wasting no money on clothes (which is obvious enough) appears in connection with Avarice in the *Pilgrimage*:

And that I am thus evele arrayed,
I do yt only off entent
That my gold be not spent,
On clothys wastyd, nor my good (ll. 17462-65).

But its context is entirely different from that in Gower and Spenser, where it is the common order of common details that is significant.

Gower—as has been well known since Professor Macaulay's publication of the lost French poem—made large use of the *Mirour* in the *Confessio Amantis*, as he had earlier used it in the *Vox Clamantis*, on which in turn he also drew in the *Confessio*. "What he had said in one language he was apt to repeat in another,"²⁵ and much of the material in the *Mirour* which deals with the Seven Deadly Sins (*not*, however, any part of the description of the procession or of the marriage of Pride) is transferred almost bodily to the English work. And what I have now to point out is that Spenser seems to have turned to (or perhaps recalled) some of these corresponding passages in the *Confessio* to supplement his borrowings from the *Mirour*. And the present passage is a case in point. The lines in the *Confessio* run as follows:

Bot Avarice natheles,
 If he mai geten his encess
 Of gold, that wole he serve and kepe,
 For he takth of noght elles kepe,
 Bot *forto fille his bagges* large;
 And al is to him bot a charge,
 For he ne parteth noght withal,
 Bot kepth it, as a servant schal:
 And thus, thogh that he multiplie
 His gold, withoute tresorie
 He is, for man is noght amended
 With gold, bot if it be despended
 To mannes us; whereof I rede
 A tale, etc.²⁶

It is obviously not from the *Confessio* that Spenser has drawn the major part of xxviii, 2-7, as quoted above. The development of the thought is entirely different; the references to Avarice's diet and to his lack of heirs are absent in the *Confessio*, as are the lines directly paraphrased.

²⁵ Macaulay, in I, p. xxxvi.

²⁶ v, 125-138.

But one phrase in Spenser's lines—"to fill his bags"—, wanting in the *Mirour*, is found in the *Confessio*. That by itself might be coincidence. But Spenser's stanza *ends* with a detail for which there is no parallel in the *Mirour*:

. . . . but thorough daily care
To get, and nightly feare to lose his owne,
He led a wretched life, unto himselfe unknowne.²⁷

Just that detail, however, is in the *Confessio*, a little farther on in the account of Avarice:

Men oghten Avarice eschuie;
For what man thilke vice suie,
He get himself bot litel reste.
For hou so that the body reste,
The herte upon the gold travaileth,
Whom many a nyhtes drede assaileth;
For thogh he ligge abedde naked,
His herte is everemore awaked,
And dremeth, as he lith to slepe,
How besi that he is to kepe
His tresor, that no thief it stele.
*Thus hath he bot a woful wele.*²⁸

What is not in the *Mirour* is in the *Confessio*, and in each instance the borrowings are partly verbal. We shall soon see more.

The first five lines of stanza xxix are marked by what Professor Percival has called "the antithetic balances in [their] Euphuism."²⁹ And this balanced structure Spenser has again drawn directly from Gower—this time chiefly (but not wholly) from the *Confessio*.

Most wretched wight, whom nothing might suffice;
Whose greedy lust did lacke in greatest store;
Whose need had end, but no end covetise;

²⁷ xxviii, 7-9.

²⁸ v. 417-28.

²⁹ *The Faerie Queene, Book I* (1902), p. 233.

Whose welth was want, whose plenty made him pore;
 Who had enough, yett wished ever more;
 A vile disease: etc.

The fourth line of the stanza (it can scarcely be doubted) is from the *Mirour*:

C'est cil q'est *riche et souffreitous*,³⁰
*Du propre*³¹ *et aici busoignous*,³²
 Comme s'il du rein fuist possessour.³³

Gower's two lines—who is *rich* and *in want*, *possessed of goods* and also *needy*—seem simply to have been compacted into one by Spenser: “Whose *welth* was *want*, whose *plenty* made him *pore*.”³⁴ And there is no equivalent for these lines in the *Confessio*. They immediately follow in the *Mirour*, however, a stanza describing the pains of Tantalus³⁵—a stanza which is paraphrased (and in part

³⁰ “In want” (Macaulay).

³² “Needy” (Macaulay).

³¹ Possessed of property.

³³ Ll. 7636-38.

³⁴ This is not inconsistent with Upton's assumption that the last phrase of Spenser's line is suggested by Ovid's “inopem me copia fecit” (*Met.* III, 466)—which is not, however, said of Avarice. The two lines of Gower, from a passage which deals with “Avarice par especial,” account for all the balanced words in Spenser's line. That the particular turn of his phrase may be due to his recollection of Ovid is both possible and in keeping with his general procedure.

³⁵

Dame Avarice est dite aici
 Semblable au paine Tantali,
 Q'est deinz un flum d'enfern estant
 Jusq'au menton tout assorbi,
 Et pardessus le chief de luy
 Jusq'as narils le vait pendant
 Le fruit des pommes suef flairant;
 Mais d'un ou d'autre n'est gustant,
 Dont soit du faym ou soif gary,
 Les queux tous jours vait endurant.
 Dont m'est avis en covoitant
 Del averous il est ensi (ll. 7621-32).

translated) in the account of Avarice in the *Confessio*.³⁶ And the lines which immediately follow this very description of Tantalus in the *Confessio* are these:

Lich to the peines of this flod
 Stant Avarice in worldes good:
He hath ynough and *yit* him nedeth,
 For his skarsnesse it him forbiedeth,
 And *evere his hunger after more*
 Travailleth him aliche sore.³⁷

Spenser's next line, accordingly—"who had enough, | yet | wished ever more"—is almost word for word in the *Confessio*.³⁸ The next phrase in Spenser—"a vile disease"³⁹—takes us at once to another passage in Gower, the description, namely, of the dropsy, which Spenser had already transferred from Avarice to Gluttony.⁴⁰ Like the account of Tantalus, it appears in both the *Mirour* and the *Confessio*. In the *Mirour* it precedes, with one stanza between, the description of Tantalus already quoted.

Cil q'ad le mal d'idropsie,
 Comme plus se prent a beverie,
 Tant plus du soif desnatural

³⁶ v, 363-97.

³⁷ v, 391-96. This passage (it may also be noted) is on the same page with the lines about the "nyhtes drede" quoted above, p. 419.

³⁸ There is a very similar line—"Ainz comme plus ad, plus enfamine" (l. 6768)—in the *Mirour*, but it lacks the verbal identity which marks the passage in the *Confessio*.

³⁹ Church's note: "A vile disease of the mind this, viz. *Covetousness*; and, besides that a grievous gout etc."—with its protest against a comma after "disease"—is, of course, sound. It is to be noted that Gower a number of times definitely calls the vice itself (as Spenser does here) a disease. See, for example, *Mirour*, ll. 5365, 5715, etc.

⁴⁰ See above, p. 409. It may be noted in passing that the association of specific maladies with the various Sins is not followed out in the *Confessio*.

Ensecche; *et tiele maladie*
Ad l'averous de sa partie,
 Comme plus ad, meinz est liberal.⁴¹

But it has evidently recalled to Spenser the corresponding lines in the *Confessio*, for it is there (and not in the *Mirour*) that we find some of his very words:

. . . . bot he [Midas] *excedeth*
Measure more than him nedeth.
 Men tellen that *the maladie*
 Which cleped is ydropesie
 Resembled is unto this vice
 Be weie of kinde of Avarice:
 The more ydropesie drinketh,
 The more him thursteth, for him thinketh
 That he mai nevere drinke his fille;
 So that *ther mai nothing fulfille*
The lustes of his appetit:
 And riht in such a maner plit
 Stant Avarice and evere stod;
 The more he hath of worldes good,
 The more he wolde it kepe streyte,
*And evere mor and mor coveite.*⁴²

Spenser's second and third lines, that is—

Whose greedy lust did lacke in greatest store;
Whose need had end, but no end covetise—

seem to be definitely reminiscent of the phraseology of the *Confessio*.⁴³ The first line of the stanza may derive its light from either poem:

⁴¹ Ll. 7603-08. With the last line, which has the same antithetical quality as lines 2-5 in Spenser's stanza, compare also ll. 7669-70:

L'omme averous ensi se riche,
Tant comme plus ad, plus en est chiche.

⁴² v, 247-62.

⁴³ The words "in greatest store" seem to hark back to the picture of Tantalus—or, perhaps, to the account of Midas's feast of gold, which immediately follows in the *Confessio* (ll. 279-89).

Most wretched wight, *whom nothing might suffice*;
 A l'averous desresonnal . . .
N'iert unques plain en ceste vie;⁴⁴
 Avarice,
 Which of his oghne propre vice
 Is as the helle wonderfull;
For it mai neveremor be full.⁴⁵

The account of Avarice, then, is drawn almost equally from the *Mirour* and the *Confessio*, and it is possible even to trace, with some assurance, the association of ideas between the two. That the *Mirour* was Spenser's chief source in the canto as a whole there can be no question. The procession and the wedding and a host of verbal parallels belong to it alone. But that he knew the *Confessio* there can be no reasonable doubt in any case.⁴⁶ And it is not so remarkable that he should have turned from certain lines in the *Mirour* to what he must have recalled—if he knew the *Confessio* at all—as parallel treatments of the subject.⁴⁷ And since he was obviously exploring Gower's mine for gold to coin in his own mint, the results need lay no heavy tax on our credulity. The amazing thing, after all, is the workmanship with which the impossible is accomplished, and bilingual scraps of Gower transmuted into pure, authentic Spenser.

Two or three other details in the account of Avarice demand brief mention. The garb of the Vice (xxviii, 2) is probably drawn (as Upton pointed out) from the descrip-

⁴⁴ Ll. 7597, 7602.

⁴⁵ v, 347-50.

⁴⁶ See below, p. 450.

⁴⁷ It should be observed that the borrowings from the *Confessio* are chiefly in the portrait of Avarice that we have just discussed. Their association there with the two very striking passages in the *Mirour* that deal with Tantalus and "l'idropsie" would be particularly apt to recall the parallel treatment in the other poem. For other evidence of slighter influence of the *Confessio*, see below, pp. 424, n. 49; 429; 430, n. 82.

tion of Avarice in the *Roman de la Rose*.⁴⁸ The suggestion for the "two coffers" (xxvii, 3-4) we have already seen in Gower's "bources."⁴⁹ The sixth line of stanza twenty-seven—

For of his wicked pelfe his God he made—

represents what is probably a commonplace.⁵⁰ But in the initial list of the Sins in the *Mirour*, on which Spenser drew for Gluttony the Steward and Sloth the Chamberlain,⁵¹ the suggestion for the line lay at his hand:

La quarte est celle d'Avarice,
Que l'or plus que son dieu cherice.⁵²

There is left only the camel to be accounted for. And I am inclined to think that the real point of Spenser's

⁴⁸ Ed. Michel, ll. 210 ff. Spenser probably knew it in the Chaucerian translation. See Fragment A, ll. 219 ff. The first line of the stanza—"His life was nigh unto death's dore yplaste"—seems to come from the same account (l. 215): "She was lyk thing for hungre deed" ("Chose sembloit morte de fain").

⁴⁹ See above, p. 397. The substitution of the "two coffers" for "des bources . . . plus que dis" of the *Mirour* may have been due to a reminiscence of the second tale which Gower tells in the *Confessio* (v, 2273 ff.) to illustrate Coveitise, in which the story centers about "two cofres" (see especially ll. 2295, 2332). Professor Macaulay's heading, in his edition, is "The Tale of the Two Coffers."

⁵⁰ See, at least, the description in de Deguileville of Avarice's "Mawmet" (*Pilgrimage*, ll. 18370-18442; cf. *Pelerinage*, lxiiv: "Mon ydole est mon mahommet," etc.). Compare especially: "This is the god whiche, by depos, Loueth to be schutte in hucches clos" (ll. 18377-78): "Gold is ther god, gold is ther good; I worschipe gold and my tresour As ffor my god and savyour; Saue gold, noon other god I haue" (ll. 18396-99); "Gold is my god and my Mawmet" (l. 18411). The first lines quoted are in the French ("Cest ung dieu qui emmaillote Veult estre souuent," etc.); the rest are Lydgate's elaborations.

⁵¹ See above, p. 405.

⁵² Ll. 253-54. The references to Gluttony and Sloth (ll. 295-98) are on the same folio of the *Mirour*.

choice of the camel has been missed by the commentators. The usual suggestion is that Spenser had in mind the camels in Herodotus, on which the Indians carried off the gold-dust hoarded by the ants,⁵³ and that, of course, is very possible. But the camel (as does not seem to have been observed) has another and very definite association with Avarice. In the *Pelerinaige* the hag Avarice herself is represented as *humped* ("bossue"), and in her long and interesting exposition of "the bouche upon [her] bake"⁵⁴ she interprets it as follows:

La bosse est chose superflue
 Par qui sa regle fait bossue
 Qui fait le riche comparer
 Au chamel qui ne peut passer
 Pour la bosse la porte acus.⁵⁵

Avarice, then, was associated definitely with the camel through the famous saying of Christ. Now Gower makes the same application of the passage. For in the account of Covoitise in the *Mirour* occurs the following:

⁵³ The camel's power of hoarding water (so to speak) might also have been suggested as a reason for the choice.

⁵⁴ *Pilgrimage*, l. 18294.

⁵⁵ F. lxii. Compare the *Pilgrimage*:

Ryght so, ryches and gret plente
 ar cawse that a ryche man,
 as the gospell rehers[e] can,
 May in-to heven have none entre,
 But euen lyke as ye may se,
 A camell may hym-silffe applye
 To passen through a nedelyes eye,
 Whiche is a thyng not credible,
 But a maner impossible,
 Thys beste is so encomorous
 Off bak corbyd and tortuous,
 And so to passe, no thyng able (ll. 18310-21).

Pour ce dist dieus, que plus legier
 L'oill de l'aguile outrepasser
 Poet ly chameals, q'en ciel entrer
 La Covoitise q'est mondaine.⁵⁶

It is not necessary to deny that Spenser may have remembered (from Herodotus, or Pliny, or Mandeville) the gold-bearing camels; his symbolism throughout the *Fairie Queene* is often complex enough. But that he also had in mind the more striking and apposite symbolism of the Biblical association seems highly probable. That this particular association was not confined to Gower, I have shown. But in the *Mirour* the suggestion once more lay close to his hand.

Envy follows Avarice. But for reasons which will appear later I shall reserve consideration of its treatment until the last. Meantime, Idleness and Wrath may be dealt with more briefly.⁵⁷

The account of Idleness lays stress on its particular aspect of Somnolence, and Spenser's description is conceived in the spirit of what is perhaps the most vivid passage in this part of the *Mirour*. For the very essence of Gower's conception of Sompnolence⁵⁸ is the fact that "of devotion he had little care,"⁵⁹ and he elaborates his theme with a picturesqueness worthy of Spenser himself.⁶⁰ I

⁵⁶ Ll. 6750-53.

⁵⁷ Once more I wish to say that I am omitting, in the case of each Sin, parallels which, though less definite than those which are given, may still have weight when considered in the light of what the more explicit correspondences seem to disclose. But space is wanting for them all, and I am anxious besides, in a case necessarily so intricate, to avoid all possible complications of the issue.

⁵⁸ Ll. 5125-5376, especially ll. 5135-5268.

⁵⁹ Compare Professor Tupper's discussion of Sloth and Undevotion (printed after this paper was written) in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXIX, pp. 106-07 (March, 1914).

⁶⁰ The passage is one which has been much discussed, on account

shall take space, however, for but two groups of parallels. The first involves the account of Sompnolence already mentioned.

For of devotion he had little care,
Still drownd in sleepe, and most of his daies dedd.⁶¹

Ainz comme pesant et endormy
Ses deux oils clos songe au plus fort,
Et ensi *gist comme demy mort*,
Qu'il est d'Accidie *ensevely*.⁶²

Scarse could he once uphold his heavie hedd,
To looken whether it were night or day.⁶³

. . . . Mais ja du reins s'apreste
A dieu prier, *ainz bass la teste*
Mettra tout suef sur l'eschamelle,
Et dort, et songe en sa cervelle, etc.⁶⁴

It is, however, in Gower's description of *Ædive* that the most striking parallels occur. I shall compare Spenser's twentieth stanza with a series of passages from Gower which follow one another (with the exception of the second in the order in which they are here given) on the same folio of the *Mirour*.⁶⁵

From worldly cares himselfe he did esloyne,
And greatly shunned manly exercise.⁶⁶

De tous labours loign se desmette
Q'au corps ne rent sa due dette.⁶⁷

of its supposed bearing on the date of Chaucer's *Troilus*. See Tatlock, *Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, pp. 26 ff.; Kittredge, *The Date of Chaucer's Troilus*, pp. 26-27.

⁶¹ XIX, 3-4.

⁶² Ll. 5145-48. Cf. ll. 255-56: "La quinte Accide demy morte, Q'au dieu n'au monde fait service."

⁶³ XIX, 5-6.

⁶⁴ Ll. 5428-51. See also above, p. 397.

⁶⁵ They are in the same column in Macaulay's edition.

⁶⁶ XX, 1-2.

⁶⁷ Ll. 5815-16. Compare especially "himself he did esloyne" and

From everie worke he chalenged essoyné.⁶⁸

Quant il s'estrange au tout labour.⁶⁹

. . . . Yet otherwise

His life he led in lawlesse riotise,

By which he grew to grievous malady.⁷⁰

. . . Ainz comme volage

Oedif s'en vait en rigolage . . .

Dont puis, quant vient le froid orage

Languir l'estoet en povreté.⁷¹

For in his lustlesse limbs, *through evill guise,*

A shaking fever raigned continually.⁷²

Ly sages dist, nuls poet comprendre

Les griefs mals q'Ædivesce emprendre

Fait a la gent du fole enprise:

Car quant la char q'est frele et tendre

N'au dieu n'au siecle voet entendre . . .

Lors sanz arest deinz sa pourprise

Des vices ert vencue et prise.⁷³

For "des vices" Spenser has substituted the specific *malady* with which his stanza has to close. The change of the disease from the otherwise quite appropriate lethargy (as in Gower) to the shaking fever is accordingly motivated, it would seem, by his taking over from the account of Ædivesce in Gower a trait—that of indulgence in

"loign se desmette." The two second lines are identical in substance, though without the verbal correspondence of the other two.

⁶⁸ xx, 3.

⁶⁹ L. 5842.

⁷⁰ xx, 4-6.

⁷¹ Ll. 5827-28, 5830, 5832. See also note 73 below.

⁷² xx, 7-8.

⁷³ Ll. 5845-49, 5851-52. The phrase "grew to grievous malady" of Spenser's preceding line corresponds to "languir" (l. 5832) in the passage already quoted. But "les griefs mals" seems to have suggested the *wording*. "Du fole enprise" (especially in its context) is equivalent to "through evill guise"; "la char q'est frele et tendre" is in substance "lustlesse limbs"—"lustlesse" here meaning, of course, "languid" (Todd), "without vigor or energy" (*N. E. D.*); "sanz arest" and "continually" need no comment; and the striking word "raignd" is paralleled by "vencue et prise."

"riotise"—with which the immediate passage to lethargy would be entirely out of keeping.

In the account of Wrath but two passages need be considered. The first is stanza xxxiv, 3-7.⁷⁴

Through *unadvized rashness* woxen *wood*.⁷⁵

"Unadvized rashness" appears in the *Mirour* as "Fole hastivesse":

Contek du *Fole hastivesse*
Fait sa privé consailleresse,
Que n'ad ne resoun ne mesure.⁷⁶

But it seems to have been the parallel lines in the *Confessio* that were in Spenser's mind:

Contek, so as the bokes sein,
Folhast hath to his Chamberlein,
Be whos conseil al *unavised*
Is Pacience most despised,
Til Homicide with hem meete . . .
And thus lich to a beste *wod*
Thei knowe noght the god of lif.⁷⁷

*For of his hands he had no gouvernement,
Ne car'd for blood in his avengement.*⁷⁸

. . . fol Contek, qui piere et miere
De sa main fole et violente
Blesce ou mehaigne . . .

⁷⁴ The striking parallel in connection with Wrath's *lion* has already been discussed (p. 399 above). His "burning brand" is not in the *Mirour*; the familiar comparisons between wrath and fire are frequent. See especially ll. 3938-41, 3971-72, and 5101-06, with its comparison of "*cruele Ire*" (cf. xxxv, 1) to Greek fire. With the "sparcles" of xxxiii, 5, cf. ll. 3987-88: "*Car d'ire dont son cuer esprent Tiele estencelle vole entour,*" and with "*hasty rage*" (xxxiii, 9) cf. ll. 3866, 3965. But these are commonplaces.

⁷⁵ xxxiv, 3.

⁷⁶ Ll. 4741-43—and compare the entire stanza.

⁷⁷ III, 1095-99, 1106-07.

⁷⁸ xxxiv, 4-5.

Que *par ses mains* soit espandu
 Sicome du porc le *sanc humein*.⁷⁹

His cruel facts he often would repent.⁸⁰

Trop perest Moerdre horrible et fals
 En compassant *ses fais mortals*; ⁸¹

He, Ire, ove *ta cruele geste*,
 En tous *tes fais* es deshonneste.⁸²

The second passage is the account, in stanza xxxv, of the "many mischiefs" that follow Wrath. The list is in part, as has been recognized, an enumeration of the "boughs" of Wrath, and as such is conventional. Two lines, however, seem to indicate that Spenser still had in mind Gower's embodiment of the convention. The reference to "*unmanly murder*" varies from the usual phraseology, which commonly employs the term "homicide" or "manslaughter." The *Mirour*, however, includes "Moerdre," and strongly emphasizes its *unmanly* element:

Mais l'Omicide ad un servant
 Q'est d'autre fourme mesfaisant
 Mortiel, et si ad *Moerdre* a noun:

⁷⁹ Ll. 4778-80, 4805-06. With Spenser's next line—"But, when the furious fitt was overpast"—compare: "Car pour le temps que l'ire dure" (l. 3891); "Que pour le temps que l'ire endure" (l. 4014), and add l. 4677.

⁸⁰ xxxiv, 7.

⁸¹ Ll. 4873-74.

⁸² Ll. 5065-66. The idea of *repenting*, which is not in the *Mirour*, may possibly have been suggested by the following lines in the *Confessio* (under Homicide) about the strange bird with a man's face, which, when it sees the man it has slain,

. . . . anon he thenketh
 Of his misdede, and it forthenketh
 So gretly, that for pure sorwe
 He liveth noght til on the morwe

(III, 2613-16).

*Cist tue viel, cist tue enfant,
 Cist tue femmes enpreignant . . .
 Cist tue l'omme par poisoun,
 Cist tue l'omme en son dormant.*⁸³

Rancor and despite are, of course, commonplaces, but it is worth noting that in the *Mirour*, as in Spenser, they are named in the same line:

Bitter *despight*, with *rancours* rusty knife.⁸⁴

Ce sont *Rancour* et *Maltalent*.⁸⁵

The account of Lechery is couched in more general terms than any of the others, and although its substance is to be found in the *Mirour*, I have observed no very definite parallels in phraseology beyond those already noted.⁸⁶

There is left the account of Envy, which I have reserved till the last, in order to bring it into closer juxtaposition with the remarkable parallels in Books IV and V of the *Faerie Queene*. The description of Envy in the procession is largely made up of recognized commonplaces, with two markedly distinctive details—the toad, and the spewing of spiteful poison from leprous mouth. I shall first deal with the more conventional traits.

The last four lines of the thirtieth stanza are commonplaces. Starting with Ovid,⁸⁷ they appear with great detail in almost all the later accounts of Envy.⁸⁸ But they occur also in Gower, and in the light of what we have already seen we need not be surprised to find that it is the *Mirour* that apparently suggested Spenser's phrasing.

⁸³ Ll. 4861-65, 4868-69.

⁸⁴ xxxv, 4.

⁸⁵ L. 4575. Compare l. 4640: "Dont son *coutell* maltalentine."

⁸⁶ See above, p. 397.

⁸⁷ *Met.* II, 778-81.

⁸⁸ See the very incomplete list in Percival, p. 223.

*At neighbours welth, that made him ever sad.*⁸⁰

D'Envie ce sont ly mestier . . .
Et doloir sur le prosperer
*De ses voisins.*⁸⁰

The next line but one—"And wept, that cause of weeping none he had"—is with little doubt from Ovid: "Vixque tenet lacrimas; quia nil lacrimabile cernit."⁸¹

*But when he heard of harme he wexed wondrous glad.*⁸²

Si mal de luy parler orroit,
*Dedeinz son cuer s'esjoyeroit.*⁸³

The close parallel in the case of the kirtle of Envy, (xxxi, 1-2) has already been discussed,⁸⁴ and the snake, as associated with the Vice, is, of course, a commonplace.⁸⁵ The next three lines link Envy definitely with his colleagues in the procession, and the first two lines of the next stanza summarize conventional material. The two lines next following (xxxii, 3-4) embody a thrust of Spenser's own at the Antinomians. But in the fifth line we come back to Gower's phraseology:

⁸⁰ xxx, 6.

⁸⁰ Ll. 3697, 3700-01. "Welth" is, of course, here "prosperity." "Sorrow for another man's joy" is treated in the *Confessio* only in connection with *love*.

⁸¹ *Met.* II, 796. But compare also *Mirour*, l. 3106: "Ainz plourit, quant autri voit rier."

⁸² xxx, 9.

⁸³ Ll. 3202-03. The corresponding passage in the *Confessio* reads:

Which envious takth his gladnesse
 Of that he *seth* the *hevinesse*
 Of othre men (II, 223-25).

It is obvious that in this case the suggestion does not come from the *Confessio*.

⁸⁴ See above, p. 397.

⁸⁵ See especially the *Ancren Riwe*, the *Ayenbite of Inwyte*, and the *Pilgrimage*.

So every good to bad he doth abuse.

Le bien en mal fait destorner.⁹⁶

Even in the case of admittedly conventional details, accordingly, there are rather definite indications that Gower was the immediate influence.⁹⁷

We may now come to the two⁹⁸ distinctive details. And first the toad:

. . . . [he] still did chaw
Between his cankred teeth a venomous tode,
That all the poison ran about his chaw.⁹⁹

Warton long ago referred the passage in Spenser to Ovid.¹⁰⁰ That Spenser had the description in the *Metamorphoses* in mind there can be no doubt, since the very detail which Warton sets down as Spenser's addition is merely a slight expansion of another of Ovid's lines. For

⁹⁶ L. 2687. Compare l. 2988: "Dont ly bien sont en mal torné." The only line in the *Confessio* which at all corresponds is II, 407: "He torneth preisinge into blame"—and this is taken over from another passage in the *Mirour*: "Sique du pris le finement Ert a blamer" (ll. 2718-19).

⁹⁷ Although it is not on correspondences of this sort that the case rests, it must still be remembered that even commonplaces may be borrowed from definite sources. Where they occur in conjunction with common details that are *not* conventional—in other words, where there is independent evidence that the work in which they appear is known to the second writer—such similarities in phraseology as are noted above must be granted a certain weight. Independent value, of course, they have none.

⁹⁸ Including the kirtle, really *three*. See p. 397.

⁹⁹ xxx, 2-4.

¹⁰⁰ *Observations on the Faerie Queene* (1754), p. 47: "Ovid tells us, that Envy was found eating the flesh of vipers, which is not much unlike Spenser's picture. But our author has heighten'd this circumstance to a most disgusting degree; for he adds, that the poyson ran about his jaw. This is, perhaps, one of the most loathsome ideas that Spenser has given us." The line to which Warton refers is *Met.* II, 768-69: "videt intus [Invidiam] edentem Vipereas carnes."

"his cankred teeth" is Ovid's "livent rubigine dentes" a little farther on (II, 776), and the next line in Spenser (to which Warton objects)—"That all the poison ran about his chaw"—is *Ovid's* next line: "Pectora felle virent; lingua est suffusa veneno."¹⁰¹ Now in the mediæval accounts the representation of Envy as *chewing* some object is common enough.¹⁰² And it occurs in the long description of Detraction in the *Mirour*.¹⁰³ But neither there nor in any of the accounts that I know is the *toad* the object. In the description of Delicacie (under Gluttony), however, just before a peculiarly vivid account of the eating of serpents,¹⁰⁴ occurs the following:

¹⁰¹ The portrayal of Invidia in the second book of the *Metamorphoses* was enormously influential in the development of the stock conception of Envy as one of the Seven Deadly Sins.

¹⁰² See, for instance, in the *Pilgrimage*, the account of Detraction gnawing a bone (l. 14806), and the amplification of its symbolism in ll. 15288-15316 (in the *Pelerinaige*, folios liii-iv). The idea is also elaborated in the *Mirour*:

Semblance a la hyene porte,
Que char mangut de la gent morte;
Car Malebouche rounge et mort
Ensi le vif sicomme le mort . . .
He, quelle bouche horrible et fort,
Que tout mangut et riens desporte!
(ll. 2884-87, 2891-92).

The third line above appears in substance (in an otherwise mildly phrased account of the lover's detraction of his rivals) in the *Confessio*:

For ever on hem I rounge and gknaue (II, 520).

Compare *Pilgrimage*, ll. 15007-10, where Detraction is taught to eat men's flesh, and "gnaue and Rounge hem to the boonyes" (*Pelerinaige*, f. liii: "et iusques aux os les ronger").

¹⁰³ See the passage quoted in the preceding note.

¹⁰⁴ Le chief des serpens suchera,
Sicomme fait enfes la mammelle (ll. 8081-82).

See the whole stanza.

Et le doulçour de sa pitance
 Serront *crepalde envenimé*:
 Ja d'autre pyment ne clarée
 Lors emplira sa vile pance.¹⁰⁵

The passage is in the section immediately preceding the two on which Spenser has drawn freely in his account of Gluttony, and the transfer of the eaten toad from Delicacy to Envy is in keeping with what he has done elsewhere, and need raise no serious question.¹⁰⁶ The parallel (on account of the transfer) is not in itself conclusive, but, taken in conjunction with its immediate setting, it is too striking to be lightly dismissed as accidental.

The second detail peculiar to the two accounts, however, is not open to the same reservation. The reference to the backbiting of poets is possibly enough drawn from Martial,¹⁰⁷ but it is scarcely open to doubt that it is Gower who gives it the distinctive turn:

. . . and spightfull poison spues
 From leproous mouth on all that ever writt.¹⁰⁸

For Gower's account of Detraccioun contains the following lines:

Fagolidros, comme fait escire
 Jerom, en grieu volt tant a dire
 Comme cil qui chose q'est maldite
 Mangut, dont le vomit desire:
 Et ensi cil q'en voet mesdire,
 De l'autri mals trop se delite

¹⁰⁵ Ll. 8073-76. The toad appears in two other passages in the account of the Sins in Gower—once not as eaten, but as the eater (ll. 8567-68); once as the punitive pillow of Sompnolence (ll. 5335-37).

¹⁰⁶ That the fable of the toad swelling with Envy, to which Upton refers (with the citation of Horace, *Sat.*, II, iii, 314), may have contributed its quota is of course possible.

¹⁰⁷ *Epigr.* v, 10 (Percival).

¹⁰⁸ XXXII, 7-8.

A manger les; *mais au vomite*
Les fait venir, et les recite,
*Quant il les autres voet despire.*¹⁰⁹

The unusual figure of *vomit* in this connection is striking enough, but the *poison* also appears in the next stanza but one, still with reference to detractors:

. . . ils leur lange ont fait agu
 Comme du serpent, et plus grevain
 Dedeinz leur lievres ont reçu
Venym, que quant s'est espandu,
*Fait a doubter pres et longtain.*¹¹⁰

Moreover, the suggestion for Envy's "leprous mouth" is no less clear. The disease specifically associated with Envy in the *Mirour* is the "hectic":

Au maladie q'est nommé
 Ethike Envie est comparé.¹¹¹

But Spenser has already used the fever for *Idleness*. In the same summarizing section in which "Ethike" appears, however, two full stanzas are given to a comparison between Envy and *leprosy*:

Sicomme du lepre est deformé
 En corps de l'omme la beuté,
 Ensi de l'alme la figure
 Envie fait desfiguré, etc.¹¹²

But that is not all. In the section on *Detraccioun* from which the figure of vomit is drawn, the case of Miriam is given as an *exemplum*:

Maria la soer Moyses
 Son frere detrahist du pres,
 Qu'il ot pris femme ethiopesse:

¹⁰⁹ Ll. 2749-57.

¹¹⁰ Ll. 2780-84. See also below, pp. 442, 446.

¹¹¹ Ll. 3817-18.

¹¹² Ll. 3769-72.

Mais sa detraccioun apres
 La fist porter trop charrant fees;
 Car dieus en son corous l'adesce
 Du lepre¹¹³

In Gower as in Spenser, that is, leprosy is associated not only with Envy in general, but with Detraction in particular, and both the choice of leprosy as the disease ascribed to Envy and the specific turn given to it in the phrase "leprous mouth" are present in Gower's lines. As we shall see in a moment, however, the evidence for Spenser's use of the account of Envy in the *Mirour* does not rest on the portrait in the procession alone.

Spenser's great descriptive passage, then—to take stock for a moment—agrees with the *Mirour* (and apparently with the *Mirour* alone) in its framework of beasts, objects carried in the hand, and maladies. And this definite structural outline is filled in with a wealth of detail which parallels directly (often even verbally) the descriptions of the same Sins in the *Mirour* and (in part) in the *Confessio*. And the procession in the *Faerie Queene* is projected against the striking and distinctive background of the procession in the *Mirour*. In his dealing with the framework—with the large composition of his canvas—Spenser has exercised the breadth and freedom of handling which marks his treatment of Ariosto elsewhere. In the massing of his details, on the other hand, he employs the closer verbal imitation with which he elsewhere follows Tasso. If I am right, he found his framework ready to his hand in Gower's series of strikingly pictorial, arresting stanzas; he found a mine of suggestive detail in the unwieldy mass of descriptive material that followed, as well as in its partial reëmbodiment in Gower's later work; and

¹¹³ Ll. 2653-59.

he proceeded to select and combine. Read in the light of its sources, the Progress of the Seven Deadly Sins is seen as a *tour de force* of masterly technique, that has fused disjointed and intractable materials into a rounded and balanced whole that is one of the imperishable glories of English verse.¹¹⁴

III

Up to this point we have been dealing solely with the Progress of the Seven Deadly Sins in the first book of the *Faerie Queene*. But the evidence that Spenser knew and used the *Mirour* is not confined to the great canto that glorifies the House of Pride. In two other passages in the *Faerie Queene* Spenser comes back to Envy (both specifically and in two of its branches), and in both descriptions the influence of the older poem seems to be clear. The first is the account of the "foule and loathly creature . . . men Sclaunder call" in the eighth canto of the fourth book; the second is the long and detailed description of the "two old ill favour'd Hags," Envie and Detraction, in the twelfth canto of the fifth book. I shall once more confine myself to the more striking correspondences. The list could easily be made much longer.

¹¹⁴ After this article had been announced (as a paper read by title at the meeting of the Modern Language Association of America, Harvard University, Dec. 29-31, 1913), Professor Tatlock kindly called my attention to an article of his own on "Milton's Sin and Death" (*Modern Language Notes*, xxi, No. 8—Dec., 1906—pp. 241-42), in a footnote to which he refers to the procession of the Sins in the *Mirour*. He there suggests, however, correspondences between the passage in Gower and Spenser's Mask of Cupid in *F. Q.*, III, xii, and makes no mention of the procession in I, iv. I doubt whether the Mask of Cupid is influenced by Gower. But Spenser's use of the *Mirour* at least leaves the way open for the suggestion that Milton may have used it too.

In Book IV, Canto VIII, the Squire of Dames, Æmylia, and Amoret come to a little cottage, where they find

. . . one old woman sitting there beside
Upon the ground in ragged rude attyre,
With filthy lockes about her scattered wide,
Gnawing her nayles for felnesse and for yre,
And thereout sucking venime to her part's entyre.¹

The next stanza continues:

A foule and loathly creature sure in sight,
And in condition to be loath'd no lesse;
For she was stuff with rancour and despight²
Up to the throat, that oft with bitternesse
It forth would breake, and gush in great excesse,
Pouring out streames of poyson and of gall
Gainst all that truth or vertue doe professe;³
Whom she with leasings lewdly did miscall
And wickedly backbite: Her name men Schlaunder call.

That Spenser in this stanza is recalling and elaborating his own earlier description is obvious. In the next two stanzas, however, the indications are clear that he has again turned the pages of the *Mirour*. The passages I shall quote are drawn without exception from Gower's section on Detraccioun, and it will be seen that (with one or two slight shifts) the order of treatment in Spenser and Gower is the same.

Her nature is all goodnesse to abuse.⁴

Cil est toutdis acustummé
Derere gent au plus celée
De mentir et de malparler.⁵

And *causelesse crimes* continually to frame,

Par ce qu'il voit un soul semblant,
Voit dire qu'il ad veu le fait . . .

¹ XXIII, 4-9.

² See above, p. 431.

³ See below, p. 444.

⁴ XXV, 1. The remaining lines of the stanza follow in order.

⁵ Ll. 2680-82.

*Car s'il ne voit aucun forsfait,
De sa mençonge contrefait
Ja ne serra le meinz parlant.**

With which she *guiltlesse persons* may *accuse*,

Quant Malebouche soul et sole
Voit homme ove femme qui parole,
Combien qu'ils n'eiont de mesfaire
Voloir, nientmeinz, 'Vei ci la fole!'
Dist il, 'Vei cy comme se rigole!
Trop est comune leur affaire.'⁷

And *steale away the crowne of their good name*:

Dont *bonne fame est desfamée*.⁸

Ne ever Knight so bold, ne ever Dame
So chast and loyall liv'd, but she would strive
With forged cause them falsely to defame;

These three lines, it will be observed, paraphrase lines 2701-07 of the *Mirour* which I have just quoted above, with a return (in "forged cause") to the "mençonge contrefait" of line 2699 above.⁹

*Ne ever thing so well was doen alive,
But she with blame would blot, and of due praise deprive.*

* Ll. 2690-91, 2698-2700.

⁷ Ll. 2701-07.

⁸ L. 2685.

⁹ With these same lines and those which immediately follow in Gower—

*Sanz nul deserte esclandre vole,
Que rougist dames le viare* (ll. 2709-10)—

compare Spenser's thirty-fifth stanza, in which the Squire and the two ladies became the "homme ove femme" of Gower's lines, even to the specific calling of names ("Vei ci la fole!", "Vei cy comme se rigole!"), the absence of intention "de mesfaire," and the ladies' shame ("Que rougist dames le viare"):

That shamefull Hag, the *Slaunder* of her sexe,
Them followed fast, and them reviled sore,
Him calling thefe, them whores; that much did vexe
His noble hart; thereto she did annexe
False crimes and facts, *such as they never ment*,
That those two ladies much asham'd did vexe (xxxv, 2-7).

Quant ceste fille [Malebouche] son amy
 Vorra priser vers ascuny
 'Salve,' endirra darreinement;¹⁰
 Lors contera trestout parmy
 Si male teche soit en luy;
 Sique du pris le finement
 Ert a blamer.¹¹

The next stanza carries on the parallels.

*Her words were not, as common words are ment,
 T'expresse the meaning of the inward mind,
 But noysome breath, and poysnous spirit sent
 From inward parts, with cancred malice lind,
 And breathed forth with blast of bitter wind,*¹²

Tout ensi¹³ vait de la parole
 Que de malvoise langue vole . . .
 Ensi la bouche au desloyal
 Par souffle de son malparler
 La renomée du bon vassal
 Soudaignement en un journal
 A tous jours mais ferra tourner.
 Le souffle au bouche detrahant
 C'est le mal vent du Babilant . . .
 Si comme le vent du pestilence.¹⁴

Which passing through the eares would pierce the hart,

Comme la saiette du leger,
 Quelle ist du main au fort archer,

¹⁰ As Macaulay points out, there is something wrong here. His suggestion that "perhaps we ought to read 'primerement' for 'darreinement'" is probably correct. See *Confessio*, II, 394 ff.

¹¹ Ll. 2713-19. Compare especially (together with the general parallel in sense) "*male teche . . . blamer*," and "with *blame* would blot," in their connection with "*pris*" and "*praise*." See also below, pp. 445-46.

¹² xxvi, 1-5.

¹³ The reference in "tout ensi" will be found in the passage next quoted (ll. 2833-37). Spenser has simply reversed the order of statement.

¹⁴ Ll. 2838-39, 2852-58, 2863. With ll. 2854-56 cf. "And steale away the crowne of their good name" above (xxv, 4).

Entre en la char q'est tendre et mole . . .
 Tout ensi vait de la parole
 Que de malvoise langue vole.¹⁵

And wound the soule it selfe with grieve unkind;

De l'autry tolt le bon renoun
 En corps, *et soy en alme tue.*¹⁶

The last two lines are a commonplace:

For, like the stings of aspes that kill with smart,
 Her spightfull words did pricke and wound the inner part.

But the same commonplace occurs in the same section of the *Mirour*, in the reference to detractors who

. . . leur lange ont fait agu
 Comme du serpent.¹⁷

If correspondences such as these in sense, order, and phraseology are accidental, it is hard to see on what grounds *any* influence on Spenser has been accepted.

The passage in Book V, Canto xii, is no less striking in its significance. After his battle with Grantorto, Sir Artegall comes upon "two old ill favour'd Hags," who turn out to be Envy and Detraction. The description of the "two griesly creatures"¹⁸ is too long to quote. In part,

¹⁵ Ll. 2833-35, 2838-39. See above, p. 441, n. 13.

¹⁶ Ll. 2975-76.

¹⁷ Ll. 2780-81.

¹⁸ *F. Q.*, V, xii, 28-36. The especially hideous appearance of Envy in particular as described in stanzas 29 and 30 bears a strong resemblance to the portrayal of the seven hags in the *Pilgrimage*. See especially the accounts of Gluttony (*Pilgrimage*, ed. E. E. T. S., p. 346), Lechery—as "olde Venus" (pp. 355-56), Sloth (p. 371), Envy (pp. 398-99), and Avarice (pp. 459-61), and compare the corresponding passages in the *Pelerinaige*. Into the question of Spenser's knowledge and possible use (here and there) of the *Pelerinaige* (or of Lydgate's translation) I may not take space to enter here. I have given in the course of the discussion such parallels as I have observed. It is not impossible that Spenser may have been acquainted with the poem either in French or English.

however, Spenser is once more recalling and expanding the details of his own earlier accounts. In the case of Envy the Ovidian "snake with venime fraught"¹⁹ has taken the place of the "venemous tode," and the detail of the poison running about the jaw has been developed²⁰ with a gusto equalled only by the zest with which Envy's feeding on his (or her) own maw has been elaborated.²¹ But in the next stanza (xxxii) the influence of the *Mirour* seems unmistakable. The borrowings are chiefly (as in the case of Slander in Book IV) from Gower's section on "Detraccioun," with slight use of the section (the next but one) on "Joye d'autry mal"—both of them under Envy.

*But if she heard of ill that any did,
Or harme that any had, then would she make
Great cheare, like one unto a banquet bid,
And in anothers losse great pleasure take,
As she had got thereby and gayned a great stake.*²²

*Le mal d'autry l'une a derere
Reconte, et l'autre la matiere
Ascoulte du joyouse oïe;
Car d'autry perte elle est gaignere.*²³

That Spenser is simply elaborating Gower's lines—compare especially "harm that any had" and "Le mal d'autry"; "in another's losse" and "d'autry perte"; and Spenser's last line with "elle est gaignere"—is obvious.

The other nothing better was then shee,
Agreeing in bad will and cancred kynd;
But in bad maner they did disagree.²⁴

That is to say (the stanza goes on), what Envy conceals, Detraction spreads abroad.²⁵ So in Gower:

¹⁹ xxx. 5. See above, pp. 433-34.

²⁰ xxx, 8-9.

²² xxxii, 5-9.

²⁴ xxxiii, 1-3.

²¹ xxxi, 6-9.

²³ Ll. 3211-14.

²⁵ xxxiii, 4-5.

La tierce soer est molt diverse,
 A la seconde soer reverse,
 Mais sont d'envie parigal;
 Si l'une est mal, l'autre est perverse.²⁶

These are the opening lines of the section from which Spenser has just quoted. Gower's contrast (which Spenser is closely paraphrasing) is between the second and third daughters of Envy—"Dolour d'autry Joye" and "Joye d'autry mal." Spenser, however, as before, is making his own synthesis, and refers them to Envy and Detraction. The next four lines (xxxiii, 6-9) are reminiscent of the account of Slander.²⁷ In the following stanza, however, a remarkable (but I think perfectly demonstrable) situation develops. Spenser, in accordance with his well-known habit of mind, is recalling once more his own earlier description in Book IV. *But he is also recalling—or (it would seem) actually turning back to in his exemplar—that part of the account of Detraction in the Mirour which he had there used.* The first five lines of stanza xxxiv, that is, are reminiscent of the first seven lines of the twenty-fifth stanza in Book IV,²⁸ but they also recall the corresponding passage in the *Mirour*.

For, whatsoever good by any sayd
 Or doen she heard, she would streightweyes invent²⁹
 How to deprave or slaunderously upbrayd,
 Or to misconstrue of a man's intent,
 And turne to ill the thing that well was ment.

The general correspondence with the *Mirour* is even closer here than in Book IV, as may readily be seen:

Quant Malebouche soul et sole
 Voit homme ove femme qui parole,

²⁶ Ll. 3157-60.

²⁸ See above, pp. 439-40.

²⁷ Compare IV, viii, 36, ll. 1-5, and 35, l. 4. See above, p. 440.

²⁹ Compare IV, viii, 25, l. 2, with its parallels. See above, p. 439.

Combien qu'ils n'eïont de mesfaire
 Voloir, nientmeinz, 'Vei ci la fole!'
 Dist il, 'Vei cy comme se rigole!
 Trop est comune leur affaire.'
 De malparler ne s'en poet taire.³⁰

But in the next lines in Spenser the general parallel becomes a verbal one:

Therefore she used *often to resort*
 To common haunts, and companies frequent,
 To hearke what any one did good report.

For the very next lines in the *Mirour* are these:

Pour ce sovent, u qu'il repaire,
 Sanz nul deserte esclandre vole,
 Que rougist dames le viaire.³¹

The idea of "common haunts" and "companies frequent" is implicit in the picture (in the preceding lines) of Malebouche watching men and women innocently talking, and "misconstruing their intent," and the correspondence of "*resort*" and "*repaire*" (not to mention "*often*" and "*sovent*") is explicit. No one would question for a moment Spenser's recollection in the stanza of his own earlier description. Yet the reminiscence of Gower is closer still, and it includes a part of the passage which does not occur in his earlier account. The last line of the stanza discloses a similar state of affairs.

To blot the same with blame, or *wrest in wicked sort*.

"To blot the same with blame" recalls, of course, "But she with blame would blot" in Book IV.³² In that account the next phrase—"and of due praise deprive"—is suggested by the same sentence in Gower ("sique du pris le

³⁰ Ll. 2701-07.

³¹ Ll. 2708-10.

³² See above, p. 440.

finement," etc.). Here, however, Spenser's "wrest in wicked sort" sums up in four words *the exact sense of the next five lines in Gower*:

. . . et molt sovent,
Quant om parolt de bonne gent,
Lors fait comparisoun ensi,
Sigue le pris q'al un y tent
N'est dit pour pris, ainz soulement
*Pour amerrir le pris d'autry.*³³

Even the thing that is wrested—"what any one did good report"—is the same: "Quant om parolt de bonne gent."

The relation of the first two lines of Spenser's next stanza to the immediately preceding stanza in the *Mirour* is no less obvious.

And if that any ill she heard of any,
She would it eeke,

Et d'une parole ascultant,
Tout une conte maintenant
*De sa malice propre fait.*³⁴

. . . and make much worse by telling.

Par ce qu'il voit un soul semblant,
*Voet dire qu'il ad veu le fait.*³⁵

I shall cite but one more parallel.

Foming with poyson round about her gils,
In which her cursed tongue, full sharpe and short,
*Appear'd like Aspiss sting that closely kills.*³⁶

. . . . leur lange ont fait agu
Comme du serpent, et plus grevain
Dedeinz leur lieveres ont regu
*Venym . . .*³⁷

Spenser's repeated recalling of Gower's phraseology is no less striking than his constant recollection of his own.

³³ Ll. 2719-24.

³⁴ Ll. 2692-94.

³⁵ Ll. 2690-91.

³⁶ xxxvi, 2-4.

³⁷ Ll. 2780-83.

The passage in Book V is reminiscent of the two descriptions in Books I and IV, but he also comes back to Gower precisely as he returns upon himself. And it should be observed that in the accounts in Books IV and V he is drawing³⁸ from a single section in the *Mirour*—a section, moreover, which he had also used in Book I.³⁹

IV

The one alternative to the conclusion reached in this paper is the assumption of a common source for both Spenser and Gower. In other words, there is, of course, the possibility that Spenser may have drawn upon the document or documents from which Gower derived *his* materials. That possibility, however, is strongly negatived by all the evidence which we possess. The general conclusions reached by Miss R. E. Fowler in her careful study of the sources of the *Mirour*⁴⁰ I had come to independently (although on the basis of less adequate evidence), but I prefer to state them in her words. In the

³⁸ With the exception of half a dozen lines from the next section but one.

³⁹ It is very possible that a thorough examination of the *Faerie Queene* would disclose other borrowings from Gower, but I have not had time to make the search. I shall only suggest, in passing, that Spenser may have drawn at least the name *Alma* from the *Alme* of the *Mirour*. Not only is *Alme* (naturally enough) the central figure in the contest of the Vices and the Virtues, but her castle is again and again described in terms which Spenser's account in Book II, cantos ix and xi (both of the House of *Alma* and of the attack on it) recalls. See especially ll. 11281 ff., 11797 ff., 14125 ff., 14712 ff., 16309 ff., 16375 ff.

⁴⁰ *Une source française des poèmes de Gower* (Thèse pour le doctorat de l'Université de Paris, 1905). Compare Macaulay, Vol. I, p. liii.

first place, it seems clear that the source of the *Mirour* is not a single document, but that it comprises (so far as its treatment of the Seven Deadly Sins is concerned) at least two distinct elements. "Il est probable que les emprunts de Gower pour la première partie du *Mirour de l'Homme* remontent principalement à deux compositions ou deux groupes de compositions. Dans la première, ou dans les premières, les vices ont dû être représentés comme les filles du Diable; dans la description de leur personne et de leur vie, il n'y avait sans doute rien de masculin. On aurait ici la source de la chevauchée des Vices et de leur mariage avec Péché dans le poème de Gower.

"L'autre composition, qui semble unique, d'après les recherches que j'ai déjà signalées dans cette thèse, a dû être analogue au *Mirëour du Monde* et à la *Somme le Roi*. Nous le savons grâce à ces mêmes recherches. Or les vices dans le *Mirëour du Monde* et dans la *Somme le Roi* sont à peine personnifiés. C'est vrai qu'on les désigne comme les filles du diable,⁴¹ mais c'est une personnification si légère qu'elle n'a que la valeur d'une métaphore. Je ne crois pas qu'on puisse trouver une allusion à leur sexe. Dans la somme latine de Peraud, les Vices sont des hommes, et ils sont représentés comme les princes d'Enfer et les chefs de bataillon de l'armée du Diable. L'Orgueil est l'héritier du Diable; dans les sommes françaises, c'est sa fille aînée."⁴²

In the second place, the sources of the *Mirour* are with practical certainty to be sought among the French (very possibly Anglo-French) or Latin theological or didactic treatises of the preceding century. In substance this is in agreement with Miss Fowler's summing up: "Cette étude

⁴¹ *Ayenbite* (p. 17); *Mir. du Monde*, MS. 14939 (f. 11 rb).

⁴² Fowler, pp. 57-58.

sur les sources du *Mirour de l'Omme* fait mieux connaître la place que doit prendre Gower dans l'histoire de la littérature. Il faut chercher ses modèles en France parmi les écrivains du XIII^e siècle et non parmi ses contemporains." ⁴³

It is of the utmost importance, then, to observe again ⁴⁴ that in his fourth canto Spenser includes material drawn from *both* elements in Gower's treatment—from the marriage of the Vices, with its background and accompaniments, and from the sections which constitute essentially a conventional *Summa Vitiorum et Virtutum*. That he should have known both the treatises (or groups of treatises) which underlie Gower's work is in the last degree unlikely. Whatever improbability is felt to attach to his knowledge of the *Mirour* is doubled on such an hypothesis. Indeed it is far more than doubled. For the chances of his acquaintance with a work of Gower—a writer of distinction in precisely the period where his own linguistic interests chiefly lay—are overwhelming in comparison with the chances that he had and drew upon two or more separate documents of the date and character of Gower's sources. To the positive evidence of the close verbal correspondences with the *Mirour* (in conjunction with the *Confessio*) must be added the strong negative testimony of all we know about the sources of the poem.

If valid evidence is at hand, any indictment of *a priori* improbability is thereby quashed. But it may still be worth while to observe that the general unlikelihood which is felt at first blush to attach to the assumption of Spenser's knowledge of the *Mirour* is in any case very largely one of seeming. We are apt to estimate John Gower in the light of our own predilections, and to overlook his dis-

⁴³ Fowler, p. 80.

⁴⁴ See above, p. 407.

tinguished (and by no means undeserved) reputation as a poet not only in his own day, but in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as well.⁴⁵ That the *Confessio Amantis* was known to Spenser, who was "much traueiled and thoroughly redd" in the older English writers, and who shows on every page the meticulous care with which he studied them for his own purposes, we may (quite apart from the evidence in this article) be sure.⁴⁶ If he knew Gower's English works, he would certainly, with his own strong ethical bias, have been keenly interested in so characteristic a performance as the *Mirour de l'Omme*, if he ever saw it. To

⁴⁵ Leland, for example, writing at some time before 1552, states explicitly that Gower's works "vel hoc nostro florentissimo tempore a doctis studiose leguntur" (*Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, Oxford, 1709, p. 415; see Bale's repetition of the statement in the *Catalogus*, Cent. vii, No. xxiii). The facts given by Professor Macaulay (*The Works of John Gower*, Vol. II, pp. vii-x) in exemplification of Gower's "great literary reputation" in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are conclusive, and as he remarks (p. x): "Gower's early popularity and reputation are facts to be reckoned with." Dr. H. Spies's *collectanea* of allusions to Gower (*Englische Studien*, xxviii, 161 ff.; xxxiv, 169 ff.; xxxv, 105 n.) afford still further evidence. Even more striking is the indication of interest in Gower's French poems in Yorkshire afforded by one Quixley's translation of the *Traité pour essampler les amanz marietz*, recently printed from a fifteenth-century MS. by Professor H. N. MacCracken (*Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, Vol. xx,—1909—pp. 33-50). The significance of the fifteenth-century Spanish translation of the *Confessio* (now published: *Confesion del Amante por Joan Goer*, ed. Birch-Hirschfeld, Leipzig, 1909), and of the lost Portuguese version cannot be overlooked. None of these facts, of course, prove sixteenth-century acquaintance with the *Mirour*, but they do show the danger of dogmatizing about its improbability.

⁴⁶ E. K. (whose words have just been quoted) was well enough read in the *Confessio* to point out in the Glosse to the July Eclogue in the *Shepherd's Calendar*, that *glitterand* is "a particule used sometimes in Chaucer but altogether in I. Gower." Gabriel Harvey, too, not only knew but read Gower. See *Letter-Book of Gabriel Harvey*, A. D. 1573-1580, Ed. Scott (Camden Soc.), p. 134; cf. p. 37.

argue that he could not have seen it, simply because it happens to exist today in but a single manuscript, is a procedure absolutely unwarranted by all the facts. The list of well known and influential works that have survived in unique manuscripts is a long and notable one, and the mere accident of such a survival may be given only its due (and often relatively small) weight. Moreover, until such a manuscript is brought to light, and so made accessible for comparison, it is obviously fallacious to suggest that any lost work has left no traces of its currency. If such traces actually appear, they at once outweigh all considerations based on the accidental vicissitudes of manuscripts. The question, in a word, is purely one of evidence, and in the light of such facts as are here submitted, it is our estimate of general probabilities that must be revised.⁴⁷

Finally, the utmost care has been exercised in this study to avoid any forcing of the facts to make a case. Starting as the investigation did with the more obvious resemblances between the two processions, the evidence has thrust itself upon me step by step. None of my readers can be more

⁴⁷ That Spenser, with his antiquarian and archaizing tastes, must have been familiar with *manuscripts*, both at Cambridge and later, there is every reason, *a priori*, to believe. On the general question of his use of manuscripts, see Miss C. A. Harper, *The Sources of British Chronicle History in Spenser's Faerie Queene* (Bryn Mawr College Monographs, 1910), pp. 24-26. As indicating the way in which MSS. were actually distributed in the sixteenth century among private owners (often in just such country houses as Spenser knew) see, for instance, the notes on the sixteenth century ownership of MSS. of the *Confessio*, in Macaulay, Vol. II, pp. cxxxix-xl, cxlii, cxlvii-viii, cl, clvii, clx-xi, and compare Karl Meyer, *John Gower's Beziehungen zu Chaucer*, etc., pp. 49-50, 58, 63.

Gower's *French* would certainly have offered to Spenser, who knew the French romances well, no greater obstacle than Chaucer's English.

astonished than I am myself at the results that have followed what began as a light-hearted and innocent excursion into the domain of the Seven Deadly Sins. I have given the facts as I found them, with what seems to me to be involved. If the parallels were with Ariosto or Tasso or Ovid, instead of with Gower, no one, I think, would hesitate for a moment to accept their obvious implications. And for my own part I can see no escape from the conclusions to which they point with reference to Spenser and Gower.

If, then, the contention of this paper is justified, it makes at least two contributions of some value. It discloses a new and wholly unsuspected literary relationship of uncommon interest and importance. And it throws fresh light on Spenser's craftsmanship. The bits from the *Mirour* and the *Confessio* are in all conscience "piece-meal gain." That Spenser in the first instance knew them for gold is significant enough. But even more illuminating is the "added artistry."

JOHN LIVINGSTON LOWES.

XIX.—YE AND YOU IN THE KING JAMES VERSION.¹

In Morris's *Historical Outlines of English Accidence*, § 155, occurs this statement: ". . . in Old English *Ye* was always used as a nominative, and *you* as a dative or accusative. In the English Bible this distinction is very carefully observed, but in the dramatists of the Elizabethan period there is a very loose use of the two forms." Similarly Lounsbury:² "*Ye* in the language of Chaucer invariably denotes the nominative; *you* the objective; and this distinction will still be found observed in the Authorized Version of the Bible." Emerson:³ "This is the use in Chaucer, and in the English Bible of 1611, the language of which, however, is based on the translations of earlier times." Smith:⁴ "This distinction is preserved in the King James Version of the Bible: *Ye* in me, and I in you; but not in Shakespeare and later writers."⁵

These statements are all based on present-day prints of the Bible; for when we turn to the first edition in 1611, we find, for example, in the passage quoted by Professor

¹ For the privilege of examining Bibles and for other favors in the preparation of this paper, I acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. J. C. M. Hanson of the University of Chicago Library, Mr. W. N. C. Carlton of the Newberry Library, Chicago, the late Mr. T. J. Kiernan of the Harvard University Library, Mr. H. M. Lydenberg and Mr. Wilberforce Eames of the New York Public Library, and Sir Frederick Kenyon of the British Museum.

² *History of the English Language*, p. 128.

³ *History of the English Language*, § 381.

⁴ *Old English Grammar*, p. 51.

⁵ Statements to the same effect are found in Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar*, § 236, and Kaluza's *Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, § 469.

Smith from John 14. 20, You in me, and I in you. Note also the following passages from the same edition:

Gen. 9. 4 But flesh with the life thereof, *which is* the blood thereof, shall you not eate.

Gen. 42. 34 then shall I know that you *are* no spies, but *that* you *are* true men.

Deut. 11. 13 if you shall hearken diligently vnto my Commandements . . .

Deut. 12. 7 and yee shall reioyce in all that you put your hand vnto, ye and your households, . . .

Josh. 24. 15 choose you this day whome you will serue, . . .⁶

Job 13. 5 O that you would altogether hold your peace, . . .

Matth. 5. 47 And if yee salute your brethren only, what do you more *then others?*

1 Cor. 15. 1 I declare vnto you the Gospel which I preached vnto you, which also you haue receiued, and wherein yee stand.

I find in the whole Bible about 3830 nominative *ye's* and 300 nominative *you's*, or over 7 per cent. of *you's*. The ratio of *you's* to *ye's* is in the Old Testament about 6 per cent., Apocrypha 35 per cent., and New Testament 5 per cent.⁷

⁶ The first *you* in this passage is objective.

⁷ The instances follow: Gen. 9. 4, 7; 18. 5(2), 5 marg.; 22. 5; 24. 49; 32. 19(2); 34. 10; 42. 9, 12, 34(2); 44. 23; 45. 8, 9, 13(2); 47. 24; Exod. 2. 18; 3. 18; 5. 5, 8(2), 11, 21; 8. 28; 10. 11; 12. 13, 14(2), 31; 14. 13 marg.; 16. 23; 17. 2; 30. 37; Lev. 10. 6, 7; 11. 11; 18. 24; 22. 24; Num. 10. 6, 7(2); 11. 18; 14. 41; 15. 29; 16. 3; 18. 3, 28; 34. 6, 7; Deut. 1. 10, 17(2), 19, 43, 43 marg.; 4. 2, 26; 5. 32, 33; 6. 17; 9. 23; 11. 2, 13; 12. 3(2), 7; 13. 3, 4; 20. 3; 27. 2; 29. 6; Josh. 2. 10(2); 4. 3(2), 6; 6. 18; 10. 19; 18. 3; 22. 24; 23. 8 marg.; 24. 6, 15; Judg. 2. 2; 8. 24; 9. 7; 14. 12; 21. 22; Ruth 1. 9, 11; 1 Sam. 15. 32; 17. 8; 21. 14; 25. 13; 27. 10 marg.; 2 Sam. 13. 28 marg.; 21. 4; 1 Kings 9. 6(2); 12. 6; 2 Kings 2. 3, 5; 1 Chron. 15. 12; 16. 9; 2 Chron. 13. 5, 12; 20. 20; 23. 7; 29. 11; Ezra 4. 3; Neh. 2. 20; 5. 7, 8; Job 6. 27; 12. 3, 3 marg.; 13. 5, 7; 17. 10; 18. 2; 19. 3(2); 32. 11; Ps. 14. 6; 58. 2(2); 115. 15; Prov. 4. 2; Isa. 50. 1; 58. 3; 61. 6, 7; 62. 10; 65. 18;

I have seen no full discussion of the disappearance of these nominative *you's* from modern Bibles. Scrivener⁸ notes, "Other variations . . . spring from grammatical inflections common in the older stages of our language, which have been gradually withdrawn from later Bibles, wholly or in part, chiefly by those painful modernizers, Dr. Paris (1762) and Dr. Blayney (1769)." Further, "The several editors, especially those of 1762 and 1769, carried out to the full at least two things on which they had set their minds: they got rid of the quaint old *moe* for *more*, and in 364⁹ places . . . they have altered the nominative plural *you* into *ye*, besides that Blayney makes the opposite change in *Build you* Num.

Jer. 3. 20; 7. 5; 17. 27; 23. 38; 33. 20; 42. 20 marg.; 44. 3, 23; Mal. 1. 13 marg.; 1 Esdr. 4. 22; 5. 69; 6. 4, 11; 8. 58, 85; 2 Esdr. 1. 14, 15, 17(2), 22, 26, 31; 14. 33, 34; 16. 63; Tob. 7. 3; 12. 19; 13. 6; Jud. 1. 10(2), 12; 2. 24; 7. 24(2); 8. 11, 12, 13, 14(2), 33(2), 34; 10. 9; 14. 2(2), 4, 5; Esth. 16. 22; Wisd. 6. 2, 4; Eccles. 41. 8, 9(3); 43. 30(4), 51. 23, 24(2), Baruch 4. 6, 27; 6. 23, 72; Bel. 1. 27, 27 marg.; 1 Mac. 2. 33(2), 37, 64(2); 4. 18; 5. 19; 10. 26, 27; 11. 31; 12. 7, 10, 22; 15. 28, 31; 2 Mac. 7. 22, 23; 11. 19, 36; 14. 33; Matth. 5. 47; 15. 3; 21. 28; 24. 44; 27. 65; Mk. 4. 13, 24, 40; 9. 50; 11. 26; 14. 6; Lk. 11. 41, 41 marg.; 12. 5; 13. 25, 27; 22. 67, 68; Jno. 9. 27; 14. 20, 24; 15. 16; Acts 5. 28; 10. 37; 13. 41; 20.34; Rom. 1. 11; 13. 6; 14. 1; 1 Cor. 4. 15; 6. 8; 7. 5, 35; 9. 1; 10. 13; 11. 2, 17; 14. 9, 18; 15. 1, 58; 16. 3; 2 Cor. 1. 7, 11, 13(2), 14, 15; 2. 4, 8; 5. 12; 7. 3, 15; 8. 11, 13; 9. 4; 11. 1, 1 marg., 7; 12. 19; Gal. 1. 6; 3. 1; 4. 15, 17; 5. 10; Eph. 5. 22; Philip. 1. 7 marg.; Col. 2. 12; 3. 8; 4. 6; 1 Thes. 2, 11; Jas. 2. 16; 1 Pet. 4. 4, 2 Pet. 1. 4, 15; 1 Jno. 2. 13; 4. 3.

In counting the *ye's* I have omitted certain stereotyped phrases in the Psalms and The Song of the Three Children, such as "Praise ye the Lord," in which *you* never occurs.

⁸ F. H. A. Scrivener, *The Authorized Edition of the English Bible* (1611), *Its Subsequent Reprints and Modern Representatives*; Cambridge Univ. Press, 1884, pp. 101 f. (A reprint of the introduction to the *Cambridge Paraph Bible*, 1873.)

⁹ I am unable to find so many.

32. 24; *Wash you* Isa. 1. 16; *Get you* Zech. 6. 7; *Turn you* Zech. 9. 12."¹⁰ Also, "It cannot be doubted that these two editors are the great modernizers of the diction of the version, from what it was left in the seventeenth century, to the state wherein it appears in modern Bibles."¹¹ Dr. Paris in 1762 edited a standard edition for the Cambridge press, and Dr. Blayney edited a corresponding standard edition for the Oxford press in 1769.

Before examining the work of these editors it will be well to follow our problem through the most important editions from 1611 to 1762. There is no tendency to substitute nominative *you* for *ye* in the successive editions.¹² Isolated instances of the change of *you* to *ye* appear very early and reappear successively. The first (Ex. 16. 23 *you* will bake) is changed in the Barker black-letter 4^o of 1614, and remains. Ten more scattered changes appear first in London and Cambridge ff^o of 1629,¹³ three in a Cambridge f^o of 1638, two in a Cambridge 16^{mo} of 1657, and one in a Cambridge 4^o of 1675, a total of seventeen up to 1675. These changes are not in groups, are probably accidental, and continued unconsciously.

Scrivener¹⁴ mentions a number of errors in Blayney's edition of 1769, which "can be best accounted for by supposing that Blayney's sheets were set up by Paris's, used as copy." On examining these errors, however, I find that many of them, perhaps the majority, are not to be laid at Dr. Paris's door. Several appear in London ff^o of 1753 and 1751, and one in particular,¹⁵ which Scrivener

¹⁰ P. 104.

¹¹ P. 30.

¹² In cases where *you* is substituted for *ye* it is a reappearance of an earlier *you* from some former edition.

¹³ A small Roman fo has one of these, and three others that did not come down.

¹⁴ Pp. 31 f.

¹⁵ James 2. 16. Be ye warmed, and be ye filled.

attributes directly to Paris, appears identically in Cambridge editions of 1760, 1759, 1752, 1747, 1743, and 1683 (not in 1675).

These facts led me to question whether Paris and Blayney were chiefly responsible for the changes of *you* to *ye*, and to examine the earlier editions with regard to that. No considerable changes were made in the London and Oxford editions before 1751, and those made were mainly in the New Testament. On the other hand, I found that the first changes on a large scale appear in a Cambridge 4° of 1683. The first two instances in Genesis are changed, one other in Gen. 42. 9, the first two in Leviticus, and most of the rest from Numbers through the Old Testament. All in I Esdras are changed, but the rest of the Apocrypha neglected. The changes in the New Testament are practically complete.

John Lewis, in his *History of the English Translations of the Bible* (1739), mentions an important Cambridge f° of 1678, edited by Dr. Antony Scattergood, a Cambridge scholar. This edition is not known to be extant, but it is believed¹⁶ to be represented by a Cambridge 4° of 1683. As there appears to be but one Cambridge 4° of 1683, it is probable that we are to attribute to Dr. Scattergood the first extensive changes from *you* to *ye* in our modern Bibles.

Important Cambridge editions are rare from 1683 to 1760, but examination of several 12°'s and an 8°¹⁷ indicates that in the Cambridge editions the tradition of the change of *you* to *ye* was continued with constantly added

¹⁶ T. Scattergood, *Dict. of National Biography*, Vol. L, p. 407.

¹⁷ 1743, 1747, 1752, 1759 (12°'s), and 1760 (8°). The first four of these I have not personally examined. In these four, in the British Museum, I have had about fifty random passages examined, and the evidence consistently points in the direction indicated.

cases until it was substantially complete in 1760. The New Testament was mostly complete in 1683; the Old Testament and Apocrypha were completed later.

In the Oxford and London editions, some dozen of Dr. Scattergood's changes first appear in a 1743 Oxford f^o, 16 in a 1751 London f^o, 35 in a 1753 London f^o. In a 1761 London 4^o appear 65 changes not before found in Oxford or London editions, but found in previous Cambridge editions. On the whole, then, the Cambridge editors are chiefly responsible for the change, as it did not greatly affect the Oxford and London Bibles till it was substantially completed in the Cambridge editions.

In Dr. Blayney's report to the Clarendon Press, October 25, 1769,¹⁸ he says, "The editor of the two editions of the Bible [1769 4^o and f^o] lately printed at the Clarendon Press thinks it his duty, now that he has completed the whole in a course of between three and four years' close application, to make his report. . . . According to the instructions he received, the folio edition of 1611, that of 1701 [London], and two Cambridge editions of a late date, one in quarto, the other in octavo, have been carefully collated. . . ." The quarto used was that edited by Dr. Paris as a standard Cambridge edition in 1762 (printed also in folio).¹⁹ In discussing Blayney's use of

¹⁸ Printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1769 (Vol. xxxix, p. 517), and reprinted by Scrivener, p. 238.

¹⁹ The quarto and folio were printed from the same setting up by shortening or lengthening the forms, as Blayney (in his *Report*, Scrivener, pp. 242 f.) tells us the two Oxford editions were also made. The copies of the Cambridge 4^o and f^o I examined correspond page for page, errors and defective types appearing in the same places. If it is true, as stated in the British Museum folio copy, that only six copies were preserved from a fire at the book-seller's, this may account for Blayney's using the quarto. There are two folio copies in the New York Library and one in the Harvard University Library.

Paris's work in this edition, Scrivener²⁰ does not mention the octavo. Yet it appears that, at least in the change of *you* to *ye* (which Scrivener mentions only incidentally), this octavo represents a more advanced stage than Paris's work. The octavo mentioned by Blayney is probably represented in the British Museum and the New York Public Library by a Cambridge 8° in two volumes.²¹ In this the change of *you* to *ye* is substantially completed, whereas in Paris's edition of 1762 a large part of the Old Testament is still unchanged. The editor of the 1760 8° (or some predecessor) did so thorough a piece of work that he also changed most cases of 1611 *take you, get you*, etc., to *ye*. Paris has retained the objective form in most of these instances.

After 1760 the work left for Blayney in the matter of *you* and *ye* was very slight. He appears to have changed *you* to *ye* first only in Num. 18. 3; Tobit 13. 6; Judith 1. 10(2), 12; 2. 24 (in each of these four cases *you* is an indefinite pronoun); Bel 1. 27; 1 Mac. 15. 28, 31; and possibly 2 Cor. 8. 13.²²

In three cases nominative *you* in the text escaped Blayney,²³ and consequently stands in our present-day Bibles:

²⁰ Pp. 29 ff.

²¹ The Holy Bible, etc., With Apocrypha. Cambridge. Printed by Joseph Bentham, etc. 1760. 2 Vols. 8°. Price 6s unbound. The only other Cambridge octavos mentioned in the British Museum catalog, and in the catalog of the British and Foreign Bible Society, are an octavo of 1760, and two of 1765. They all appear to be substantially the same text.

²² This was *ye* in the 1683 edition, but *you* in subsequent editions. It is changed to *ye* in the B. M. Cambridge 8° of 1765. It is not likely, however, that this is the octavo collated by Blayney, since it lacks the Apocrypha.

²³ No further changes in the use of *ye* and *you* have been made since Blayney.

Gen. 9. 7 And you, be ye fruitfull, . . .

Gen. 45. 8 So now it was not you *that* sent me hither, . . .

Job 12. 3 But I haue vnderstanding as well as you, . . .

For the first example compare Ezek. 36. 8 But ye, O mountaines of Israel, ye shall shoot forth your branches; Josh. 6. 18 And you, in any wise keepe your selues from the accursed thing; and 1 Cor. 14. 9 So likewise you, except ye vtter by the tongue words easie to be vnderstood, how shall it be knowen what is spoken? In the last two cases *you* of 1611 was changed to *ye*.²⁴ For the second case, compare Matth. 10. 20 For it is not yee that speake.²⁵ For the third, compare 1 Cor. 14. 18 I speake with tongues more then you all. Here *you* was changed to *ye*.²⁶

Besides the 287 or more nominative *you*'s in the text of 1611 there are some 13 in the margin.²⁷ Five of these were corrected by 1683, but only one of the corrections stood in later editions up to 1769. Blayney recorrected 3, and corrected 4 others, and 4 were never corrected (Gen. 18. 5; 1 Sam. 27. 10; 2 Sam. 13. 28; Job 12. 3, where *you* of the text also remains), so that 5 (the other is Luke 11.

²⁴ Expressions like Gen. 9. 7, where the Hebrew has an emphatic nominative pronoun, are rendered in 1611 in two ways; one with English pleonastic nominative, as in the examples cited; cf. also Num. 18. 6 And I, beholde, I haue taken your brethren. ; the other with *as for* + objective, as Josh. 24. 15 as for mee and my house, we will serue the LORD; Gen. 44. 17 as for you, get you vp in peace . . .; Jer. 40. 10 As for me, behold, I will dwell at Mizpah . . . but yee, gather yee wine, . . . Cf. also Luke 17. 10; 21. 31; 1 Cor. 14. 12.

²⁵ So Mark 13. 11.

²⁶ Cf. Deut. 5. 14; Ezek. 42. 11; Acts 10. 47. In Job 12. 3 the Bishops' Bible has *ye*. The A. V. here follows the Geneva Bible (ed. 1602).

²⁷ In six of the cases there is no *ye* or *you* in the text; in four, *you* of the margin corresponds to *ye* of the text; in three, *you* occurs both in text and margin.

41) remain today. There are therefore in the text and margin of our present day Authorized Version 8 nominative *you's*.²⁸

We have to deal in the Authorized Version with another apparent confusion between nominative and objective in the second person plural of the pronoun, the use of the unstressed form *ye* as an objective. This form occurs as early as Chaucer in unstressed positions.²⁹ It is frequent in the Bible of 1611, but Blayney and his predecessors have substituted *you* for it throughout.³⁰ The following are examples:

Gen. 19. 14 Vp, get yee out of this place.

Deut. 1. 40 turne ye, and take your iourney into the wildernesse.

²⁸ At least such is the case in an Oxford Bible I got in 1907. In another, which I got in 1913, without date, but probably set up within two or three years, these marginal *you's* are restored.

²⁹ Although as early as 1883 Professor Gummere (*Amer. Jour. of Phil.*, iv, p. 284) pointed out the well-known passage in the opening of *Troilus and Criseyde*, Spies (*Das englische Pronomen*, 1897) cites an apparent example in 1426 as the earliest theretofore noted,—“Gramercy God, and ye,” in which *ye* is stressed. But, though cited by the *Ox. D.*, this is, to my mind, very doubtful. It can be explained as a vocative, analogous to “Graunt mercy, leve sir,” and other 15th c. examples (see *Ox. D.*). The only other of Spies’s examples with full stress is a sheer misunderstanding of the common phrase “Saw me not with yee” (*Battle of Otterburn*, St. 39). Jespersen (*Progress in Language*, p. 254) is undoubtedly right in regarding *ye* objective as merely an unstressed form of *you*, a view that Spies appears not to recognize. Almost all of the examples in Shakespeare are unstressed, and none have full stress. In the Bible they are invariably without stress.

³⁰ Dr. Scattergood made only occasional changes of objective *ye* to *you*. He changes, for example, Isa. 30. 11 *get ye*, but leaves it in Josh. 22. 4 and Ezek. 11. 15. He retains objective *you* in such cases, contrary to some of his followers. He changed Isa. 1. 16 *waspe ye* and was followed by the Cambridge editions I have seen till Paris, who has *ye*. Blayney (contrary to Scrivener’s statement, p. 456 above) followed here the Cambridge 8^o and its predecessors.

Josh. 3. 12 Now therefore take yee twelue men.

Num. 32. 24 Build ye cities for your litle ones.

Isa. 32. 11 strip ye and make ye bare.⁸¹

In such instances we have to be on our guard, owing to the fact that in seventeenth-century English many verbs, transitive and intransitive, could take after them either a nominative or objective pronoun, such as *stay thou* or *stay thee*, *go thou* or *go thee* (Ezek. 21. 16).⁸² Since *ye* and *you* were each either nominative or objective, it is difficult in many instances to know which case the translators felt, if any. *Get ye (you)* appears to be always objective. *Get thee* is frequent and *get thou* does not occur. *Get you* is much more frequent than *get ye* in the 1611 version, so that Blayney and his predecessors are consistent in changing all to *get you*.

In *choose you* (Josh. 24. 15, 22, etc.) *you* is usually objective, as in Hebrew. *Choose ye* does not occur. Since, however, *choose thou* occurs (Ezek. 21. 19), it seems likely that in 1 Sam. 17. 8 *chuse you* a man for you, and 1 Kings 18. 25 *Chuse you* one bullocke for your selues, the translators regarded the first *you* as nominative, since the Hebrew objective is expressed by an additional phrase. Blayney, however, regarded it as objective, and it so stands today.

It seems probable also that in Isa. 1. 16 *Wash yee*, *make you cleane*, the translators intended *yee* to be nominative. The intransitive verb *wash* in Hebrew is rendered simply

⁸¹ In those of the examples where the English pronoun is ambiguous in case, the Hebrew has a reflexive pronoun.

⁸² See Jespersen, *Progress in Language*, pp. 241 f. These verbs with pronouns well illustrate Tyndale's remark about the very great similarity in style between Hebrew and English. *Go thee*, and *lay thee hold* and *take thee* (2 Sam. 2. 21) all have reflexive forms in Hebrew, and are rendered literally in English by equally idiomatic forms.

wash in 2 Sam. 12. 20, 2 Kings 5. 10, 12, 13, though sometimes the object pronoun is added, as in Ruth 3. 3, Ezek. 23. 40. In Isa. 1. 16 the Hebrew has no object pronoun, but the verb *make clean* is reflexive; hence *you* in English.³³

In the phrase *take ye (you)* Blayney's corrections are consistent according to the Hebrew. When the Hebrew has the simple verb, *take ye* of 1611 is left, as a nominative (Ex. 16. 16; 35. 5; Lev. 9. 3, etc.); when the Hebrew has an object pronoun, *take ye* of 1611 is changed to *take you* (Deut. 1. 13; Josh. 3. 12), and *take you* of 1611 of course retained.³⁴ *Build ye* he has treated in the same way. Where the Hebrew has a simple verb he retains *build ye* (1 Chron. 22. 19; Jer. 29. 5, 28), and where the Hebrew has the object pronoun, changes to *build you* (Num. 32. 24).

In the case of *turn ye (you)*, Blayney is less consistent. Though perhaps justified, on his principle of normalizing *ye* and *you*, in leaving *turn you* Num. 14. 25; Deut. 1. 7, where the Hebrew has the simple form of the verb (since the reflexive is often added in English with *turn* where the Hebrew has no reflexive, as 1 Sam. 14. 47 *turned himselfe*), and in changing *turne ye* Deut. 1. 40 to *turn you* (since the Hebrew has the reflexive), yet why should he change *turne ye* Zech. 9. 12 to *turn you*, but leave *turne ye* in Lev. 19. 4; 2 Kings 17. 13; Isa. 31. 6; Jer. 25. 5; Ezek. 33. 11; Joel 2. 12; Zech. 1. 3, 4, from the same Hebrew simple form of the verb?³⁵

³³ See note 30, last part.

³⁴ So far as I have seen, *take you* of 1611 always goes back to the reflexive form in Hebrew, while *take ye* represents both Hebrew simple verb and reflexive.

³⁵ The two principal Hebrew verbs for *turn* show the same relation to the English in this respect.

Similarly, Blayney should consistently have changed Jer. 49. 14 Gather ye together, & come against her, for *ye* was doubtless intended as a reflexive object. The Hebrew form is reflexive, as it is in 1 Sam. 22. 2; 2 Chron. 20. 4 *gathered themselves*; Ezek. 39. 17 *assemble yourselves*. The translators were very particular in rendering the Hebrew reflexive; cf. Zeph. 2. 1 where the Hebrew reflexive and simple forms of the same verb are rendered, Gather your selves together, yea gather together. It is probable, therefore, that in Jer. 49. 14 we have an objective *ye* in our modern Bibles. The R. V. renders it *yourselves*.

In *abide you* (Gen. 22. 5) and *haste you* (Gen. 45. 9) Blayney follows the Hebrew, which is without reflexive, in adopting *ye* from previous Cambridge editors. But apparently he was ignorant of the Elizabethan idiom which used the reflexive after these verbs regardless of the form of the original, as in the case of *get you*. *Haste thee* in 1611 is very frequent where the Hebrew has no reflexive, and *haste thou* does not occur. That *you* is objective is also indicated by the fact that Coverdale (ed. 1535) here has *haste you*, and he does not confuse *ye* and *you*.

These facts raise the question whether it would not have been better, while modernizing the A. V. in some other respects, to have left *ye* and *you* as they were in 1611.³⁶

Ye and *you* invariably represent the plural when used as the second personal pronoun. Many instances appear at first sight to contradict this; for example:

Josh. 4. 1 ff. the LORD spake vnto Ioshua, saying, Take you twelue men out of the people, . . . And command you them, . . .

Deut. 12. 7 and yee shall reioyce in all that you put your hand

³⁶ This was done by Dr. Scrivener in his *Cambridge Paragraph Bible*, 1873.

vnto, ye and your houtholds, wherein the LORD thy God hath blessed thee.

Deut. 13. 5 to turne you away from the LORD your God, which brought you out of the land of Egypt, and redeemed you out of the house of bondage, to thrust thee out of the way which the LORD thy God commanded thee to walke in.

Such instances abound, but so far as English is concerned *ye* and *you* are always plural; for the pronouns invariably correspond in number with the original.³⁷

Many of these examples illustrate a very effective trait of biblical style. In addressing a group, the speaker appears suddenly to address himself to one person singled out from the rest. For example:

Deut. 29. 10 ff. Ye stand this day all of you before the LORD your God: your captaines of your tribes, your Elders, and your officers, *with* all the men of Israel, Your little ones, your wiues, and thy stranger that is in thy campe, from the hewer of thy wood, vnto the drawer of thy water: That thou shouldest enter into Couenant with the LORD thy God, and into his othe which the LORD thy God maketh with thee this day:

This is seen to advantage in the Sermon on the Mount:

Matth. 6. 1 ff. Take heed that yee doe not your almes before men, to bee seene of them: otherwise ye haue no reward of your father which is in heauen. Therefore, when thou doest thine almes, doe not sound a trumpet before thee, . . . But when thou doest almes, let not thy left hand know, what thy right doeth:

Matth. 6. 16 f. Moreouer, when yee fast, be not as the Hypocrites, . . . But thou, when thou fastest, anoint thine head, and wash thy face:

There are four instances in Judith (1. 10, 12; 2. 24) in which *you* is the singular indefinite pronoun:

³⁷ Where there is no original the contemporary idiom is observed. In the dedication to King James *you* is used as the singular, since obviously *thou* could not be used.

Jud. 1. 12 all Iudea, and all that were in Egypt, till you come to the borders of the two Seas.

This represents the Greek *ἕως τοῦ ἐλθεῖν*, Latin *usque ad veniendum*, and is rendered in the Geneva version by *till one come, unto one come, to one come*. Blayney is, so far as I know, the first editor to change these *you's* to *ye's*.

The use of *you* as a nominative in English appears to date from the middle of the fourteenth century.³⁸ According to Spies,³⁹ *you* begins to predominate over *ye* about 1550. In the first half of the sixteenth century *you* and *ye* are found used indiscriminately.⁴⁰ As is to be expected, nominative *you* is more frequent in the spoken than in the literary dialect. The great frequency of *you* in Shakespeare well represents the situation at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In spite of its 300 nominative *you's*, therefore, the Bible is very conservative in the use of this popular form.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century we find that this conservatism is characteristic of the Bible translations. In Tyndale's New Testament I find⁴¹ no nominative *you's*. The same is true of Coverdale's and the Great Bible of 1549.⁴² There is one in Matthew's Bible (1538), a few in the Geneva of 1557, and they become frequent, though still relatively few, in the Bishops' Bible of 1568. On the other hand, the Rheims Bible of 1582 has relatively few *ye's*.

³⁸ Kellner, *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, § 212.

³⁹ *Das englische Pronomen*, § 135.

⁴⁰ Cf. Lord Berners (1532), *Chronicles of Froissart*: "Why do you thus fly away? Be you not well assured? Ye be to blame thus to fly."

⁴¹ Contrary to Spies's implication, § 135.

⁴² In these two my search was extended, but not exhaustive.

In the middle of the sixteenth century there appears a tendency to associate *ye* with Biblical and other dignified language. Perhaps this is as much a result as a cause of the conservative use in Bible versions, a desire to translate accurately doubtless being at the bottom of the matter in Tyndale and his immediate successors. For Tyndale and other men intimately associated with early Bible translations employed nominative *you* in their writings.⁴³ This difference in style is perhaps most noticeable in the first Prayer Book of Edward VI (1549). In the scriptural parts *ye* and *you* are carefully distinguished, but in the other parts nominative *you* is frequent. There is also a difference to be seen in the more and less formal passages of the non-scriptural parts. For example, the formal passage following the Creed in the Communion has *ye*, but the more personal and intimate exhortation following has *you*.⁴⁴

To the question of the source of the nominative *you's* in the Authorized Version, one answer at least is definite. Of the rules laid down for the translators, the first was, "The ordinary Bible read in the Church, commonly called the *Bishops Bible*, to be followed, and as little altered as the Truth of the original will permit." The fourteenth was, "These translations to be used when they agree better with the Text than the Bishops Bible: *Tindoll's, Matthew's, Coverdale's, Whitchurch's, Geneva.*" An examination of the passages shows that none of the *you's* go back

⁴³ Cf. Tyndale, *An Answer vnto Sir Thomas Mores Dialoge*: "What can you saye to this?"

⁴⁴ The distinction is of course not rigidly made. *Ye* frequently occurs with *you* in less formal parts. E. g. in the form of Public Baptism we find, "you heare," "ye perceyue," "doubte ye not"; and in the form of Private Baptism corresponding, "ye heare," "ye perceiue," "doubt you not."

to Tyndale, Matthew, Coverdale, or Whitechurch (Great Bible). A number of parallel passages will show at once that many of them come from the Bishops' Bible.

BISHOPS' BIBLE.

- Ex. 12. 31 Rise vp, and geate you out from amongst my people, both you and also the chyldren of Israel.
- Lev. 22. 24 Ye shal not offer vnto the LORDE that which is bruised, or crushed, or broken, or cut away, neither shall you make any offering thereof in your land.
- Deut. 1. 17 Ye shal haue no respect of any person in iudgment, but you shal heare the smal aswel as the great: you shal not feare the face of any man.
- Deut. 4. 26 I call heauen and earth to recorde agaynst you this day, that ye shal shortly perishe from of the lande whereunto you goe ouer Iordane to possesse it: ye shal not prolong your dayes therin,...
- Josh. 2. 10 For we haue hearde howe the LORDE dried vp the water of the redde se before you, when you came out of Egypt, and what you dyd vnto the two kynges . . . whom ye vtterly destroyed.
- Josh. 24. 15 Chose you this day whom you wyl serue, . . .
- Luke 12. 5 I wyl forewarne you whom you shal feare:

KING JAMES VERSION.

- Rise vp, *and* get you forth from amongst my people, both you and the children of Israel:
- Ye shal not offer vnto the LORD that which is bruised, or crushed, or broken, or cut, neither shall you make any offering thereof in your land.
- Ye shall not respect persons in iudgement, *but* you shall heare the small aswell as the great: you shall not bee afraid of the face of man, . . .
- I call heauen and earth to witness against you this day, that ye shall soone vtterly perish from off the land whereunto you goe ouer Iordan, to possesse it: yee shall not prolong *your* dayes vpon it, . . .
- For wee haue heard how the LORD dried vp the water of the red Sea for you, when you came out of Egypt, and what you did vnto the two kings . . . whom ye vtterly destroyed.
- Choose you this day whome you will serue, . . .
- But I will forewarne you whom you shall feare:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>John 9. 27 I told you yer while
and ye dyd not heare: where-
fore woulde you heare it
agayne: wyl ye also be his
disciples?</p> <p>1 Cor. 14. 9 So lykewyse you,
except ye vtter woordes by
the tongue easie to be vn-
derstoode, howe shal it be
knownen what is spoken? for
ye shal speake into the ayre.</p> | <p>I haue told you already, and ye
did not heare: wherfore
would you heare it againe?
Will ye also be his disciples?</p> <p>So likewise you, except ye vtter
by the tongue words easie to
be vnderstood, how shall it be
knownen what is spoken? for
ye shall speake into the aire.</p> |
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Many instances not attributable to the Bishops' Bible can be traced directly to the Geneva version. Note the following from the Barker folio of 1602:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>Gen. 22. 5 Abide you here with
the asse: for I and the child
will go yonder and worship,
and come againe vnto you.</p> <p>Job 12. 3 I haue vnderstanding
as well as you, . . .</p> <p>Judith 14. 2 And so soone as
the morning shall appeare,
and the Sunne shall come
forth vpon the earth, take
you euery one his weapons,
and goe forth euery valiant
man out of the city, and set
you a captaine ouer them, as
though you would goe downe
into the field toward the
watch of the Assyrians, but
goe not downe.</p> | <p>Abide you here with the asse, and
I and the lad will goe yon-
der and worship, and come
againe to you.</p> <p>But I haue vnderstanding as well
as you, . . .</p> <p>And so soone as the morning
shall appeare, and the Sunne
shal come forth vpon the
earth, take you euery one his
weapons, and goe forth euery
valiant man out of the city,
& set you a captaine ouer
them, as though you would
goe downe into the field
toward the watch of the As-
syrians, but goe not downe.</p> |
|---|---|

About 200 of the *you's* in the Authorized Version are in passages substantially identical in phrasing with either the Bishops' Bible or the Geneva. About 87 of these *you's* are taken directly from the Bishops', and 40 from the Geneva version. That the remainder are easily accounted for by the tendency of the contemporary language is indi-

cated by the situation in the Bishops' and Geneva versions. In the Bishops' Bible of 1602 a number of *you's* occur which were *ye's* in the first edition (1568), and the same is true of the Geneva. The influence on the Authorized Version from the Bishops' Bible is most evident in the Pentateuch. From Job to the end of the Apocrypha the Geneva version is most prominent. Neither furnished many *you's* in the New Testament, the greater number coming from the Bishops'. It is perhaps significant of the translators' sense of the closer connection of the New Testament with the life of the people that here the great majority of the nominative *you's* are not derived from a definite source, and may therefore be attributed to a feeling for a slightly more familiar and popular style.

That the normalizing of *ye* and *you* has to some extent affected the style of the original version of 1611 there can be little doubt. Though perhaps it would be difficult to offer proof from particular passages, the euphony has undoubtedly been affected in places by the changes. This will not seem too slight a matter to those who appreciate the remarkable qualities of the version in this respect.

Again, the translators' use of *you* is of interest as an indication among many others of their attitude toward the popular idiom. Recent scholars have pointed out definite traits of popular style in the Bible, and this takes its place among them. We have seen a progressive tendency in the translations to approximate the popular idiom, a tendency that accounts either immediately or through previous translations for the nominative *you's* in the 1611 version. The later correctors have therefore deprived us of this element, so scattered through the Bible as to assist in keeping that nice balance between formal dignity and popular simplicity that is universally recognized in the version in other respects.

Finally, the normalization has removed an element of variety in style that is not inconsiderable. Not only in euphony, but in the avoidance of rigidity, and in the slight variations in formality, the occasional use of the more popular form plays a part. Compare, for example, in the light of contemporary usage, the tone of Ps. 24. 7 Lift vp your heads, O yee gates, with that of Gen. 24. 49 And now if you wil deale kindly and truely with my master, tell me.⁴⁵ The translators themselves did not intend that their style should be mechanically uniform even in matters that did not affect the sense. In *The Translators to the Reader* they say: "But, that we should expresse the same notion in the same particular word, . . . wee thought to sauour more of curiositie then wisdome, . . . if wee should say, as it were, vnto certaine words, Stand vp higher, haue a place in the Bible alwayes, and to others of like qualitie, Get ye hence, be banished for euer, wee might be taxed peraduenture with S. Iames his words, namely, *To be partiall in ourselues and iudges of euill thoughts.*" The seventeenth and eighteenth century correctors, admirable as their work was in many respects, said in effect to the nominative *you's* and objective *ye's* of the King James Version, "Get ye hence, be banished for ever," and we have followed them ever since.

JOHN S. KENYON.

⁴⁵ I do not maintain that such a distinction is always made, and in such instances as this it is perhaps unconscious. But its effect is none the less real, and it is due in part at least to a sense of style; for example, in the passage from the Psalms *you* could not have been used. It seems significant that nominative *you* is most frequent in the narrative parts of the Old Testament and of the Apocrypha, and the narrative and epistolary parts of the New Testament, and rare in the Prophets and Psalms, and the book of Revelation.

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XX.—BALLAD, TALE, AND TRADITION: A STUDY IN POPULAR LITERARY ORIGINS

To anyone who has followed the development of the theory of ballad origins, it is well known that there are two main theories in the field for our suffrages at the present time: the communal; and the individualistic, literary, or anti-communal theory. The last name of the second theory is indicative of the attitude of its upholders, for they have in truth been largely occupied with a criticism of the communalists, always demanding of them more and ever more light, and ever, like doubting Thomas, refusing to believe until an actual ballad dating from at least the time of Hereward the Wake is produced for their fingers to touch. The communalists, by an appeal to the well-established facts of folk-lore and ethnology, maintain that the ballads are the product of the communal stage of society in Europe, in which the populace held festive dances, and in which there was actual improvisation of certain traditional lyric narratives. These narratives had their verse-form determined by the dance; and the whole poem from

beginning to end was the product of the people, and was not in any way composed by literary persons. Moreover, these ballads have been handed down by oral tradition, and live in the mouths of the people. Of course, there is no claim that one expects to find in the ballads of the collections anything which springs directly from the ancient source; all that is claimed is that the poetic form is handed down, and, so to say, the general ballad tradition. This claim of long descent is substantiated by the very features of the ballads as they exist to-day; by their impersonality, their refrain, their depicting of but a single situation, their use of incremental repetition. Thus, it is maintained, the ballad is not derived from any pre-existing literary material, but is the result of a primary impulse which is as old as man, and out of which the various forms of communal poetry spring. Finally, the ballad is not connected with the popular tale; "it follows an entirely different line and springs from an entirely different impulse."¹

To all of this the individualists reply that the method of the communalist begs the question:

"An opinion is widely prevalent among folklorists," they say, "that since ballads come down to us by tradition, they represent poetry in its most primitive forms, and that the character and origin of the ballad can only or best be determined by a comprehensive study of the poetry of those races that are least civilized. This is not merely to beg the whole question; it is to manipulate facts to adapt them to a theory; for even a cursory knowledge of the poetry of the least civilized races is sufficient to show that it has little in common, as regards form, with the modern ballad; and it is assumed on no evidence, and in the face of all likelihood, that the modern ballad has, in the course of ages, been transformed into its present shape by what is vaguely termed the fancy or com-

¹ F. B. Gummere, *The Popular Ballad*, 1907, pp. 16-61, 68-71. George Lyman Kittredge, *Introduction to the Cambridge Edition of Child's English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, 1904.

bined genius of the folk. On this theory, also, ballads do not deteriorate, but improve, by folk recital, provided the folk be sufficiently unsophisticated or illiterate; and the modern deterioration of ballads is caused by contact with the corrupting influences of modern civilization."²

But even among nature-folk, the anti-communalists continue, poetry is the product of gifted individuals; this phrase "heart of the people" is a vile phrase, and so are all its kinsmen, such as "popular imagination," or "folk fancy." "The majority of surviving ballads are historical, and therefore comparatively recent," and the fact that "the large number of what may be termed romantic ballads are plainly related in some way to romances, must be regarded as strong presumptive evidence against the very early origin of any existing ballads."³ Finally, the anti-communalists bring in the argument of fact and say, "We can only take the ballads as we find them, and it is a waste of time to argue about the characteristics of productions which no one has ever heard, and whose very existence depends upon bare conjecture."⁴

It would be a waste of time to show how completely in the main Professor Gummere and the late Andrew Lang have met the objections of those who oppose the communal theory. But, while this is true, it may not be unprofitable to show where the defences of the communalists are weak and where their assumptions seem to be scantily supported by facts. This may be done under two main heads:

1. The communalists have persistently maintained that the ballad is a thing apart, and have neglected to deal with it in connection with the other forms of popular art, such

² T. H. Henderson, *Preface* to his edition of Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, pp. xxiii-xxiv.

³ J. H. Millar, *Literary History of Scotland*, 1903, p. 182.

⁴ J. H. Millar, *Literary History of Scotland*, 1903, p. 182.

as popular tale and popular drama, which were developed among the people out of whose general life the ballad also arose. Thus they have dwelt upon certain characteristics of the ballad which differentiate it from cultivated poetry, but in no wise differentiate it from related forms of popular art. To correct this, it is necessary to dwell on its similarity to related forms, and so to deal with the general conditions under which popular art originates. As the quotation from Professor Gummere shows, they neglect the prose popular tale in particular, evidently holding as an axiom the priority of poetry over prose.

2. While they have made excellent use of anthropological evidence, they have placed too great trust in it, and have neglected to recognize the fact that the ballad "as we have it" is an European product and develops in a certain environment, within a rather fixed social complex; and can be explained only by a strict reference to the conditions of the age in which the ballad originated and developed. In the case of the ballad, this means that, while anthropological considerations are most valuable, the ballad as we have it and as it is defined in standard discussions of the English ballad must be studied in its origin in mediæval Europe in connection with those social activities which led to its origin.

I

THE POPULAR TALE AND POPULAR DRAMA

As has been said, despite the fact that much has been written about ballads and folk-tales, very little attention has been paid to their relations. This may be partially accounted for by the different paths by which ballad and folk-tale have come into the ken of scholars. The ballad

came by way of poetry, and so naturally became the centre of interest as the possible source of epic, drama, lyric, and what not. The folk-tale, however, was not admitted into the literary holy temple so readily, for it came as a foreigner and outlandish heathen, as it were, from the country of mythology and religion. So persistent was the belief that folk-tales were the broken-down forms of myth that M. Emmanuel Cosquin, in the preface to his *Contes de Lorraine*,⁵ had to fight for his assertion that tales were tales and not myths in any form whatsoever.

The prevailing opinion is well exemplified by Professor Gummere's statement of his conception of the relation between ballad and tale, when he says:

Artless narrative is best studied in the popular tale. This märchen, again, itself as old as any aesthetic propensity in man, will do nothing for the origins of balladry; it follows an entirely different line and springs from an entirely different impulse, as any observer can determine for himself who watches the same group of children, now playing "Ring round the Rosy," or what not, singing and shouting in concert with clasped hands and consenting feet, not sitting silent, absorbed, while some one tells them a story. As with the manner, so with the material. No test can be obtained for the ballad by a comparison of its matter with these tales which have long formed the flotsam and jetsam of European narrative. The actual community of subject in ballad and folk-tale is limited. Ballads rest primarily on situation and deed of familiar, imitable type; the popular tale, untrammelled by rhythmic law, by choral conditions, tends to a more subtle motive, a more striking fact, a more unexpected, memorable quality, and a more intricate coherence of events.⁶

It will be the purpose of the first part of this paper to call attention to the importance of the popular tale in solving the riddle of the origin of popular literature in general and of the ballad in particular. This will chiefly consist

⁵ 2 vols., 1886.

⁶ *The Popular Ballad*, pp. 69-70.

in the presentation of evidence for the early origin of the prose tale and of its close connection with the ballad, in that it furnishes an explanation of much of the content of that form, and in that they have very strong resemblances in essential characteristics. This evidence will be furnished by presenting the results of research in certain typical portions of the whole field. The general method has been the anthropological; and as this method, when correctly used, is recognized as valid by all competent students, it requires no defence on the present occasion. It is assumed as proved that the ballad and the tale have an origin in real ideas, customs, and beliefs, and that these ideas, customs, and beliefs are survivals of an earlier stage of thought and living among the more stationary groups of European society, and among whom the tale and ballad are still in circulation.

Among the fundamental assumptions of all savage philosophy is the belief that the present form man wears is accidental and non-essential. To-day he is a man, to-night he may be a wolf; to-morrow a tree. By all the systems of totemism, this change from form to form is taken as beyond question. Now, taking this theme as treated in ballad and folk-tale, what are the results? *The Twa Sisters*⁷ is a good example. Briefly, the story as told in the ballad is as follows: Two sisters, the elder dark and the younger fair, are in love with the same young man, and the elder drowns the younger through jealousy. The body floats to the mill-dam, where it is found by a harper, or other person, who takes certain of her bones and other parts of her body and makes a harp, or violin. When the musical instrument is played upon, it speaks and tells of the murder. In certain of the Scandinavian ballads, the

⁷ F. J. Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, No. 10.

harper breaks the instrument, and the younger sister is revived. The prose tales as a whole agree with this, but add some very important particulars. In the first place, certain of them state clearly that the body grows into a tree, and, in the second place, that the instrument is made from this tree, thus completing the cycle of changes of the maiden changed to the tree, and the tree changed to the maiden, and so preserving the idea of transformation in a much clearer form.

Now, it seems reasonable to argue that the form of popular literature which preserves any belief, or custom, or ritual most clearly must be the earliest in origin, or at least must have the closest relationship with the belief, or custom, or ritual. By this test, the folk-tale gives overwhelming evidence of closer connection, for of the sixty European ballads, none present the complete cycle, and only ten (all Scandinavian) present the revival of the dead girl; while of the eighty-four European tales only one is without transformation in some form. Moreover, African, American, Asiatic, and Australasian forms of the story as a rule preserve the complete cycle of transformation in this and similar stories. Geographically, too, the folk-tale is more closely related to the belief. The story is told in ballads only in the north of Europe, while the tale is found in all the continents, except Australia. From the evidence of this one story, we are forced to conclude that the tale has a better claim than the ballad to be considered the more primitive in content.⁸

⁸ Full evidence can be gained from the chief studies of *The Two Sisters* and allied themes: J. and W. Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, 1812-1814. No. 28, "Der Singende Knochen," Notes. With notes, 1882, in a third volume; J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 1835, Vol. III, pp. 689-690. Fourth edition. Ed. Meyer, 1878. Eng. trans. Stallybrass, 1882-1888; A. Koberstein, *Über die Vor-*

Even more decisive results are obtained from a study of the cycle of ballads and tales which have to do with the Water of Life and Resuscitation. In the ballads the incident appears very seldom, while it is a commonplace in the popular tale,⁹ occurring times almost without number.

stellung von dem Fortleben menschlicher Seelen in der Pflanzenwelt, Naumburg, 1849, also in *Weimarisches Jahrbuch*, I, pp. 72-100 (Rose and Briar); Reinhold Köhler, Notes to No. 51, *Der Singende Dudelsack* of Laura Gonzenbach: *Sicilianische Märchen*, 1870; Reinhold Köhler, *Weimarisches Jahrbuch*, I, pp. 479-483; Reinhold Köhler, *Herzigs Archiv f. d. Stud. der n. Sprachen*, XVII, p. 444; Reinhard Köhler, *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, XX, p. 94, 1856; E. Grohmann, *Aberglaube aus Böhmen*, pp. 193, 1301, 93, 648; E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, First ed. 1871, 2nd, 1872; W. Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feld-Kulte*, 1874. I. Baumkultus, pp. 3, 39-44; II. *Antike Wald- und Feld-Kulte*, pp. 10-14, 20-23, 61-62, 280; F. J. Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*. 1st Ed., 1860 (very little), New Ed. 1882. No. 10, Introductory study; R. Köhler, *Aufsätze über Märchen und Volkslieder*, 1882, "Die Sprechende Harfe," pp. 79 ff.; H. Gaidoz, *Mélusine*, Vol. IV. Cols. 61-62, 85-91, 142; I. 882, "Les deux Arbres Entrelacés"; Emmanuel Cosquin, *Contes de Lorraine*, I, pp. lix-lxii, 1886; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Third Ed., Part I, Vol. II, 1911, *passim*; Eugène Monseur, *L'Os qui Chante*, *Bulletin de Folklore Wallon*, I, pp. 89 ff., 1891-2; Grant Allen, *The Attis of Catullus*, 1892, pp. 17-125, *Excursus* II; Charles Ploix, *L'Os qui Chante*, *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, VIII, pp. 129 ff., 1893; E. Sidney Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, 1894-6, I, pp. 182-224; Léon Pineau, *Les Vieux Chants Populaires Scandinaves*, Vol. I, 1898; J. A. Macculloch, *The Childhood of Fiction*, 1905, Chap. IV, pp. 80-117; Paul Sébillot, *Le Folk-Lore de France*, Vol. III, sect. 1-9; E. S. Hartland, *Primitive Paternity* (Transformation and Metempsychosis), 2 vols., 1909-10, Chap. III; Arnold van Gennep, *Les Rites de Passage*, 1909, Chap. VI, *Les Rites d'Initiation*; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Third Edition, Part VII, Vol. II, Chaps. X-XII, 1913 (A very complete study of the external soul in folk-tale and folk custom and of totemism).

⁹Typical forms of the story are: For the ballads, Child, Nos. 15 and 272, with the introductions. For the tales, *Europe*:—J. and W. Grimm, *Kinder- und Haus-Märchen*, 1812-1814, with notes, 1824 (No. 97); J. G. von Hahn, *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen*, 1864 (Nos. 22, 32, 37); Asbjørnsen und Møe, *Norse Tales* (No. 35);

Moreover, this incident is the central motif of the most widely spread English and European popular drama, which is known in England as the *St. George Play*, and which is closely related to agricultural spring ceremonies of savages and of people wherever agricultural operations are carried on. This I have shown at length elsewhere;¹⁰ so that it will suffice to say merely that in this case again the ballad barely touches the deep-seated belief of primitive man in the efficacy of magic ceremony and ritual, which is fully developed in drama and tale.¹¹

The place of the tale in the relations with folk thought I have studied by a somewhat different method. Taking as a basis of study the usual ideas of primitive men regarding the government of the world which are distinctly not our civilized ideas and noting the frequency of occur-

G. W. Dasent, *Popular Tales from the North*, 1859 (No. 3); W. R. S. Ralston, *Russian Folk Tales*, 1873 (The Fiend, p. 17, also Chap. iv); J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, 1860-1862 (Conall Gulban, III, p. 66); Lady Charlotte Guest, *The Mabinogion*, p. 39 (Branwen, the Daughter of Llyr); Emmanuel Cosquin, *Contes de Lorraine*, 1886 (Appendice B. p. lx, and No. 17, L'Oiseau de Vérité); Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (Notes to No. 15, Leesome Brand; No. 272, Suffolk Miracle). *Other Countries*:—F. A. von Schiefner, *Thibetan Tales*, 1882, p. lxi; R. H. Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, 1904, pp. 372-378.

¹⁰ *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, Vol. xv, Pt. II, pp. 273-324.

¹¹ General treatises on the story are:—

W. A. Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, 1887, Vol. II, pp. 407-412, 497-499; J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris*, 1906; Paul Sébillot, *Le Folk-Lore de France*, Vol. II, 1905 (La mer et les eaux douces); W. Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feld-Kulte*, 1874; Reinhold Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, Vol. I, pp. 55, 185, 562, 367, 394, 581; J. A. Macculloch, *The Childhood of Fiction*, 1905. Chaps. III, IV, and V (The work contains references to a great number of tales); Jane Harrison, *Themis*, 1912; *Ancient Art and Ritual*, 1913; H. Dawkins, "The Modern Carnival in Greece," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XXVI, 1906, p. 191 (On the dramatic treatment of this motif).

rence in ballad and tale, a standard of comparison was established. In the first place, in order to rule out all the peculiarities of the tales of individual countries, comparisons were made between the tales of England, and of Scotland, and of France.¹² The beliefs adopted were: Imposed Tasks and Riddles, Outwitting (by Magic), Helpful Animals, Magical Instruments, Transformation, Resuscitation, Fairies, Ghosts, Giants, Revenants, The Thankful Dead, Speaking Animals and Inanimate Objects, Words of Power (Charms), The External Soul, and Etiological (or Explanatory) motifs; and with surprisingly little variation the approximately proportionate frequency of occurrence of these motifs in any one collection of tales and the English ballads was found to be two to one, while each collection of folk-tales when compared with any other gave the approximate proportion of one to one. The French tale shows a higher proportion of these incidents than either the English or Scottish. This method also shows clearly that the body of European folk-tale has a closer affiliation with fundamental primitive beliefs and practices than has the ballad.

The last primitive element mentioned in the above list must be considered as specially important, as a clue to the possible origin of tales. As we proceed backward to the tales of peoples in the lowest stages of culture, the motif which becomes increasingly important is the etiological, or explanatory, purpose of the story. To all men the world is full of things which demand explanation; and in the

¹² The collections used were as follows: For England, E. S. Hartland, *English Fairy and Other Folk Tales*, 1908; Joseph Jacobs, *English Fairy Tales*, 1904; *More English Fairy Tales*, 1894. For Scotland: J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, 1890. For France: Emmanuel Cosquin, *Contes Populaires de Lorraine*, 1885.

lower cultures this demand is met by resort to etiological stories. Habits of animals, features of the landscape, the stars, the sky, the nature of water, the customs and ceremonies of the tribe, and the thousand other things, are all explained in stories. In other words, the great majority of the tales and traditions which savages tell are scientific hypotheses giving explanations of phenomena which are abundantly satisfying if we accept the assumptions and fundamental outlook of the tellers. This seems to be the origin of *plots*, just as the same impulse is the origin of myths.¹³

As mankind progresses from the earlier stages of culture towards the higher, new attitudes of thought displace the earlier hypotheses, but the story remains and becomes what Profesor A. C. Haddon¹⁴ calls a *skeuomorph*, that is, an æsthetic development of a real fact, or object, or phenomenon. In harmony with the changed attitude with regard to the most fundamental principles of the universe would work the principle of natural selection. "It was not art, but happy chance," says Aristotle, "that led poets by tentative discovery to impress the tragic quality upon their plots."¹⁵ And so with the development of plots in general. Primitive and savage stories have many combinations that are singularly infelicitous; and these would be dropped with increasing æsthetic development and literary skill. There can be no doubt that the plots of Euro-

¹³ Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, 1889; Franz Boas, *On the Kwakiutl Indians* (Reports of the U. S. National Museum), 1895. W. Y. Evans Wentz, *The Fairy Faith in Celtic Countries*, 1911, collects a great mass of materials which connect the tales and traditions of the Celts. One can admire the method of this book without agreeing with its theories.

¹⁴ *Evolution in Art*, 1895.

¹⁵ *Poetics*, XIV, 9.

pean tales, simple though they be, are the result of a long process of natural selection.¹⁶

Thus, the prose tale has been the form of popular art which has as its primary impulse the telling of a story or plot. The plot may be that of a simple savage tale of explanation, or it may be the more complicated tale of Europe, but in each case the story is there. Now when we turn to the ballad, an interesting fact is seen. In the case of the story of *The Two Sisters*, we noted that among savages the story is never told in verse; and the same thing is true of all savage forms of European stories; for the savage poem does not tell a story. It is made up of a simple phrase repeated over and over, accompanied by the dance or other form of bodily movement.¹⁷ On the other

¹⁶ Representative tales of peoples in lowly stages of culture may be found in the following:—G. M. Theal, *Kaffir Folk Lore*, 1882; A. L. Kroeber, "Animal Tales of the Eskimo," in *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XII, p. 17; Charles Hill-Tout, "Sqaktkquact, or the Benign-Faced," *Folk Lore*, X, p. 195. These give materials for a judgment on such savage tales and their very rudimentary idea of a plot. Their structure and length has been best explained by Mr. Theal:—"There is a peculiarity in many of these stories which makes them capable of almost indefinite expansion. They are so constructed that parts of one can be made to fit into parts of the other, so as to form a new tale. In this respect they are like the blocks of wood in the form of cubes with which European children amuse themselves. Combined in one way they represent the picture of a lion, another combination shows a map of Europe, another still, a view of St. Paul's, and so on. So, with many of these tales. They are made up of fragments which are capable of a variety of combinations" (*Op. cit.*, p. vii).

See also Dozon, *Contes Albanais*, xvi; Andrew Lang, *International Folk Lore Congress*, 1891, p. 65; Macculloch, *Childhood of Fiction*, p. 467, and H. A. Junod, *Life of a South African Tribe*, 2 vols., 1913, vol. II, pp. 191-248. The introductory matter and the tales given in this work are of primary importance.

¹⁷ Richard Wallaschek, *Primitive Music*, 1893; Ernst Grosse, *The Beginnings of Art*, 1894, Eng. translation, 1897; Karl Bücher, *Arbeit*

hand, we cannot conceive of the modern ballad as not telling a story. Therefore, if we trace our ballad back through the lower stages of culture we find that the characteristic thing disappears. To be sure, we have rhythm and meaningless words or vocables in the savage song but no *story*; it evaporates, and if we ask where the story is to be found among savages, we answer: "in the prose story." Similarly, if we follow certain Kaffir stories up through the higher stages of culture to Europe, we find them in ballad form as well as in prose form. Now, does this not seem to indicate that, for the ballad at least, the form is not the constant? So it would seem. What is the constant then? The *content*, the *plot*, the *story*. Here we have something which is not only as wide as Europe, but as wide as the world, and which connects not only all the ballads of Europe, but the ballads with those forms of literature which have the same content: the *märchen*, the folk-tales of Europe and Asia, and the tales of savage Africa, Australia, America, and Oceania. Clearly, the question of the origin and diffusion of ballads is not an isolated one, but is connected with the origin and diffusion of popular and savage tales. Some of these connections will be indicated in the second part of this paper.

II

ANTHROPOLOGICAL EVIDENCE AND TRADITION

The second aspect of the ballad problem which we marked out for consideration is the too absolute trust of the communalists on general anthropological evidence, and

und Rhythmus, 3rd Ed., 1909; Yrjö Hirn, *The Origins of Art*, 1900; F. B. Gummere, *The Beginnings of Poetry*, 1901.

their neglect of the actual European conditions in which the ballad developed. This has led to a wholly unwarranted division between the ballad and other popular forms of art, and to the insistence upon certain characteristics as exclusive marks of the ballad, which are, as a matter of fact, shared alike by all traditional art forms, and all methods of popular, traditional thought.

Our knowledge of the ballad is of two sorts: first, our direct knowledge, that which we gain by direct study of the texts themselves, together with the information we possess concerning the conditions of the production of the ballads as we have them; and second, our inferential knowledge, which is derived from study of the various fields of anthropology, archæology, and their allies, and through which we are able to cast upon the problems of ballad origin and development a reflected but very welcome light. By means of the inferential knowledge students of the ballad have been enabled to interpret known facts about that particular kind of poetry and through it to bring our theory of the ballad up to what it now is.

It is not our present purpose to join with those who attack the validity of our knowledge of the ballad which is derived from the second of these sources, nor to question the ultimate propriety of using materials derived from anthropology and archæology, and cry that all we can do is to study the ballad as we have it.¹⁸ Instead, we take it for granted that ballads and tales and folk materials in general are all so similar to the products of peoples in low states of culture that beyond question the ballad problem is illuminated by reference to such. All that this paper attempts is to present some aspects of the problem in the

¹⁸ For instance, J. H. Millar, *Literary History of Scotland*, 1903, p. 82; W. J. Courthope, *History of English Poetry*, Vol. I, 1895.

light of some of the later work in some of these related fields of scientific enquiry and to suggest possible readjustments in discussing it.

First, let the general problem of the ballad be put briefly in its relation to anthropological enquiry. (1) No one who has a true appreciation of the matter would think for a moment of denying that communal, or community, dancing is a characteristic of every people in a low stage of culture. (2) Furthermore, no one who takes account of the evidence would deny that from the earliest times in Europe the people danced in companies. (3) Again, it is just as certain that investigation into the ballad in Europe must connect the ballad-form, and some of its characteristic features, like the refrain, with dancing. More than this, however, we cannot say. That is, between the savage or primitive dance and the European dance there are striking resemblances; but between the savage dances and the particular European dance which produced our ballads there is a great gulf fixed, without any connecting bridge permitting of a free passage from the one to the other. Thus, those like Mr. J. H. Millar,¹⁹ who protest against the slightest tendency to connect directly the *carmina* spoken of by Tacitus and the English chronicles, with our modern ballad form, are justified in a measure. There is little or nothing in any description of any of these *carmina* which warrants us in thinking that they resembled our ballads in form, or had in them the elements which would have necessarily, or probably, developed into our ballad forms.

The same thing is true regarding the dances of the savage people of to-day. There is no record among any of these peoples of a dance or dance-song which even re-

¹⁹ *Literary History of Scotland*, 1903.

motely suggests the precise forms of our European ballads, whether English, or Danish, or French, nor yet which suggests any of the lyric dance-songs of Europe. Moreover, there is small resemblance between the dances and dance-songs of the different primitive or savage peoples themselves; and the constant in all is no specific characteristic, but merely the general idea of dance, or, occasionally, of communal dance. A study of these various dances of present-day savages brings out a fact which must be recognized: namely, that each tribe develops its dances within its own tradition; and when there are specific resemblances, they are to be explained by borrowing. The constant feature is *dancing*, together with the various motives which lead the tribes to dance, whether they be those which lead to initiation rites, magic rites to produce food, or what not. That is, the specific constant is rather a non-æsthetic thing, which has no necessary connection with the dance and which the dance does not exclusively express, as various other practices give these motives expression also.

These underlying motives are much more fundamental than the characteristic of communality; for it is scarcely true that the dance is any more communal in its origin than any of the other activities, beliefs, or practices of primitive folk. The new anthropological school of Durkheim and *L'Année Sociologique* is doing valuable work in insisting on a normative principle in savage life—that of “*représentations collectives*” and “the law of participation”—which brings the whole of the mind of the savage under one law, and precludes excessive attention to any one external manifestation of savage life, such as the dances. Under the scrutiny of Lévy-Bruhl²⁰ dancing re-

²⁰ *Les Fonctions Mentales dans les Sociétés Inférieures*, 1910. Important papers of Émile Durkheim are to be found in the volumes

tires into the background, as it does in the recent excellent study of the Thonga tribe of South Africa,²¹ and other things, like customs, rites, laws, tales in prose, and language come to the foreground. In other words, the special development of the tribe is insisted upon, or the special tradition in each case. Herein the anthropology of Durkheim and his school is an advance upon that of Tylor and the English school, as it makes a more searching analysis of the tribal life and emphasizes the *individuality* of each rather than the characteristics which each holds in common with all others, and so subjecting each activity of the tribe to the life of the whole community. And what is it that seems to give to us the best conception of the real life and individuality of the tribe? Not the dance, as has been indicated, but the tales and traditions, customs, and ceremonies. Osarquaq, the Eskimo friend of Knud Rasmussen,²² speaks for the people of lowly culture of every continent and tribe, as well as for every recent anthropologist, whether he be descriptive or theoretical, when he says:

Our tales are men's experiences, and the things one hears of are not always lovely things. But one cannot deck a tale to make it pleasant, if at the same time it shall be true.

The tongue must be the echo of the event and cannot adapt itself to taste or caprice.

To the words of the newly born none give much credence, but the experience of older generations contains truth. When I narrate legends, it is not I who speak; it is the wisdom of our forefathers, speaking through me.

The bearing of this attitude of anthropology on the ballad problem may be easily made clear. Just as the songs

of *L'Année Sociologique*, II, 1898, and in *La Revue de Métaphysique et Morale*, VI, 1898; XVII, 1909.

²¹ Henri Junod, *Life of a South African Tribe*, 2 vols., 1913.

²² *The People of the Polar North*, 1909, p. 97.

and dances of each individual tribe form a problem within the tradition of that particular tribe, so the ballad problem is a specific one. Granted the universal impulse in primitive man to dance, and to dance communally, what are the results for Europe and what are the means by which the results are produced? In the light of savage life and the more recent anthropology, we cannot look upon the ballad as something which is fundamentally unique, and to be explained by certain specific characteristics which it possesses solely. Rather, we must regard it as only one of many manifestations of community life and to be understood only in connection with the whole body of folk-lore within a given tradition.

III

THE ENGLISH BALLAD IN EUROPEAN TRADITION

Let us begin by examining the ballad and enquiring what characteristics have to do with its supposed origin in the *dance*? Not impersonality, nor lack of an author, for that is a peculiarity of all folk-lore products. Proverbs, tales in prose, customs, beliefs, dramas: all these are community products and have nothing to do with the individual; all are as "masterless" as the ballad. Neither can we say that *communality* necessarily connects the ballad with the dance, for communality is the essential process of folk production as well as of primitive man's production; and is as strongly marked in customs, rites, proverbs, and tales as it is in the ballad. The folk play, for instance, carries on traditions quite independently of the ballad, and is as impersonal and as communal as is any of the ballads. Who wrote the various versions of the English play of St. George? The authorship of these is as

impersonal as that of the ballads. Nor, again, can *repetition* be looked upon as a distinct characteristic of the ballad, for that feature is abundantly shared by the folk tale and by the folk rhyme.²³

It would seem that of all the features that have been proposed as characteristic of the ballad, there are only (1) metre of a rather uniform kind (but not wholly so), and (2) *refrain* in various forms. Now, as dance and rhythm are related, and as refrains are rather easily connected with the dance, let us see how some definite connection can be made in Europe. In the first place, where was it made in Europe? That is, have we any clear evidence that the ballad form as we have it to-day did originate in any definite locality? Is there any specific, particular dance to which we can appeal? We must not make any supposed or theoretical connections and identify the *carmina* of Tacitus, of the Germans, or of the Saxon warriors with our ballads. The answer is: Nowhere in Europe have we direct evidence of such origins of still living ballads except perhaps in the Faroe Islands. To the out-and-out communalists, the case of the Faroe Islands can give but small comfort; for since the study of the Faroe Island ballads by Mr. Hjalmar Thuren,²⁴ we possess information of a rather precise sort about them. We learn: (1) that the *tunes* are derived from the Protestant hymn books, and (2) that the important dance (the Kaededansen) is absolutely the same as the mediæval French *branles* as described by Bishop Arbaud in his *Orchésographie*, 1589—the Faroe slow dance corresponding to the French *branle simple*, and the fast dance with the *branle gai*.²⁵ More-

²³ See my paper, *The St. George or Mummers' Play*, in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, Vol. xv, 1907.

²⁴ *Folkesanger paa Faerøerne*, 1906.

²⁵ Thuren, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-51.

over, the work of Olrik, Recke, Steenstrup, Larsen, Ker, and Jeanroy ²⁶ makes it quite clear that this resemblance is not merely a fortuitous one, but is the result of a real historical connection between the French and the Scandinavians, for the French *caroles* did about 1100 spread over the north of Europe.

Now, we should note carefully what happened, according to this evidence. The dance and lyric refrains developed in France, possibly beginning under communal conditions, as Wolf maintains, ²⁷ but, consciously and artistically elaborated and made more precise, were carried to the Scandinavian countries and there developed the ballad. Now, according to the communal theory, one would have expected the ballad to have developed in France, where these refrains and dances were developed. However, no such thing happened. Instead, the French dance continued, barren and without literary result so far as ballads are concerned, until long after the Scandinavian ballad had flourished, set a new fashion in Europe, and faded. As M. Bédier shows, the French dances developed into "rather complicated ballets." ²⁸

It is to be noted, further, that the French influence as far as content and plot are concerned was only partial. For, from the evidence it seems rather clear that the Scandina-

²⁶ Axel Olrik, *Danske Folkeviser i Udvalg*, New Ed., 1913. *Danske Studier*, 1906, pp. 175 ff.; Johannes Steenstrup, *Vore Folkeviser*, 1891. Translated by E. G. Cox, with title *The Medieval Popular Ballad*, 1914; Sofus Larsen, *Tilskuere*, Nov., 1903; Ernst von der Recke, *Nogle Folkeviseredaktioner*, 1906; W. P. Ker, *On the History of the Ballads*, 1909, *Danish Ballads*, in *Scottish Historical Review*, July, 1904, July, 1908; A. Jeanroy, *Origines de la Poésie Lyrique en France*, 1889.

²⁷ Ferdinand Wolf, *Über die Lais*, 1841.

²⁸ R. Meyer, J. Bédier, P. Aubry. *La Chanson de Bele Aëlis, par le trouvère Baude de la Quarière*, 1906.

vian ballad treated the older heroic stuff, such as stories about the God Thor, or about Sigurd; and the ballads which treat of these themes seem to be of an earlier age than those which deal with more nearly contemporary subjects. In this respect, the Scandinavian ballads show continuity of tradition such as our English ballads can in no sense claim. Indeed, as one studies the Danish ballads, one must almost inevitably feel that a number of our English ballads are but far off derivatives from them, written in the general literary tradition of the ballad form.²⁹

Thus, the Faroe and other Scandinavian ballads betray an origin in a definite tradition originating in a borrowed artistic form superimposed on a native form and practice. In the Scandinavian countries this took place about 1100, very soon after that in England, in Germany about 1200, in Spain about 1400, in Italy about the same date, while France had to wait until the latter half of the fifteenth century for anything which can be called a ballad.³⁰ Iceland, be it noted, though exposed to French influence, did not develop ballads of its own. The testimony of Vigfusson and Powell to this effect is supported by the brilliant work of Recke³¹ and Olrik,³² who show that the imperfect rhymes of the Icelandic forms of the Ribold ballad for instance, can be made perfect by the substitution of old Danish words, and thus demonstrate the derivative nature of the Icelandic forms.

If the argument from the refrain be of value as an argument for dance origin, the Danish and Faroe inset refrain is much nearer to the actual conditions of the dance than

²⁹ Sophus Bugge, *The Home of the Eddic Poems*, trans. by W. H. Schofield, 1899.

³⁰ Gaston Paris, *Journal des Savants*, Sept.-Nov., 1889.

³¹ Ernst von der Recke, *Nogle Folkeviseredaktioner*, 1906.

³² Axel Olrik, *Danske Studier*, 1906, pp. 80 and 175; 1907, p. 79.

the ballads of any of the other nations. Some of the English ballads have refrains that strongly resemble the simplest of the Scandinavian, but for the most part they seem to be merely literary refrains having connection with tunes, but not with dances. The same thing applies more particularly to the German, and still more to the Spanish. It would seem that even of the Danish ballads only a few preserve refrains which connect them with the dance; though we may grant that those which do so are the most primitive in form and thereby nearer to the archetype of the ballad. In the great majority of the ballads of Europe, we have literary refrains only distantly recalling the original ancestors and totally ignorant of their high lineage. They are the product of a complicated tradition made up from many sources.³³

As has been already said, the French dance and *carole* did not carry to the north plots and subjects to the exclusion of native subjects and plots. It is impossible to suppose, however, that there has not been some interchange of these between the two regions, on account of the great similarity which exists between the two groups of ballads, a similarity altogether closer than that which exists between the Danish and the English. It is to be noted, however, that the peculiarly Danish heroic local ballad subjects are not to be found in French ballads, nor are the peculiar local French subjects to be found in the Danish. The great common element is made up of beliefs and customs which are likely to be found in any quarter, such as the return from the dead (*The Dead Mother's Return*), transformation (*La Biche Blanche*), drawing of lots (*La Courte Paille*—Thackeray's *Little Billee*), and such like themes.

³³ For the refrain in Danish Ballads, see Steenstrup, *Vore Folkeviser*, Chap. IV, and for English see Gummere, *The Popular Ballad*, pp. 73-74.

However, we must not over-emphasize these likenesses in subject, but rather emphasize the differences in subject. Moreover, when there are likenesses in subject, examination shows that there is a distinct difference in the treatment of the theme in each case, because of the fact that each district has its own distinct tradition. Take as an example the *riddle* ballads, and let us ask: "To what extent can the riddles answer the questions of borrowing or of possible relationship between belief and ballad?" Now, it is useless to conjure with the rod of universality, for of course we know that the riddle is universal in the lower degrees of culture and in European folk-lore, without any demonstration. What we must do is first to remember that the riddle is a traditional form and takes on a particular form within a certain tradition. More than that, the riddle is impersonal, and its answer is frequently absolutely fixed independently of any rational process. This fundamental fact is mentioned here because it has been overlooked by students of riddles.

"What is sharper than the thorn?"

"What is louder than the horn?"

is asked of the maid, and her answer must be within very strict traditional limits, if she is to escape from Satan's clutches. The title of the ballad given by Child, "Riddles Wisely Expounded,"³⁴ is misleading, for the answers require only memory or traditional knowledge and not cleverness, nor skill, nor wisdom in any measure. It is interesting to note that among savages, the answers are still more strictly determined by tradition. M. Junod shows that the Thonga riddles are strictly traditional and "the answers must be learned by heart."³⁵

³⁴ Child, No. 1.

³⁵ H. Junod, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 160-166.

With regard to the *content* of ballads in general—how are we to account for it? Is the ballad form older than the subject, or is the subject matter older than the form? In the great majority of cases undoubtedly the latter is true. Fairies, heroes, ghosts, superstitions,—all the stock subjects and motifs of ballads—is it not plainly true, as we have indicated in the first part of this paper, that all these have been perpetuated in belief, practice, and in prose tales? Have we any account that the Germans danced and sang tales about such things, or about anything save gods and heroes? Clearly not; the *carmina* of which we read in Tacitus were heroic. Now, just as the ballad took up existing heroic material (of which we know from independent sources), so it took up all this other traditional material and incorporated it into itself, adopting the form of the popular story or tradition, and adapting it to its own individual genius. The popular tale, too, and the popular traditions as well, were undergoing a process of growth by a process of borrowing and selection; but the evidence rather clearly indicates that so far as content is concerned, the ballad is the later, secondary form.³⁶

To answer these questions, at least in part, we may have the means before long. Archæologists are doing useful work in this direction, and what may come from a study of the remains of older civilization of Europe, and of the wonderful cave of Altamira and other caves in Pyrenean and Northern Spain, and in France, one cannot pretend to foretell. Certainly, we must revise our ideas of the degree of culture possessed by inhabitants of Europe hundreds of centuries ago.³⁷ Connect this with all

³⁶ See Friedrich von der Leyen, *Das Märchen*, 1913, for the development of the European popular tale. Adolf Thimme, *Das Märchen*, 1912, has a bibliography.

³⁷ *L'Anthropologie*, Vol. xv, with reproductions of the pictures.

our knowledge of the migrations of Europe, and we have untold possibilities of tracing the source and progress of ideas, beliefs, and perchance of plots. When all these complicated matters are understood (if ever they can be understood) we may then see the interchange of ideas giving and taking, where we now can see only the nebulous process of independent origin. It behooves us to make the attempt at least, and in this way give substance and consistency to such admirable work as that of Panzer³⁸ and Chadwick³⁹ in Germanic tradition, and of Dähnhardt⁴⁰ in Aryan traditions.

I have said that the anthropologists of to-day, both descriptive and theoretical, give much less attention to the dances of savages than did those of an earlier generation; and we find that men like Bücher⁴¹ and Haddon⁴² connect the origin of art with aspects of life which we are likely to regard as non-æsthetic—Bücher connecting poetry with labor, and Haddon connecting representative art with actual objects and the process of decorative transformation of them—the “skeuomorphic” process, as he calls it. Both these theories (and they are of great importance in their implications) are directly opposed to the communal theory, or theory of the festal origin of poetry, which has as its fundamental assumption the play theory of the origin of art.

See also succeeding volumes for palæolithic materials. Robert Munro, *Palæolithic Man*, 1912, and Lord Avebury, *Prehistoric Times*, 1913, have good selections from *L'Anthropologie*.

³⁸ Friedrich Panzer, *Hilde-Gudrun*, 1901; *Studien zur Germanischen Sagengeschichte*, Vol. I (Beowulf), 1910. (Valuable folk-tale bibliographies in both volumes.)

³⁹ H. M. Chadwick, *The Heroic Age*, 1907.

⁴⁰ O. Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, 4 vols., 1907-1913.

⁴¹ Carl Bücher, *Arbeit und Rhythmus*, 3rd ed., 1909.

⁴² Alfred C. Haddon, *Evolution in Art*, 1907.

In conclusion, it would seem that the ballad, *as we have it*, is a distinct and individual phenomenon, appearing at a definite time in definite portions of Western Europe, through explicable causes, from 1100 to 1450, by borrowing from France in the first place and then by borrowing and re-borrowing. But it does not appear everywhere in Western Europe: Iceland, Italy south of Piedmont, and portions of Spain have no ballads.⁴³ These lands had dances, but other forms of literature absorbed the artistic capabilities of the people and the dances did not burst into blossom and fruit. They withered away, or remained stunted growths and unprofitable. More may be said: we have no warrant for saying that if they had resulted in literary form, the literary form would have been our ballad. Quite the contrary; for wherever we do not find this definite Western European tradition, we have not ballads in our sense. Eastern Europe has something like ballads, but they are not in form like our ballad. They represent a different tradition. Indeed, when we consider the great body of folk-lore which makes up the content of the ballad, when we contemplate the vast mass of folk thought, folk custom, ritual, and belief, the ballad becomes a very little thing, an almost accidental thing, as every form of art is, related to the tales and traditions, dramas and epics, of the people; but young and modern, yet of the old blood; and so precious as another example of the race of man ever tending to break forth into song when favored with the proper environment and instructors.

ARTHUR BEATTY.

⁴³ Count Nigra, *Canti Popolari del Piemonte*, 1888. Mila y Fontanals, *De la Poesia heróico-popular Castellana*, 1874. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Tratado de los Romances viejos*, 2 vols., 1903-6.

XXI.—THE DATING OF SKELTON'S SATIRES

Satires are of two general types. Those in which the general characteristics of humanity are subjected to ridicule, and those in which the attack is directed at specific individuals and definite events. The first, since humanity has not greatly changed thru the centuries, always retains about the same amount of interest. Nor is it ever much resented because, as Swift says, "satire, being levelled at all, is never resented for any offense by any, since every individual person makes bold to understand it of others, and very wisely removes his particular part of the burden upon the shoulders of the world, which are broad enough, and able to bear it." This however by no means applies to satire of the second type. There the contemporaneous interest, heightened by the excitement of the knowledge of the persons or the events, is purchased at the expense of posterity enlightened only by a depressing foot-note. Unhappily it is to the second class that Skelton's satires belong. In his lifetime he was palpatingly alive; as is shown by Hall, his epigrams were on everyone's lips, and even before his death, as in Rastall's *Hundred Mery Talys* (1526), he was a celebrated character; today his satires are like old riddles the answer to which has been forgotten. The reason for this condition is not only that he dared not, or cared not, to be too plain, but also that, owing to an absence of dates, we cannot be sure exactly to what period his allusions refer. The earliest editions that we have, altho undated, are at least twenty years after his death. This may be because all the copies of the early editions have perished, or because, as he himself intimates in *Colin Clout* (1239-41), no early

editions were allowed to be printed. A second result arising from this condition is that equally we can never be sure of his text. Consequently his satires, at times apparently intelligible, are yet as a whole hopelessly confused.

To solve the riddle, the first object obviously should be to determine the dates of the major satires. Of these there are five in the order given by Dyce's edition: *A replycacion agaynst certayne yong scolers abiured of late &c.*, *Colyn Clout*, *Speke*, *Parrot*, *Why come ye nat to court*, and *How the doughty Duke of Albany*, &c. Almost the sole external evidence consists in the enumeration of his works in the *Garland of Laurel*, an edition of which bears the colophon, *Inpryntyd by me Rycharde faukes . . . The yere of our lorde god .M.CCCC.XXIII. The .iii. day of October*. It is customary to divide these poems into two classes, those (named in the *Garland*) composed before 1523, and those not, composed after 1523. From internal evidence based on the use of recurrent rhyme, repetition, and alliteration, Brie¹ ranks them in the following order: *Colin Clout*, *Why Come*, *Albany*, and the *Replycacion*. The change in putting the *Replycacion* last instead of first he supports by showing that there is a definite allusion in the poem to an event in 1527. This order is accepted *faute de mieux* by Koelbing.² Thus the case rests.

But it is the belief of the present writer that the poems may be much more definitely dated from the allusions. The assumption must first be made, as Skelton himself states repeatedly, that the poems mean something definite. But this meaning in accordance with the custom of the time was veiled in "couvert terms." Still more, he used cryp-

¹ Friedrich Brie, *Skelton-Studien, Englische Studien*, Band XXXVII, p. 46.

² Arthur Koelbing, *Cambridge History*, vol. III, chapter IV.

tograms in *Ware the Hawke* and in the *Garland*. Yet, to explain his contemporary reputation, at the time, to one familiar with the situation, the poems must have been comparatively clear. And Skelton's position must be remembered. In the Skelton of the apocryphal *Merie Tales* we have lost the real Skelton, chosen to be tutor to a prince of the blood royal, praised by Erasmus for his learning, and patronized by the great house of Howard. At the date of the composition of these poems, he must by any computation have been passed middle life. Naturally, then, in the affairs of both Church and State he is conservative, resenting the new order brought in by Wolsey. And yet he is always intensely loyal to the King. It is on Wolsey, in whose grasp are the affairs of both Church and State, that he, as a Churchman of the old school and as a protégé of the old nobility, pours forth his scorn.

This is first shown in *Speke, Parrot*, "which would require the scholia of a Tzetzes to render it intelligible."³ The peculiarity of this poem is that it seems divided into separate sections, each with its own date, "Penultimo die Octobris, 33°," "In diebus Novembris, 34," "15 kalendis Decembris, 34," "34," etc. These figures have been abandoned as meaningless, as in 1533 Skelton was dead. On the other hand, since for years Skelton had been an official in the court of Henry VII and as such must have dated all his formal documents from the accession of the king, it seems probable that for reasons of sentiment or purpose of concealment, even in the reign of Henry VIII he continued the custom. As Henry Richmond became king at the battle of Bosworth Field, August 22nd, 1485, "penultimo die Octobris, 33°" is simply October 30th, 1517, etc. This assumption, altho the method of dating

³ Dyce, vol. I, p. xliii.

is unprecedented, is not extreme in the case of an author that substitutes figures for letters or makes nonsense Latin by transposing his syllables, as he does in the passage in the *Garland*.⁴ A suggestive coincidence may be found that a previous entry in the manuscript book (Harl. ms. 2252) is dated 1517.⁵ The problem then is merely to locate the events upon the dates thus given, and the poem proves to be a running commentary of those years.⁶ The only possible proof that this is the correct solution is that now the poems make sense. If this be true, it follows that the *Decastichon Virulentum in Galeratum Lycaonta Marinum, etc.*,⁷ at present attached to the end of the *Why Come* with the numeral "xxxiiii" should be transferred to the *Speke, Parrot* group. This is inherently probable, as we find the same expressions, "Lycaon," "vitulus," "Oreb," "Salmane," "Zeb," etc., used in both poems. These passages are not like the previous *Why Come* and they are very like the jargon used in *Speke, Parrot*; read in connection with the first they are unintelligible, while read in connection with the second they make sense. The probability is that in some manuscripts they became confused.

The importance of this interpretation is that it gives a conception of Skelton's manner of composition. The poems were not written at a single sitting. Apparently he wrote a section, waited months, then continued with little indication of a break. Apparently during these years he must have had some relation with the Court, as his poems *Agaynst Garnysche* are indorsed "By the King's commandment."⁸ This would explain his attack against Wol-

⁴ Dyce, I, p. 163.

⁵ Dyce, II, p. 345.

⁶ For a detailed interpretation of the poem the reader is referred to a forthcoming article in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, vol. xxx (1915).

⁷ Brie, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

⁸ Brie, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

sey as a statesman in *Why Come*. The first definite date is to be found in the lines (72-74)

Treatinge of trewse restlesse,
Pratyng for peace peaselesse.
The countrynge at Cales
Wrang us on the males.

This must refer to Wolsey's expedition to Calais, July-November, 1521, as mediator between Francis and Charles. But in l. 122 et seq., he objects to the policy toward the Scots.

We have cast vp our war,
And made a worthy trewse (137-8)

refers to the truce between Lord Dacre and Albany, September 11, 1522.

Yet the good Erle of Surray,
The Frenche men he doth fray (150-1)

alludes to the expedition led by Surrey, July 29, 1522, against the French coast. As he does not however know that Surrey will be appointed lieutenant-general of the army against the Scots, February 26th, 1523, the passage must have been written in the fall of 1522. And as it alludes to Thomas Manners, Lord Ros, it must have been in October of that year, as by October 31st Dacre is suggesting to Wolsey his recall.⁹ Again the allusion, somewhat mysterious, to Montreuil (374) seems to refer to suspicions during the early autumn that a French fleet was collecting there for an invasion of England. But lines 782-835 unexpectedly accuse John Meautis (the King's French secretary) of treachery. The poem states

⁹ All these dates are taken from the *Calendar of State Papers*, Part 3.

that he is gone. This must be later than March 15th, 1523, as on that date is the patent for Brian Tuke: "To be secretary for the French tongue, *vice* John Meauties, with 100 marks a year." Here then are the extremes. The poem was written in parcels varying from the fall of 1521 to the spring of 1523.¹⁰

The poem on the retreat of the Duke of Albany, like the earlier celebration over the Battle of Flodden, seems to have been written immediately on the receipt of the news. As the retreat may be dated November 2nd, 1523, that poem may be placed toward the end of that year.

Such poems as these, where the allusions are to definite events, require only a detailed knowledge of the *Calendar of Letters and State Papers* to be correctly dated. It is merely a question of selecting the proper events, and, since many of the references are unmistakable, the chance of error is not very great. And in each case the limit of the time of composition is within two years. Unhappily this does not apply to the next poem on the list, *Colin Clout*. This is the best known of his poems, perhaps, because the name was adopted by Spenser. Another obvious reason is that as the references are to a general condition, they are more generally intelligible. But this very fact increases the difficulty in the dating. As with *Speke, Parrot*, *Colin Clout* is mentioned in the *Garland*, the conclusion seems apparently inevitable that it was written before October 3rd, 1523, altho how much before is matter for conjecture. Therefore Brie¹¹ bounds the date of composition by 1521, and owing to the mention of Luther, at the other extreme by 1518. In this connection, consequently, it is necessary to consider the phrasing in the

¹⁰ Brie, *op. cit.*, shows that v. 905 is an allusion to the mayoralty of Sir John Mundy, who became mayor October 28th, 1522.

¹¹ Brie, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

Garland. Under Henry VIII the open expression of political opinion was unsafe. That in the avowed list of his writing Skelton should intrude upon public notice poems in which he attacked the powerful minister of the King seems almost incredible. Yet in the *Garland* he mentions,

Item the Popingay, that hath in commendacyoun
Ladyes and gentylwomen suche as deseruyd,
And suche as be counterfettis they be reseruyd.

To make his meaning perfectly clear, a side note is added: "Fac cum concilio, et in aeternum non peccabis; Salamon"! This must refer to *Speke, Parrot*, that has the verse (280):

Go, litell quayre, namyd the Popagay.

On the other hand, unless he had written two poems both called the Popingay, *Speke, Parrot* by no possible construction can be taken to refer to ladies of any kind. The unavoidable inference is that, feeling that he has gone too far, he deliberately suggests a wrong interpretation. But there is no misinterpretation possible in *Why Come*. It is an open attack upon Wolsey and his policy. Therefore he omits all mention of it, merely remarking that the list is not complete. *Colin Clout*, on the contrary, is mentioned by name:

Also the Tunnyng of Elinour Rummyng,
With Colyn Clowt, Iohnn Iue, with Ioforth Iack;
To make suche trifels it asketh sum konnyng,
In honest myrth parde requyreth no lack;
And after cuenyauns as the world goos,
It is no foly to vse the Walshemannys hoos.

The side notes are: "Quis stabit mecum adversus operantes iniquitatem? Pso. Arrident melius seria picta jocis: In fabulis Aesopi." In other words, he does not

feel it necessary to veil his meaning as in *Speke, Parrot* nor to omit it as in *Why Come*. The assumption is that there is nothing in the poem that would offend any particular individual. Therefore it is classified with *Elinour Rummig*, where general satire is used for "honest mirth."

Yet tradition asserts that the satire in *Colin Clout* is not general, but particular, and that it is directed against Wolsey. The tale is told by Francis Thynne in his *Animadversions*:¹²

. . . . whereupon the kinge bydd hym goo his waye, and feare not. All whiche not withstandinge, my father was called in question by the Bysshoppes, and heaved at by Cardinall Wolsey, his olde enymye for manye causes, but mostly for that my father had furthered Skelton to publishe his 'Collen Cloute' againste the Cardinall, the moste parte of whiche Booke was compiled in my fathers howse at Erithe in Kente.

Francis Thynne's memory has played him false in stating that *Colin Clout* was composed at Erith, because his father did not buy the house there until two years after Skelton's death. This confusion is immaterial, since it involves only the date of the purchase of the Erith house. As Thynne was born there fifteen years later, to him it was the home of his father from time immemorial. Yet the fact of the conflict of the elder Thynne with the Cardinal, together with the reason for that conflict, would be preserved in the family memory. Therefore unless Skelton had written two poems while staying with Thynne senior, and the son confused them,—an hypothesis that seems quite unwarranted,—*Colin Clout* must be considered as directed against Wolsey. This is confirmed by the fact that among the Lansdown mss. (762. fol. 75),¹³ lines 462-

¹² Francis Thynne's *Animadversions upon Speght's first* (1598 A. D.) *Edition of Chaucer's Workes*, Chaucer Society, 1875, p. 10.

¹³ Quoted by Dyce, I, p. 329.

480 of *Colin Clout* are given as an independent poem, endorsed "The profecy of Skelton, 1529." And this passage, prophesying

A fatall fall of one
That shuld syt on a trone,
And rule all thynges alone. . .

must refer to Wolsey.

An independent testimony that in *Colin Clout* Skelton aims at Wolsey is afforded by William Bullein.¹⁴ In 1564, if not earlier,¹⁵ he wrote a *Dialogue against the Feuer Pestilence*, in which amongst others, he thus mentions Skelton:

Skelton satte in the corner of a Piller with a Frostie bitten face, frownyng, and is scante yet cooled of the hotte burnyng Cholour kindeled againste the cankered Cardinall Wolsey; wrytyng many sharpe *Disticchons* with bloudie penne againste hym, and sente them by the infernal riuers *Styx*, *Flegiton*, and *Acheron* by the Feriman of helle, called *Charon*, to the saied Cardinall.

How the Cardinall came of nought,
And his Prelacie solde and bought;
And where suche Prelates bee
Sprong of lowe degree,
And spirituall dignitee,
Farewell benignitee,
Farewell simplicitee,
Farewell good charitee!

Thus paruum literatus
Came from Rome gatus,
Doctour dowpatus,
Scante a Bacheloratus:

And thus Skelton did ende
With Wolsey his frende.

These fourteen lines, with of course the exception of the final couplet, are made up of two separate passages from

¹⁴ Early English Text Society, Extra Series, LII, p. 16.

¹⁵ The earliest edition reads "newly corrected."

Colin Clout, vs. 585-594 and vs. 797-802. But in the Dyce the reading differs. The first couplet is

Howe prelacy is solde and bought,
And come up of nought.

And the second passage reads:

But doctour Bullatus,
Parum litteratus,
At the brode gatus
Doctour Daupatus. . . .

Neither has any reference to Wolsey. As is evidenced by this and the "Profecy," *Colin Clout* circulated in fragments where the satire was more open.

And the internal evidence tells the same tale. It is hard to understand such lines as (990-1006)

It is a besy thyng
For one man to rule a kyng
Alone and make rekenyng,
To gouerne ouer all
And rule a realme royall
By one mannes verrey wyt; . . .
For I rede a preposycyon,
Cum regibus amicare,
Et omnibus dominari,
Et supra te pravare;
Wherefore he hathe good ure
That can hymselfe assure
How fortune wyll endure

in any other sense than as an attack upon Wolsey. Altho Kele's edition reads "ging" (obs. a crowd), the Latin lines make the allusion almost as pointed. Some of *Colin Clout* certainly was read as an attack upon Wolsey.

If the reasoning up to this point has been accurate, it follows that one version of the poem was written previous to the composition of the *Garland*, namely the portions in which Skelton objects to the conditions of the Church

in general, and that, as he did in *Speke, Parrot*, upon this he grafted other portions definitely aimed at Wolsey. The present problem is by detecting the Wolsey additions to date the final composition of the poem. The first 160 lines purport to give the common criticism against the Church. Then follows a passage (162-185) in which the clergy are urged to remember the example of St. Thomas à Becket,

*Thomas manum mittit ad fortia,
Spernit damna, spernit opprobria,
Nulla Thomam frangit injuria.*

But as St. Thomas was killed defending the rights of the Church against the secular power, the passage, to be appropriate, must refer to a similar conflict. The occasion is found in the events of 1523. The clergy of the Convocation, summoned by the Archbishop of Canterbury, were on the first day of the meeting in St. Paul's cited to appear before Wolsey by virtue of his legatine authority. And, after a protest, on the 2nd of June they voted a tax "being no less than fifty per cent. income tax, to be paid by installments in five years."¹⁶ Great was the indignation of the clergy over this assertion of the legatine power by Wolsey, "whiche was never sene before in England, wherof master Skelton, a mery Poet wrote

Gentle Paule laie doune thy swearde:
For Peter of Westminster hath shaven thy beard."¹⁷

As Skelton, as we know from *Albany*, considered the war mismanaged, this wholesale appropriation of church property naturally caused him to protest.

Lines 376-438 show how religious men and nuns are

¹⁶ Brewer, *Reign of Henry VIII*, I, p. 494.

¹⁷ Hall's *King Henry the VIII*, ed. by Charles Whibley, I, p. 287.

turned from their houses and forced to wander. The religious establishments are torn down, the leads and bells sold, and the property confiscated, to the detriment of the souls of the founders.

What coude the Turke do more
 With all his false lore,
 Turke, Sarazyn, or Jew?
 I reporte me to you,
 O merciful Jesu,
 You supporte and resuce,
 My style for to dyrecte,
 It may take some effecte!

In 1524 Wolsey procured from Clement VII bulls to enable him to found Cardinal College at Oxford and to endow it by the suppression of a number of small monasteries. "The dissolution of these monasteries, however, small as they were, was not liked in the country; and at Bayham, a Premonstratensian house in Sussex, the country people, disguising themselves, put the canons in again for a time—an outrage which, of course, was duly punished."¹⁸ *Colin Clout*, here, is merely echoing popular sentiment.

Still more curious is the passage 936-981. Here the bishops are accused of

Buylding royally
 Theyr mancyons suryously,
 With turrets and with toures,
 With halles and with boures,
 Stretchynge to the starres,
 With glasse wyndowes and barres.

Of course the only bishop that might be said to be building "royally" is Wolsey with Hampton Court—an edifice

¹⁸ James Gairdner, *The English Church*, p. 81.

that suits the description. Within, the building is hung with tapestry described in lines 942-973:

Hangynge aboute the walles
 Clothes of golde and palles,
 Arras of ryche aray,
 Fresshe as flours in May;
 Wyth dame Dyana naked;
 Howe lusty Venus quaked,
 And howe Cupyde shaken
 His dart, and bent his bowe
 For to shote a crowe
 At her tyrly tyrlowe;
 And howe Parys of Troy
 Daunced a lege de moy,
 Made lusty sporte and ioy
 With dame Helyn the quene;
 With suche storyes bydene
 Their chambres well besene;
 With triumphes of Cesar,
 And of Pompeyus war,
 Of renowne and of fame
 By them to get a name:
 Nowe all the worlde stares,
 How they ryde in goodly chares,
 Conueyed by olyphantes,
 With lauryat garlantes,
 And by vnycornes
 With their semely hornes;
 Vpon these beestes rydyng,
 Naked bodyes strydyng,
 With wanton wenches winkyng.
 Nowe truly, to my thynkyng,
 That is a speculacyon
 And a mete meditacyon
 For prelates of estate, . . .

These lines apparently describe, as was pointed out by Ernest Law,¹⁹ a definite set of tapestries at Hampton

¹⁹ *A History of Hampton Court Palace*, 2nd ed. 1890, I, pp. 64-65. As sketches of the designs are here given, the reader may see for

Court. "Of these six triumphs (Wolsey having duplicates of those of Time and Eternity), we at once identify three, namely, those of Death, Renown, and Time, as still remaining at Hampton Court in Henry VIII's Great Watching or Guard Chamber; while the other three—of Love, Chastity, and Eternity, or Divinity,—complete the set of six designs, which were illustrative, in an allegorical form, of Petrarch's Triumphs. . . . In each piece a female, emblematic of the influence whose triumph is celebrated, is shown enthroned on a gorgeously magnificent car drawn by elephants, or unicorns, or bulls, richly caparisoned and decorated; while around them throng a host of attendants and historical personages, typical of the triumph portrayed. Thus, in the Triumph of Fame or Renown, we have figures representing Julius Cæsar and Pompey; and in the first aspect of the Triumph of Chastity we see Venus, driven by naked cupids, and surrounded by heroines of amorous renown, attacked by Chastity. The reader will now recognize how pointed is the reference to these tapestries in the following lines of Skelton's satire. . . ." Unless there chanced to be in England and familiar to Skelton another set of tapestries allegorically representing Petrarch's triumphs—an hypothesis that does not seem probable—Skelton's lines refer to these. But these appear in Wolsey's inventory as "hangings bought of the 'xecutors of my lord of Durham anno xiiii^o Reg. H. viii." But as Ruthall, Bishop of Durham, died February 4, 1523, the passage is either an attack upon Ruthall, or the list in the *Garland* was written at the earliest only eight months before it was published by Hawkes. Neither alternative seems very probable.

himself the accuracy of Skelton's description. Mr. Law, however, gives no indication of the difficulty in the dating caused by his discovery.

Altho Ruthall caused to be built the great chamber at Bishop Aukland, the expression "royally" seems overdone to apply to that; nor does eight months' intermission between the composition of a poem and the publication of it seem in accordance with the leisurely methods of printing used in the 16th century. The simplest explanation of the difficulty, therefore, is the assumption that there were two versions of the poem. The first was a general attack upon ecclesiastical conditions, and as such was alluded to in the *Garland*. Skelton then added passages specifically attacking Wolsey, altho not by name. The result of this reticence was, however, that as of Wolsey alone could it be said (605-6),

And upon you ye take
To rule bothe kynge and kayser,

the 16th century read Wolsey into the whole poem, even into those parts that originally had no application to him. Consequently Wolsey was held up to ridicule as the type of the sensual luxury-loving prelate that sacrificed the needs of the Church to the demands of the State. And it is on this side that Wolsey's career cannot be defended.²⁰ Altho Wolsey's statesmanship, as revealed in the State Papers, may justify Brewer's enthusiasm, his sacrifice of the Church to the State explains the attitude of Skelton. This also explains why Wolsey could afford to overlook, provided that he ever saw it, the heavy personal invective and the attack upon his foreign policy in *Why Come*. The first was much exaggerated and the second misunderstood. And neither greatly interested the country at large. The personal vices of rulers in fact rather tend toward

²⁰ I do not understand why Bridgett in the *Life of Blessed Thomas More* and the Abbé Gasquet in *The Eve of the Reformation* should ignore the testimony of pre-Reformation writers.

enhancing their popularity by making them more human; and the average Englishman of the time had not the information at hand to enable him to discuss Wolsey's foreign policy. But when he saw the Church, a national institution that he loved, endangered, Skelton's protest was merely the expression of his own convictions. In that lies the power of the poem.

The obvious objection to the preceding dating of the poems and the consequent interpretation of them lies in the fact that in the Dyce are four pieces that state explicitly that they were written for Wolsey, *The Boke of Three Fooles*, *Lautre Enuoy* affixed to the *Garland*, an *Enuoy* affixed to *Albany*, and the dedication to the *Replacacion*. The dilemma is that after he had composed bitter attacks and while he was still composing them he also was apparently in most friendly relations with his enemy. The situation presupposes both a moral weakness on the part of the author and a general obtuseness on the part of the Cardinal. To avoid this inference, scholars have suggested a number of explanations, none of which is completely satisfactory.²¹ To attack the question anew, there needs must be a further analysis. Of the four cases mentioned above, where Skelton places himself under the protection of Wolsey, the first three group into one class. The passages referring to Wolsey appear for the first time in Marshe's edition of Skelton's works, in 1568, nearly forty years after Skelton's death. In this interval of transcription it would be reasonable to infer that errors should creep in. That this is actually the case is shown by Brie by indicating the *Boke of Three Fooles* as the work of Watson, a translator of Droyn's French prose

²¹ Brie, *op. cit.*, p. 13; Koelbing, *Zur Charakteristik John Skeltons*, p. 140; Thümmel, *Studien über John Skelton*, p. 44.

version of Locher's Latin version of Brant's *Narrenschiff*. As this was published in London in 1509, the passage in question is not by Skelton nor could his contemporaries have thought so. This gives a curious insight into Marshe's critical ability. Of the other two, it is worth comment that the original edition of the *Garland*, 1523, has no such envoy to the Cardinal. Therefore until these are shown to be the work of Skelton, it seems rather a waste of time to discuss them.

This does not apply, however, to the dedication to the *Replycacion*. This was printed by Pynson, who died in 1530. It is therefore practically contemporaneous. The poem itself, by the allusion to the punishment of the Cambridge scholars, Thomas Bilney and Thomas Arthur, must be dated as late as 1527. As the latest possible date of publication is so near the latest possible date of composition, there is little margin of time for error to occur. Consequently the inference seems unavoidable that the dedication to Wolsey in this case is genuine. The probable explanation seems to have been found by Mr. SeBoyar,²² who found in this report of the visitation of Bishop Niche to the Cathedral of Norwich, 1526, that a Dominus Johannes Shelton had been accused of *gravia crimina et nephanda peccata*. The identification of this Shelton with the poet, whose name was sometimes spelled so, seems plausible. Skelton, who traditionally had had trouble with Bishop Niche, finding himself accused, turned even to his old enemy, the all-powerful minister. But this assumes that Wolsey had not understood *Speke, Parrot*, or seen *Why Come*. Probably, therefore, they were circulating in manuscript. This also justifies the very late dating of *Colin Clout*. When this came into Wolsey's

²² *Modern Language Notes*, December, 1913.

hands, he naturally enough refused his aid to Skelton, who therefore took refuge with Islip in the sanctuary of Westminster. Thus, while this is entirely inferential, it is also plausible.

The dating of the five satires then is as follows:

<i>Speke, Parrot</i>	1517-18.
<i>Decastichon, et al.</i>	1518.
<i>Why Come Ye not to Court?</i>	1521-1523.
<i>Duke of Albany</i>	The end of 1523.
<i>Colin Clout</i>	?—1524-5.
<i>Replycacion</i>	1527.

JOHN M. BERDAN.

XXII.—JAUFRE RUDEL AND THE LADY OF DREAMS

The Provençal biographer's account of Jaufre Rudel's dying visit to the "faraway lady" was first seriously called in dispute by E. Stengel. Afterward, Gaston Paris¹ disposed of the whole legend, as well as of the general reliability of the Provençal biographers, whose testimony had been accepted without question half a century before by Fauriel and others. Monaci, while granting the legendary character of "Melissenda," attempted to identify Jaufre Rudel's beloved with Eleanor of Aquitaine.² Appel, arguing from the number of religious phrases occurring in Jaufre's poems, concluded that the lady of his devotions was the Virgin.³ Appel's theory, supported as it is by a vast erudition, is confuted in my opinion by P. Savj-Lopez.⁴ Giulio Bertoni would adopt a middle ground between those who, like Appel, maintain the idealism of Jaufre's love, or like Monaci, believe that his passion was fixed upon a woman of earth, more or less identified by allusions in his verse.⁵ Ramiro Ortiz would accept the conclusions of Monaci, etc., admitting the re-

¹ *Revue Historique*, LIII (1893), pp. 225 ff.

² *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Serie IV, Scienze Morali*, etc., vol. II (1893), pp. 927 ff.

³ *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, CVII (1901), pp. 338 ff.

⁴ *Rendiconti, Serie V*, vol. XI (1902), pp. 212-225.

⁵ *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, XXXV (1911), pp. 533-542. Bertoni's position, which might suffer from being too rapidly generalized, is quoted here from p. 533: "É un fatto che l'immagine terrena, che si profila dietro i versi del soave sire di Blaia, appare così trasparente e idealizzata, da perdere quasi del tutto i caratteri della realtà, astraendosi nelle regioni della fantasia e dei sogni."

ality of the lady, but feels that either Jaufre Rudel was directly influenced by certain passages of William of Poitiers, or else some of the minstrels who sang Jaufre's poetry made interpolations borrowed from William.⁶

Before venturing to present my own view regarding the identity of the faraway lady, it may be in order to essay a few general remarks concerning historical method. The conclusions of Gaston Paris about the unreliability of the Provençal biographers appear to have found universal acceptance, and reviewers, such as Schultz-Gora, have contented themselves with repeating and enlarging upon the opinions which he so admirably expressed. While uniformly condemning the *razos* and the *vidas*, however, many critics have proceeded to rely heavily upon the text of the poems,⁷ although, in perhaps the majority of cases, this text is itself the basis of the discredited biographies. Several instances could be cited where an entire episode in the supposedly scientific biography of a troubadour has been founded on a solitary, and doubtful, reading of one or two verses.

Let me dare to say it: the testimony of the poetry of the troubadours must be received with almost as great caution as that of the *razos*, and for nearly the same reasons. Gaston Paris, in his splendid article on the biography of Jaufre Rudel, refers to a stock legend which attached itself to several of the troubadours, and was even found in the *Cento Novelle Antiche*. May I note a single, but typical case of the same sort in the poetry of the troubadours? Bertran de Born, in order to find a lady equal

⁶ *Zeitschrift*, *op. cit.*, pp. 543-554.

⁷ Schultz-Gora, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, XCII (1894), p. 225, says that the *razos* and *vidas* "müssen fortwährend durch die Lieder selbst . . . kontrolliert werden . . ." Can the blind lead the blind?

to Maeuz de Montanhac, imagines a being composed of the virtues of a multitude of other ladies.

Frescha color natural
 Pren, bels Cembelis, de vos
 E'l doutz esguart amors
 E fatz gran sobrieira
 Quar re'i lais,
 Qu'anc res de be no us sofrais;
 Mi dons na Elis deman
 Son adrech parlar gaban,
 Que'm do a mi dons ajuda,
 Puous non er fada ni muda, etc.⁸

The same idea is found in a poem by Elias de Barjols, who nevertheless reverses the process and imagines a composite gentleman, instead of the lady fantastically conceived by Bertran de Born.

Pus negus no es tan pros
 Que us o digua, ni que ja sapcha tan
 Que vos o aus dir, ni que vos o man.

 Farai n'un tot nou qu'es bos,
 E penrai de las faissos
 De quadaun de las melhors qu'auran,
 Tro vos aiatz cavalier benestan.
 N Aymars me don sa coyndia,
 EN Trencaleos
 Sa gensozia, EN Randos
 Donar qu'es la senhoria
 El Dalfis sos belhs respos,
 EN Peyr cuy es Monleos
 Do m son guabar, e volrai d'EN Brian
 Cavallairia, e'l sen vuelh d'EN Bertran.⁹

That the troubadours had a common stock of ideas, particularly the expressions which connected love with the feudal system, and that these ideas found among them

⁸ *Bertran de Born*, ed. Stimming (1892), no. 32, vv. 21 ff.

⁹ Raynouard, *Choix de Poésies des Troubadours*, III, p. 351.

endless repetition, is too obvious to have escaped frequent comment. The subject is excellently discussed, for example, by Gaspary, in connection with the Sicilian School. In eulogies—and Provençal poetry is studded with eulogies—one may find numberless repetitions. Compare, for example, the two celebrated laments by Bertran de Born on the Young King, “Mon chan fenisc ab dol et ab mal traire,”¹⁰ and “Si tuit li dol e’l plor e’lh marrimen,”¹¹ with the *planh* of Gaucelm Faidit over Richard Cœur-de-Lion, “Fortz chauza es, que tot lo maior dan.”¹²

Ramiro Ortiz, it has been noted, has remarked on a close connection between the language of Jaufre Rudel and that of William of Poitiers. He might have added that both the thought and language of Jaufre Rudel bear a marked resemblance to the commonplaces found in many other poets.¹³ Jaufre has the banalities of feudal ser-

¹⁰ Stimming, ed. 1892, no. 8.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, no. 9.

¹² Raynouard, *op. cit.*, iv, pp. 54-56.

¹³ Gaston Paris says: “Ses poésies ont déjà . . . un caractère conventionnel: il n’y faut pas chercher l’expression naïve et spontanée de sentiments vrais; d’ailleurs, la forme rythmique en est très artistique, le style en est très étudié, et les formules convenues y abondent: toutes, sauf une, commencent par cette évocation du printemps et de ses manifestations typiques qui était le style dans la poésie courtoise. Ce sont des exercices de l’esprit et non des effusions du cœur . . .” *Op. cit.*, p. 229.

Nevertheless, for the poem numbered I in the collection of Stimming, Paris is far more indulgent. He thinks that Jaufre Rudel here “trouve même des accents d’une sincérité rare dans la poésie courtoise. . . .” (*Op. cit.*, p. 239). Savj-Lopez declares that the poet “freme di sincera passione. . . .” (*Op. cit.*, p. 218). The following comparisons may serve to show that even this poem of Jaufre’s, which has won praise for its freshness and sincerity, is quite as commonplace as the others.

D’un’ amistat soi envejos,
car no sai joja plus valen. (*Jaufre Rudel*, ed. Stimming, I, vv. 8, 9.)

vice, as Savj-Lopez has observed—the confidant, and the excessive humility, which prompts him twice to express a

Per una joja m'esbaudis

D'una qu'anc re non amiey tan.

(*Cercamon*, ed. Dejeanne, *Annales du*

Midi, xvii, 1905, II, vv. 13, 14.)

. . . . que bonam fos

Sim fazia damor prezen.

(*Jaufre Rudel*, I, vv. 10, 11.)

Toz mos talenz m'ademplira

Ma donna, sol d'un bais m'aizis.

(*Cercamon*, I, vv. 43, 44.)

D'aquest' amor soi cossiros

velhan e pueis sompnhan durmen.

(*Jaufre Rudel*, I, vv. 15, 16.)

Totz trassalh e brant e fremis

Per s'amor, dormen o velhan.

(*Cercamon*, II, vv. 31, 32.)

mas sa beutatz nom val nien,

car nulhs amicx nom essenha

cum ieu ja n'aja bon saber.

(*Jaufre Rudel*, I, 19-21. For the conventional character of the confidant here alluded to, cf. Savj-Lopez, *op. cit.*, p. 214, and note 1.)

E domna nom pot ren valer

Per riquesa ni per poder

Se jois d'amor no l'espira. (*Cercamon*, I, vv. 19-21.)

Jaufre Rudel dares avow his love to his lady. *Cercamon* does so also, but apologizes for this violation of the rules of the courts of love:

Ges tan leu no l'enquesira

S'eu sabes cant leu s'afraquis. (I, vv. 15-16.)

Bernard de Ventadour restrains himself with difficulty from the rashness of the others:

Meravilh me cum puese durar

Que no'lh demostre mon talan. (*Mahn, Werke*, I, p. 12.)

Jaufre Rudel speaks of actually going to his lady:

que quand ieu vau ves lieis corren,

vejaire m'es, qu'a reversos

m'en torn, e qu'ella m'an fugen. (I, vv. 23-25.)

desire to go to his lady disguised as a pilgrim.¹⁴ Once he would steal in as a thief:

Lai n'irai al sieu repaire
laire.¹⁵

But substantially the same idea is expressed by Bernard de Ventadour:

Ben la volgra sola trobar
Que dormis o'n fezes semblan,
Per qu'ieu l'embles un dous baisar.¹⁶

A similar banality is to be seen in the use of the word "ric." Jaufre Rudel writes:

Ric me fai la noig en somnian
can
m'es vis q'e mos bratz l'enclauza.¹⁷

Bernard de Ventadour just falls short of the same experience:

Per pauc me tenc qu'ieu enves lieys no cor.

(l. c.)

Jaufre Rudel declares:

De tal dompna sui cobeitos,
a cui non aus dir mon talen,
anz quan remire sas faissos,
totz lo cors m'en vai esperden. (I, vv. 29-32.)

Cercamon says:

Quan suy ab lieys si m'esbahis
Qu'ieu no sai dire mon talan (II, vv. 15, 16.)

Again:

Tal paor ai que no'm falhis
No sai pensar cum la deman. (II, vv. 33, 34.)

The conventionality of the description of the lady by Jaufre Rudel will be discussed later.

¹⁴ *Jaufre Rudel*, ed. Stimming (1873), v, v. 33, and VI, v. 34. Tristan resorts to this disguise to see Isolde. Cf. G. Paris, *op. cit.*, p. 246, and n. 3.

¹⁵ G. Bertoni, *op. cit.*, p. 540. As Savj-Lopez has remarked, the figure of the thief is imitated by Pier dellā Vigna:

Or potess 'eo venire a voi, amorosa,
Come lo larone ascoso e non paresse!

¹⁶ Mahn, *Werke*, I, p. 12.

¹⁷ Bertoni, *l. c.*

Cercamon writes:

E sivals d'aitant m'enrequis
Que disses que ma donna era.¹⁸

Augier declares:

Quan m'auretz dat so don m'avetz dig d'oc,
Serai plus rieux qu'el senher de Marroc.¹⁹

In French, there is Perrin d'Angicourt, who declares:

et me puet plue enrichir,
que faire roi de Cesaire.²⁰

In Spanish, Pero Ferrus avers:

Nunca fue Rrey Lysuarte
De rriquesas tan bastado
Commo yo, nin tan pagado.²¹

Space forbids carrying further these comparisons, which lead moreover to conclusions only too obvious to even the most casual reader of Provençal poetry. I should like, however, to lay special emphasis upon the use of stock proper names among the troubadours. Every hero was either a Roland, an Alexander, or both. Every lover was a Tristan. Every lady that he wooed was an Isolde, and fair, of course. The same liberty prevailed with regard to geographical names. The following is the list of those who rejoiced at the death of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, as recounted by Gaucelm Faidit:

E Sarrazi, Turc, Payan e Persan. . . .²²

Here is the list of the nations who mourned the Young King:

Engles e Norman,
Breto e Yrlan,

¹⁸ Edition Dejeanne, *Annales du Midi*, xvii (1905), I, vv. 24-25.

¹⁹ Raynouard, *op. cit.*, III, p. 105.

²⁰ Ed. G. Steffens, (1905), no. 3, p. 197.

²¹ *El Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena* (1851), no. 301.

²² Raynouard, *Choix*, III, p. 55.

Guia e Guasco
 Et Anjaus pren dan;
 E Maines e Tors,
 Franza tro Compenha
 De plorar no·s tenha
 E Flandres de Gan
 Tro'l port de Guisan
 Ploran, neis li Alaman.²³

The following, according to Giraud de Calanson, lamented the Infante Ferdinand:

. . . . li Franses ne fan dol e grans critz
 E li Engles, tug silh d'ams los regnatz,
 Li Alamans, totz lors rieux parentatz,
 Senhor del mon, e'l valen emperaire,
 E Samsuenha, Espanha et Aragos. . . .²⁴

Perhaps the most formidable list of all occurs in a poem by Rambaud de Vaqueiras,²⁵ in which he imagines that ladies from a great number of cities make war upon Beatrice, out of jealousy for her beauty. Obviously what is desired in such roll-calls of names is resonance, rather than strict historical accuracy, or even a decent regard for the bounds of poetic license.

For this reason, let us beware of arguments like those of Monaci, who would assume that the faraway lady loved

²³ Bertran de Born, *op. cit.*, no. 8.

²⁴ Raynouard, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 66.

²⁵ Raynouard, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 260 ff. The foregoing citations are only one step removed from the use of geographical names illustrated below:

Qu'ien no vuolh aver Ravena,
 Ni Roais,
 Ses cujar qu'ela 'm retena. (Bertran de Born, *op. cit.*,
 no. 34, vv. 22-24.)

Que ses la vostr' atendensa
 No volgr' aver Proensa
 Ab tota Lombardia. . . . (Augier, in Raynouard, *op. cit.*,
 III, p. 105.)

by Jaufre Rudel was the mother of two of the monarchs mentioned, Eleanor of Aquitaine. His inference is drawn from the following lines:

. . . .car gens Peitavina
de Beiriu e de Gujana
s'esgau per leis e Bretanha.²⁶

It is true that Monaci is not very tenacious of his theory, which is furthermore sufficiently disposed of by Appel on other grounds.²⁷ However, accepted as it is by Ramiro Ortiz and not rejected by Savj-Lopez, it represents a type of reasoning all too frequent; so that it seemed proper to make the foregoing citations in order to demonstrate the danger of relying upon a mere list of proper names in Provençal poetry.

More serious is the contention of Savj-Lopez.²⁸ He says: "Invece della canzone di partenza *Quand lo ros-sinhols* abbiamo la certezza che il poeta s'è avvicinato a lei, sì che per la volta dà qualche particolare sulla sua persona (vv. 12, 39-40). . . ."

The following are the verses referred to:

quel cors a gras, delgat e gen (v. 12)
and
. . . . c'ajal cors tant gen
grailles, fresca, ab cor plazen. . . (vv. 39-40.)

Surely the conventional character of the descriptions of women in Provençal poetry, especially in the early period, has been sufficiently demonstrated by R. Renier.²⁹

²⁶ Jaufre Rudel, *op. cit.*, no. 2, vv. 33-35.

²⁷ Appel, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

²⁸ Savj-Lopez, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

²⁹ R. Renier, *Il Tipo Estetico della Donna nel Medioevo*. Ancona, 1881.

For this particular description, the following examples may serve to show its perfect banality:

E'l cors graile, delgat e fresc e lis.³⁰

So Bernard de Ventadour declares that his lady has a "cors gens,"³¹ "sotil,"³² with "fresca color,"³³ a "cor guai."³⁴ Likewise the lady of Cercamon follows the regular pattern:

Genser domn' el mon no's mira,
Bell' e blancha plus c'us hermis,
Plus fresca que rosa ne lis.³⁵

Let these citations suffice here, as the tables worked out by Renier seem more than adequate to establish the point. The reader is referred to them, and to that epitome of conventional descriptions given by Arnaud de Marueil.³⁶ Perhaps that will clear up the apparent inconsistency—that Jaufre Rudel is able to describe a lady whom, he has declared, he is never to see.³⁷ Furthermore, it may then appear strange that Savj-Lopez has attempted to date several poems of Jaufre Rudel on the basis of the stock description.

Not only is the mention of Poitou or Bretagne insufficient to prove that Jaufre's lady was Eleanor of Aquitaine; not only is a conventional reference to the physical form of his lady inadequate to show that he ever saw her; but there is nothing really distinctive about the fact that she was far away, that he loved her without seeing her.

³⁰ Bertran de Born, *op. cit.*, no. 35, v. 35.

³¹ Mahn, *Werke*, I, p. 17.

³² *Op. cit.*, p. 42.

³³ *Op. cit.*, p. 45.

³⁵ *Op. cit.*, I, vv. 36-39.

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

³⁶ Raynouard, *op. cit.*, III, p. 202.

³⁷ It is here assumed that I. in the Stimming collection refers to the same person as II, III, V, and VI. Gaston Paris inclined to admit this as a possibility (*op. cit.*, p. 252, n. 1).

On this point it may not be amiss to quote the words of Gaston Paris regarding the French romance *Durmart*: "S'éprendre d'amour pour une princesse lointaine sur le seul bruit de sa beauté est un trait qui se retrouve dans les fictions romanesques de tous les peuples, et il n'y a aucun lieu de soupçonner, avec l'éditeur, dans la biographie, fabuleuse à notre avis comme au sien, du troubadour Geoffroi Rudel, la source où notre poète l'aurait puisé."³⁸ Indeed, that there are numerous and widespread literary instances of falling in love from hearsay, and particularly in a dream, has long been recognized, and the fact was adequately discussed by Felix Liebrecht as early as 1851.³⁹ He there refers to Medea, who according to Lucian saw Jason in a dream, and became infatuated with him.⁴⁰ A noble knight in the *Roman des Sept Sages* dreams of loving a beautiful lady: "Ne sot, dont fu, ne de quel tierre."⁴¹ After the same fashion, the Chevalier à la Trappe falls in love with a lady, and she with him, in a dream. Neither has seen the other before, but they recognize each other from the dream.⁴² The knight of the Red Cross likewise has a dream:

Me seemed, by my side a royall Mayd
Her daintie limbes full softly down did lay:
So faire a creature yet saw never sunny day.⁴³

³⁸ *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, xxx (1888), p. 152.

³⁹ *John Dunlop's Geschichte der Prosadichtungen* (Felix Liebrecht's translation), Berlin, 1851, Anm. 180. Cf. Schultz-Gora in *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen*, xcii (1894), p. 220.

⁴⁰ *Hermotimus*, § 73.

⁴¹ Ed. Heinrich Adelbert Keller, Tübingen, 1836 (vv. 4216 ff.).

⁴² *Fabliaux ou Contes du XIIe et du XIIIe Siècle*, by Pierre Jean Baptiste Legrand d'Aussy (Paris, 1779), II, p. 293.

⁴³ *Fairie Queen*, Book I, Canto ix, stanza xiii (J. C. Smith ed., 1909).

Adam de la Hale receives in a vision the first inkling of the woman who seemed so captivating at first, but was destined to prove so disappointing.⁴⁴ In *Le Loyer des Folles Amours*, the lover dreams of meeting a maid who holds in her hands bows, darts, and arrows. This vision serves as a preface to his actual acquaintance with the woman who was to deceive him.⁴⁵

There are a multitude of cases of falling in love through hearsay, other than through the medium of dreams. Crescini has cited the *salut* recounting the love felt by Azalais d'Altier for Clara Andusa, without having seen her.⁴⁶ Bernart d'Arnaut d'Armagnac, infatuated with a lady whose reputation has reached his ears, journeys to Tolosa to see her.⁴⁷ In *Aymeri de Narbonne*, Hugues de Barcelonne tells Aymeri about Hermengarde, daughter of Didier, and sister of Boniface, King of the Lombards. Aymeri falls in love with her immediately upon hearing her described.⁴⁸ *Le Roman de Marques de Rome* contains the story of the daughter of Daires, King of Persia. She becomes enamored of Zoroas, whose exploits she has heard of, but on whom she has never laid eyes.⁴⁹

Clearly Jaufre Rudel, often referred to as the father of the "princesse lointaine" legend, will have considerable competition both at home and abroad. There is even

⁴⁴ *Adam de la Hale*, ed. E. de Coussemaker, 1872, pp. 299 ff.

⁴⁵ *Œuvres Poétiques de Guillaume Alexis, Prieur de Bucy* (ed. Arthur Piaget & Emile Picot), Paris, 1896, I, p. 355.

⁴⁶ Crescini in *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, XIV, p. 130.

⁴⁷ *Il Canzoniere Provenzale II—cod. Vaticano 3207*—(edited by Louis Gauchat and Heinrich Kehrli, in the *Studi di Filologia Romanza*, v. p. 494, no. 141). Cf. Schultz-Gora, I. c.

⁴⁸ *Aymeri de Narbonne* (ed. Louis Demaison, Paris, 1887), vv. 1353-80.

⁴⁹ *Le Roman de Marques de Rome* (ed. Johann Alton, 1889), p. 123 [xii].

something very similar in the verse of William of Poitiers, as Ramiro Ortiz has pointed out.⁵⁰ William writes:

Amigu' ai ieu, no sai qui s'es
 Qu'anc non la vi, si m'ajut fes,
 Ni'm fes que'm plassa ni que'm pes,
 Ni no m'en cau.⁵¹

Again he declares:

Anc no la vi et am la fort,
 Anc no m'aic dreyt ni no'm fes tort;
 Quam no la vey, be m'en deport,
 No'm pretz un jau
 Qu'ie 'n sai gensor e bellazor
 E que mais vau.⁵²

Similarly Jaufre Rudel sings of a lady whom he has never seen:

Nulhs hom nos meravilh de mi
 S'ieu am so que ja nom veira,
 Qu'el cor joi d'autr' amor non a
 Mas d'aissella que anc non vi;
 Ni per nulh joi aitan no ri,
 E no sai quals bes m'en venra a a.⁵³

There is this difference to be observed between William of Poitiers and Jaufre Rudel, however. William appar-

⁵⁰ Ramiro Ortiz may have derived his suggestion from Gaston Paris, *op. cit.*, p. 247. On this page, note 2, Paris also notes some imitations of Jaufre Rudel's "amor lonhdana." In the case of Guillem de Béziers, at least (Raynouard, *Choix*, III, p. 133), I see no necessity for assuming such a direct imitation. May the source of his "anc nous vi" not be William of Poitiers' "anc no la vi"? Or, in view of the fact that both poets are evidently using a highly artificial and conventional form, extremely "éloignée de la réalité" as Paris would admit, may they not have had a common source?

⁵¹ A. Jeanroy, *Poésies de Guillaume IX, Conte de Poitiers*, in *Annales du Midi*, XVII (1905), no. 4, vv. 25-30.

⁵² Jeanroy, *op. cit.*, no. 5, vv. 31 ff.

⁵³ Gaston Paris, *op. cit.*, pp. 259-260 [No sap chantar quil so no di].

ently does not take the unseen lady too seriously, but consoles himself with the reflection

Qu'ie 'n sai gensor e bellazor,
E que mais vau.

For Jaufre Rudel, on the other hand, the literary device of William becomes a central theme. We shall presently note another instance of the same sort.

The attempts of serious critics to identify the lady appear strange. The scraps of the concrete which Jaufre has allowed us, the castle, the husband, the *gilos*,⁵⁴ her renown in Poitou and in Bretagne, and her form—like the form of every other lady celebrated by the troubadours of this period—are all of a piece. Any of the other instances of love at hearsay which have been cited would furnish more detail. Even the legend cited by Gaston Paris⁵⁵ as an “*exemple typique*” to prove the “*véritable néant au point de vue historique*” of the Provençal biographies furnishes us with the greatest detail, in the accepted style of the *langue d'oc*. The biographer of Bertran de Born couples the legend with Maeut de Montanhac, wife of Talairans, brother of the Count of Périgord, and daughter of the Viscount of Turenne, and sister of Maria de Ventadorn and Elis de Montfort. For the biographer of Pons de Capduelh, the lady was Azalais de Mercuer, wife of a great count of Auvergne, and daughter of Bernart d'Anduza. For the biographer of Richard de Barbezieux, it was the wife of Giaufre de Tanay. In the *Novellino* the affair starts at “Puy-Notre-Dame,” in Provence, and concerns Madonna Grigia.

Not only are the fair form, and the faraway castle of

⁵⁴ Cf. Mahn, *Werke*, I, p. 19: E s'il gilos vos bat defor (Bernart de Ventadour).

⁵⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 235, 236.

the unseen princess purely matters of convention, not to speak of the banal conception of the poet's loving her without having seen her, but there is another characteristic feature of Jaufré Rudel's poetry quite as commonplace as these: the lady appears to him frequently in his slumber. Indeed, the poet prefers the pleasures of his dream to any solace that might come during his waking hours, and would willingly continue sleeping forever.

So passionate are the love-dreams of Jaufré, that one might conclude that here at least was a note of sincerity. Yet it will be our task not to leave such a person even this crumb of comfort, and to note that love in a dream is quite as universal a feature of literature as love at hearsay; indeed, the one motif is often connected with the other. In Solomon's Song, the bride hears in slumber the voice of her beloved: "Ego dormio, et cor meum vigilat: vox dilecti mei pulsantis: Aperi mihi, soror mea, amica mea, columba mea, immaculata mea, quia caput meum plenum est rore, et cincinni mei guttis noctium."⁵⁶ A twelfth-century Latin poet dreams of winning the love of the goddess Leda, concluding with the exultant boast that a poor mortal man—an "homuntio"—had been accorded freely a favor which Jupiter had obtained only by compulsion.⁵⁷ Adelbert Keller cites from *le livre de Cassiodorus empereur de Costantinoble* a dream of Cassiodorus, to whom Helcana appears repeatedly. His desire for her waxes so ardent that he feels compelled to see her.⁵⁸ In *Le Bel Inconnu*, Giglain dreams of lying with the lady of the

⁵⁶ *Canticum Canticorum Salamonis*, v, v. 2.

⁵⁷ *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum und Deutsche Litteratur* (1908), I, pp. 289-296: *Die Moderne Leda* (Wilhelm Meyer).

⁵⁸ *Dyocletianus Leben von Hans von Büchel*, ed. Adelbert Keller (1841), *Einleitung*, p. 26.

château of the Ile d'Or.⁵⁹ Durmart dreams that "la bele roine franche" kisses him, with a laugh. But "Al resveillier part son desduit."⁶⁰ In *Méliador*, Sagremor, awakening, regrets that his beautiful dream of Sébille is only a snare and a delusion.⁶¹

Among the troubadours, this sort of dream is a favorite device, and there is often the same note of regret at the necessity of awakening which is recurrent elsewhere, as in *Durmart* and in *Méliador*. Arnaud de Marueil would keep sleeping forever, so much does he prefer the pleasures of dreaming to the harshness of reality:

E quan m'esvelh, eug murir deziran,
Per qu'ieu volgra aissi dormir tot l'an.⁶²

Again he says:

Mas m'en platz us somnjatz
De vos, quan sui colguatz,
Que us tengues en mos bratz,
Que d'autra esser jauzire.⁶³

Similarly Folquet de Romans declares:

qu'eu volria toz temps dormir,
qu'en sonjan vos pogues tenir.⁶⁴

Frayre Ramon de Cornet likewise exclaims:

Per que tostemps volgra viure dormen.⁶⁵

⁵⁹ *Le Bel Inconnu*, ed. C. Hippeau, Paris, 1860, vv. 2443-50.

⁶⁰ *Li Romans de Durmart le Galois*, ed. E. Stengel, 1873, vv. 4097 ff.

⁶¹ *Méliador*, vv. 28752-77, ed. A. Longnon, Paris, 1899.

⁶² Raynouard, *op. cit.*, III, p. 215.

⁶³ Raynouard, *op. cit.*, III, p. 222. Cf. George Sand, *La Mare au Diable*, chap. xvii: "Depuis ce temps-là j'ai rêvé à toi toutes les nuits. Ah! comme je l'embrassais, Marie!"

⁶⁴ *Folquet de Romans*, ed. Rudolph Zenker, 13, vv. 29-30.

⁶⁵ J. B. Noulet et Camille Chabaneau: *Deux Manuscrits Provençaux du XIVe Siècle* (Montpellier-Paris, 1888), p. 26.

Pier della Vigna, following the troubadours, reaches vainly for the hands he imagines he has held:

. . . . et dum non invenit manus quam tenuerat, genas confestim
laniat et deturpat.⁶⁶

As in the case of the love at hearsay theme, William of Poitiers uses the device of the dream as an artifice:

Farai un vers de dreyt nien;
.
.
.
.
.
Qu'enans fu trobatz en durmen
Sobre chevau.⁶⁷

Also:

Farai un vers, pos mi somelh
E 'm vauc e m' estauc al solelh.⁶⁸

This literary trick, with which William of Poitiers intended merely to transport the auditor into the world of fantasy, became again with Jaufre Rudel a leading theme. Jaufre professes to prefer to sleep forever, rather than to remain awake:

Anc tan suau no m'adurmi
Mos esperitz tost non fos la,
Ni tan d'ira non ac de sa
Mos cors ades no fos aqui;
Mais quant mi reissit lo mati,
Totz mos bos sabers mi desva a a.⁶⁹

It might be observed here that not only the literary device—love in slumber—but to a considerable extent the

⁶⁶ *Vie et Correspondance de Pierre de la Vigne*, ed. A. Huillard-Bréholles, Paris, 1864, p. 420.

⁶⁷ A. Jeanroy, *op. cit.*, no. 4, vv. 1-6.

⁶⁸ *Op. cit.*, no. 5, vv. 1-2. Of course it is not denied that the dream had a physiological basis, and may be explained on that ground. My contention is simply that we are here dealing with something universal, both as to thought and as to literary form.

⁶⁹ Gaston Paris, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

very language of Jaufre Rudel, was a commonplace. Bernart de Ventadour writes:

Lo cor ai pres d'amor,
Que l'esperit lai cor
Et lo cors estai alhor
Lonh de leis. . . .⁷⁰

Again:

Sels qui cuion qu'ieu sia sai⁷¹
No sabon ges cum l'esperitz
Es de licis privatz et aizitz,
Silot lo cors s'en es lonhans:
Sapchatz lo mielhers messatgiers
Qu'ai de lieis, es mos cossiriers
Que m recorda sos belhs semblans.

Arnaud de Marueil, in a passage already referred to, expressed himself in similar fashion. He declared that he had left his heart with his lady, where it had remained since first he met her. Wherever he was, his thoughts reverted to her; in his imaginings he paid court to her day and night. Often, when his mind seemed to be on other things, his heart would come as a messenger from his lady, and recall to him her image.⁷²

Savj-Lopez⁷³ has demonstrated the conventional character of the religious phraseology employed by Jaufre Rudel, confuting thereby Appel's identification of Jaufre's lady as the Virgin. By the same token, let us conclude that the lady described was no person of earth.⁷⁴ I would deny that Jaufre "idealized" a lady who was more or less real, as Bertoni would hold, or that he made a "jeu

⁷⁰ Mahn, *Werke*, I, p. 24.

⁷¹ *Op. cit.*, I, p. 22.

⁷² Bartsch, *Chrestomathie Provençale* (1904), cols. 104, 105. Cf. Raynouard, *l. c.*

⁷³ *L. c.*

⁷⁴ Gaston Paris to the contrary: ". . . . il semble bien qu'il ait en vue une personne précise" *op. cit.*, p. 248.

de l'imagination," to adopt the phrase of Gaston Paris.⁷⁵ Jaufre Rudel merely took what was a commonplace in Provençal, as in other literatures, and concentrated upon it. Hence the great amount of repetition in the small number of poems preserved to us. Hence some of the contradictions, inevitable where the artist is not drawing from life. That he may have really loved a lady, there is no denying; but it is more than doubtful if his lady bore any real relation to the conventional description which he gives, or was a faraway princess whom he never expected to behold, but who appeared vividly in his dreams. In the same way a modern swain, to gain the affections of "sweet Marie," with black hair, might sing of a more remote "sweet Alice," with "hair so brown."

The objection has probably occurred to the reader that the foregoing argument, if it established that the "princesse lointaine" of Jaufre Rudel was a mere *convention*, would prove with equal conclusiveness something of the sort for the lady celebrated by any of the other troubadours. Of course, it is far from my present intention to attempt so sweeping a generalization, although I venture to surmise that it is perhaps less preposterous than might appear at first glance. My feeling is that, despite our professions to the contrary, we are more under the influence of the legendary biographies than we admit. Indeed, it has happened often enough that writers on the lives of the troubadours—even the most recent, such as Anglade—while prefacing their work with protestations of disbelief in the *razos* and in the *vidas*, have unconsciously proceeded to follow the legends which they condemned. Doubtless the reason is that suggested by Gaston Paris concerning

⁷⁵ Gaston Paris, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

Diez, that he "hésitait à couper la branche sur laquelle il était assis." ⁷⁶

In treating the palpable case of Jaufre Rudel, who belonged to a highly artificial and conventional school of poets, there is no necessity for involving the whole fabric of troubadour love-affairs. His allusions to his mistress are so unusually vague that many have felt that he was purposely obscure, while others have fled to opposite poles in their speculations on the identity of his beloved. Perhaps many other love-affairs of the troubadours, which present less doubt and cause less speculation, would not be seriously related to the foregoing discussion.

OLIN H. MOORE.

⁷⁶ Gaston Paris, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

XXIII.—REPETITION OF WORDS AND PHRASES AT THE BEGINNING OF CONSECUTIVE TER- CETS IN DANTE'S *DIVINE COMEDY*

The *Divine Comedy* contains three examples of the repetition of a word or a phrase at the beginning of successive lines,¹ one where the first word of a line is repeated from the last of the preceding line,² another pas-

- ¹ *Per Me Si Va Nella Città Dolente,*
 Per Me Si Va Nell' Eterno Dolore,
 Per Me Si Va Tra La Perduta Gente.

(*Inf.* III, 1-3.)

A similar artifice occurs in *Par.* I, 115-7; XXVII, 7-9. Repetitions of this class are more or less common in the different literatures known to Dante. Examples of anaphora in Latin may be found in an article by Professor B. O. Foster, *On Certain Euphonic Embellishments in the Verse of Propertius* (*Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, Vol. XL, pp. 39-40; 52). Note especially the following lines from Propertius:

Vidistis pleno teneram candore puellam,
Vidistis fusco. ducit uterque color;
Vidistis quandam Argiva prodire figura,
Vidistis nostras, utraque forma rapit;—

(II, 25, 41 ff.)

This usage was especially common in Old French and Old Provençal. In a poem of twenty-five lines by Christine de Pisan (Bartsch-Wiese, *Chrestomathie de l'ancien français*, 89 c), all of the lines except one begin with *Je congnois*. For examples of repetition in consecutive initial lines in Provençal, compare Raynouard, *Choix des Poésies Originales des Troubadours*, vol. v, p. 25; pp. 200-1.

For a similar use of repetition in English, compare *Kying Ali-saunder*, 3205-16 (Weber's *Metrical Romances*, I, pp. 133-4), where the word *Mony* occurs at the beginning of twelve successive lines.

- ² Ricominciò: "Noi semo usciti fuore
 Del maggior corpo al ciel ch' è pura luce:
 Luce intellettual, piena d' amore;

sage where a phrase occurs three times in succession,³ and a few instances of a word riming with itself.⁴ The most

*Amor di vero ben, pien di letizia;
Letizia che trascende ogni dolore.*

(*Par.* xxx, 38-42.)

We note the same device in a Provençal poem (Raynouard, *op. cit.*, vol. v, p. 298):

*En est son fas cansoneta novella;
Novella es quar eu cant de novell;
E de novell ai chاوزit la plus bella,
Bell' en totz sens, et tot quan fai es bel
Per que m'es bel qu'ieu m' aleger' e m deport,

Quar en deport val pauc qui no s deporta.
Jois deporta mi quar am domn' isnella;
Isnella es sella que m ten isnel:
Isnel cor n'ai quar tan gen si capdella
Qu'il capdela mi ses autre capdel,
Qe mais capdel non quier mar per conort:
Per gieu conort qu'om no s pes qui m conorta.*

With reference to this poetical device, Tozer (*Commentary on Dante's Divina Commedia*, *Par.* xxx, 40) says: "It is occasionally found in the troubadour poets." Professor Foster (*op. cit.*, p. 51) cites several examples from Propertius where a word at or near the end of the hexameter is repeated in the beginning of the short line. A. J. Butler calls attention to early Italian poems (*The Fore-runners of Dante*, I, XIII, XXII, XLV), in which each stanza opens with one or two of the words with which its predecessor concludes. The author of *The Pearl* (*Early English Text Society*, vol. I, pp. 1-37) also makes use of a similar device.

³ *Quegli ch' usurpa in terra il loco mio,
Il loco mio, il loco mio, che vaca
Nella presenza del Figliuol di Dio.*

(*Par.* xxvii, 22-4.)

Compare also *Jeremiah*, vii, 4. For examples of the repetition of a phrase in prose, compare *Convivio* iv, 5, where *E non pose Iddio le mani* occurs four times.

⁴ *Così mi si cambiario in maggior feste
Li fiori e le faville, sì ch'io vidi
Ambo le corti del ciel manifeste.*

complex and interesting examples of the repetition of words and phrases in our poem, however, are those occurring at the beginning of several consecutive tercets. The object of this kind of repetition is, in general, to draw attention to a succession of forcible examples of something that is to be illustrated. In *Purgatorio* XII, 25-63, we have a most striking instance of this symmetrical arrangement. The purpose of these lines is to call attention to a series of notable examples of pride. Each example is described in a single tercet and the tercets are divided into groups of four, the initial word of the first group being *Vedea*, that of the second *O*, and that of the third *Mostrava*. Finally, in a tercet describing the fall of Troy, the most notable instance of defeated pride, all of these words are resumed and united.⁵ In the very phrasing of these descriptions we note a kind of "architectural symmetry," as if the poet were endeavoring to convey a picture of the lifelike carvings on the floor through the symmetry of his verse.

O isplendor di Dio, per cu'io vidi
L'alto trionfo del regno verace,
Dammi virtù a dir com'io lo vidi!

(*Par.* xxx, 94-9.)

Compare also *per amenda* (*Purg.* xx, 65-9) and *Cristo* (*Par.* XII, 71-5; XIV, 104-8; XIX, 104-8; xxxII, 83-7). In Provençal poetry the same word sometimes occurs in rime once in each stanza of a poem. In Raynouard (*op. cit.*, vol. v, pp. 411-13) we find a poem of six stanzas, the word *lenga* being repeated at the end of the fifth line of all the stanzas except the last (where the repeated word occurs at the end of the first line). A similar device is found in two other poems contained in Raynouard's collection (pp. 413-4; 414-6). Compare also the repetition of the word *lonh* at the end of the second and fourth lines of all the stanzas of a poem (with the exception of the last, which contains only three lines) by Jaufré Rudel (Appel's *Provenzalische Chrestomathie*, p. 15).

⁵This entire passage is quoted *infra*, p. 548.

Another striking instance of elaborate repetition and symmetrical arrangement is found in the *Paradiso* (xix, 115-132), where the poet is describing what will be seen in the book containing the record of human deeds when it shall be opened at the Last Judgment. The examples mentioned in this series are intended to illustrate the misdeeds of the Christian princes of Dante's time. The description is continued through nine tercets, the first three beginning with *Lì si vedrà*, the next three with *Vedrassi*, and the last three with *E*. The first three tercets will illustrate:⁶

Lì si vedrà, tra l'opere d'Alberto,
 Quella che tosto moverà la penna,
 Per che il regno di Praga fia deserto;
Lì si vedrà il duol che sopra Senna
 Induce, falseggiando la moneta,
 Quei che morrà di colpo di cotenna;
Lì si vedrà la superbia ch' asseta,
 Che fa lo Scotto e l' Inghilterra folle,
 Sì che non può soffrir dentro a sua meta.

In the twentieth canto of the *Paradiso* (40-73) the eagle names the six spirits, who, on account of their pre-eminence in justice, form the pupil of its eye and its eye-

⁶ A poem bearing a very striking resemblance to these lines in Dante is found in *Rime di Trecentisti Minori*, a cura di Guglielmo Volpi, Firenze (Sansoni), 1907, pp. 247-51. This little poem (entitled *Profezia*) consists of thirty-seven stanzas, thirty-one of which begin with *Vedrai*. The following quotation will illustrate:

Vedrai colei che veste
 Quella ch' ha sette teste
 Avrà di gran tempeste
 E gran paura.
Vedrai dreto alle mura
 Rinchiusi con rancura:
 La lor fiera armadura
 Saran gli spromi.

brow. The description of these six spirits includes six sections of six verses each, and the second tercet of every section begins with *Ora conosce*. The four following tercets will serve to illustrate the character and purpose of the repetition in this passage:

Colui che luce in mezzo per pupilla,
 Fu il cantor dello Spirito Santo,
 Che l'arca traslatò di villa in villa:
Ora conosce il merto del suo canto,
 In quanto effetto fu del suo consiglio,
 Per lo remunerar ch'è altrettanto.
 Dei cinque che mi fan cerchio per ciglio,
 Colui che più al becco mi s'accosta,
 La vedovella consolò del figlio:
Ora conosce quanto caro costa
 Non seguir Cristo, per l'esperienza
 Di questa dolce vita e dell' opposta.
 E quel che segue in la circonferenza
 Di che ragiono, per l'arco suferno,
 Morte indulgiò per vera penitenza:
Ora conosce che il giudizio eterno
 Non si trasmuta, quando degno preco
 Fa crastino laggiù dell' odierno.

It will be observed that the description of each of these six spirits occupies two tercets. The first tercet deals with the life of the hero on earth and the second with his condition in Paradise. The symmetrical arrangement of this magnificent passage is not only pleasing to the ear, but the contrast brought out by the repeated phrase *Ora conosce* also makes the description more vivid.

Dante's purpose in repeating words and phrases was probably two-fold, namely, for the sake of euphony and of emphasis. In the remaining examples of this poetic device the idea of emphasis or rhetorical repetition seems to be more prominent than in the case of the three examples already cited. For instance, in the fifth canto of

the *Inferno* (100-7), Francesca da Rimini, in describing the power of love over her and her lover, says: ⁷

“*Amor*, che al cor gentil ratto s'apprende,
Prese costui della bella persona
Che mi fu tolta; e il modo ancor m'offende.
Amor, che a nullo amato amar perdona,
Mi prese del costui piacer sì forte,
Che, come vedi, ancor non m'abbandona.
Amor condusse noi ad una morte:
Caina attende chi vita ci spense.”

The display of sympathy and affection between Virgil and his fellow-countryman Sordello furnishes Dante an opportunity of inveighing against the want of patriotism in Italian cities. A series of examples illustrating this general discord and strife is given in *Purgatorio* vi, 106-7, where *Vieni* occurs at the beginning of four successive tercets addressed to Albert of Germany. In *Paradiso* xv, 100-11, the immodesty of the Florentine society of Dante's time is described in four tercets each beginning with *Non*.⁸

Instances of repetition similar to those cited above are also found in a well-known type of medieval composition, the Provençal *enueg*. The two main characteristics of this kind of poem, according to Raymond Thompson Hill,⁹ are: (1) the absence of continuity of thought, and

⁷ For a similar use of repetition in Dante's lyrics compare *Canz.* 17 and *Son.* 33.

⁸ In *Paradiso* XIII, 94-102, we find a group of three tercets beginning with *Non*.

In a poem of four stanzas by Lorenzo Moschi (Guglielmo Volpi, *op. cit.*, iv), the word *Benedetta* occurs at the beginning of each stanza. Compare the Beatitudes (Math. v, 3-11; Lu. vi, 20-22) and also the repetition of the word *cursed* in Deut. xxvii, 15-26; xxviii, 16-19.

⁹ See *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. xxvii, pp. 265-6.

(2) "the repetition at regular or irregular but frequent intervals of a word or phrase which indicates the attitude of the poet."

The best examples of the *enuieg* are found in the works of the Monk of Montaudon.¹⁰ In a poem of nine stanzas by this author, a form expressing the idea of vexation (usually *enoia*) occurs in the first and fifth¹¹ line of each stanza. The first two stanzas of this poem are as follows:¹²

Fort m' *enoia*, so auzes dire?
 Hom parliers qu'es avols servire;
 Et hom que trop vol autr' aucire
 M' *enoia*, e cavals que tire;
 Et *enoia* m, si Dieus m'aiut,
 Joves hom, quan trop port' escut
 Que negun colp no i a avut,
 Capellan e monge barbut
 E lausengier bec esmolut.
 E tenc dona per *enoiosa*,
 Quant es paubra et orgoillosa,
 E marit qu'ama trop sa sposa,
 Neus s'era domna de Tolosa;
 Et *enoia* m de cavalier
 Fors de son pais ufanier,
 Quant en lo sieu non a mestier
 Mas sol de pizar el mortier
 Pebre o d'estar al foguier.

In another poem by the Monk of Montaudon¹³ the word *enueia* occurs in the first line of each of the seven strophes, and is repeated once or twice within the stanza.¹⁴

¹⁰ See Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 266-8.

¹¹ In five of the stanzas *enoia* occurs three times.

¹² *Provenzalische Chrestomathie* (second edition), von Carl Appel, 43. Compare also E. Philippson, *Der Mönch von Montaudon*, Halle, 1873, p. 51; Bartsch, *Chrestomathie*, p. 134; Otto Klein, *Die Dichtungen des Mönchs von Montaudon*, Marburg, 1885, p. 54.

¹³ See Raynouard, *op. cit.*, vol. v, pp. 244-6.

¹⁴ Compare Raynouard, *op. cit.*, where we find a similar repe-

With reference to this type of poetry in Italian literature, Mr. Hill says:¹⁵ "In order to follow the more consistent and complete development of the *enueg*, it is necessary to turn to the literature of Italy, where this kind of poem received an early start and finally attained its most perfect maturity. The *enueg* or *noie*, as it is known in its Italian form, appeared in Italy in the first part of the thirteenth century."

The most elaborate example of the Italian *noie* is that of the fourteenth-century writer Antonio Pucci.¹⁶ The poem is entitled *Capitolo morale*¹⁷ and consists of more than three hundred verses. It is written in *terza rima* and all the *terzine* except the first five and the last begin with *A noia m'è*. The repeated phrase occurs, therefore, about a hundred times in this little poem.

The examples of the *enueg* cited above will suffice to show the main characteristics of this kind of poem. A comparison of these poems with the more elaborate instances of repetition found in the *Divine Comedy* lead one to believe that Dante's use of this device is a survival of the *enueg* type of composition. This connection becomes very clear when we examine the later forms of this kind of poetry. While the earliest examples of the *enueg* consist of a series of disconnected ideas and the repeated word

tition of *enueia* in another poem by the same author. For other examples of the *enueg* in Provençal literature, compare Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 269-74.

¹⁵ See *op. cit.*, pp. 276-7.

¹⁶ For a general discussion of the *enueg* in Italy, compare Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 276-293.

¹⁷ See Kenneth McKenzie, *Le Noie di Antonio Pucci secondo la lezione del codice di Wellesley già Kirkupiano (Studi dedicati a Francesco Torraca, pp. 179-90)*; *The Oxford Text of the Noie of Antonio Pucci* (Reprinted from *Anniversary Papers by Colleagues and Pupils of George Lyman Kittredge*, Boston, 1913).

is always a form meaning 'vexation' or 'that which is vexing,'¹⁸ in its later developments we find greater freedom both in the connection of the thought of the poem and in the use of repetition. For instance, Pucci's *Capitolo morale*, the most elaborate form of the *enueg* that we have, "is not composed of disconnected sentences arranged by chance, but consists of a series of well-chosen observations grouped in special classes according as they refer to religion, politeness, social relations, or table manners."¹⁹ If we compare Pucci's poem with any one of the examples of repetition noted in the *Divine Comedy*, we shall observe also that the two are exact parallels so far as the continuity of thought is concerned. In both cases a word or a phrase is repeated at the beginning of a number of successive tercets, and, while each tercet contains an observation, the series of observations serve to illustrate a general subject.

In the later forms of the *enueg* or *noie* the repeated word is also varied. For example, in a Portuguese poem of three hundred and forty-one verses, attributed to *Grygorio Alfonso criado do bispo d'Evora*, the alternate lines begin with *arreneguo* or *rreneguo*. However, the best illustration of the liberty permitted in the use of repeated forms is found in the following *canzone* of Bindo Bonichi:²⁰

Guai a chi nel tormento
Sua non puo spander voce
Et quando foco il coce
Gli convien d'allegrezza far sembianti.
Guai a chi suo lamento
Dir non po chi li noce

¹⁸ For examples of the *plazer*, a similar type of composition, compare Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 268-9; 284-5.

¹⁹ See Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 290-1.

²⁰ See *Scelta di Curiosità Letterarie*, vol. LXXXII, pp. 65-8.

Et qual gli è piu feroce
 Costretto è d'aggradir, se gli è d'avanti.
Guai a chi 'l ben di se in altrui commette
 Che 'l non certo di se, vive languendo;
 Et sovente temendo
 D'alto in bassezza ritorna suo stato.
Guai a chi a servir alcun si mette,
 Che cominci amistà frutto cherendo;
 Perchè, l'util fallendo,
 Dimostra 'l fine el cominci ar viziato.

Grave è potere in pace
 Injuria sofferrare,
 Da cui dovria venire,
 Per merito servire e onorare.
Grav' è all' hòm verace
 Repression, se 'l fallire
 D' altrui fa in se perire
 Le virtù e coi vizii dimorare.
Grav' è stare innocente tra i corrutti
 Fa lunga usanza debile 'l costante
 Non avrai virtù tante
 Che sol non sia, se tu loro abbandoni.
Grav' è all' om poter piacere a tutti
 Perchè a ciascun suo piace simigliante
 Così il leve, e 'l pesante
 Son differenti: Piaci dunque a boni.

Foll' è chi si diletta
 E a diservir prende
 Hòm che non si difende,
 Perchè fortuna tolle e da podere.
Foll' è chi non aspetta
 Prezzo di quel che vende:
 Così chi l'altro offende.
 Di quel che fa de' guiderdone avere
Foll' è chi si compreso è d'arroganza
 Che di se presume valer tanto
 Che fa del pianger canto
 Perch' omo inciampa talor, e non cade.
Foll' è chi chier d' offesa perdonanza,
 Et mentre offende con celato manto,
 Perchè l' offeso alquanto
 Dimostra non veder chi die tro il trade.

Sagg' è chi ben misura
 La sua operazione
 Et sempre a se prepone
 Se, mentre fa, come ricevitore.
Sagg' è l' òm che procura
 Viver ogni stagione
 In modo che ragione
 Vinca il voler; e quei ne và col fiore.
Sagg' è chi l' òm non giudica per vesta,
 Ma per lo far che 'n lui si sente e vede
 Saver talor si crede,
 Per apparenza, in tal che dentro è vano
Sagg' è l' òm circondato da tempesta,
 Quel che scampar non po, se'n don concede
 Avendo sempre fede
 Che dopo 'l monte puo trovar lo piano.

Guai o poi che mio danno
 Dir non m'è concesso
 Perch' oggi è vil tenuto,
 Schifando vizii, l' animo gentile.
Grave m' è per inganno,
 Trovando mi traduto
 Convenirmi star muto.
 Richiede 'l ver talor segreto stile
Folle fui quando 'n fals' om mi commisi.
 Chi vuol fuggir malvagi viva solo:
 Padre inganna figliuolo
 Chi men si fida via miglior ellegge
Saggio non so', ma quel ch' altrui promisi
 Sempre osservai, e di cio non ho lodo.
 Vorrei posare e volo:
 Dio tratti altrui per qual me tratta legge.

With reference to this *canzone*, Mr. Hill says: ²¹ "Although no form of the word *noia* is found, still the composition comes easily under the definition; for it is a poem which consists of a series of disconnected ideas, and is marked by the frequent use of a phrase expressing a sentiment of dislike or approval."

Now, if we compare the following passage in *Purga-*

²¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 286.

torio XII, 25-63, with Bindo Bonichi's canzone, we shall observe that the symmetrical arrangement is exactly the same in both cases:

Vedea colui che fu nobil creato
 Più ch' altra creatura, giù dal cielo
 Folgoreggiando scender da un lato.
Vedea Briarëo, fitto dal telo
 Celestial, giacer dall' altra parte,
 Grave alla terra per lo mortal gelo.
Vedea Timbreo, vedea Pallade e Marte,
 Armati ancora, intorno al padre loro,
 Mirar le membra de' Giganti sparte.
Vedea Nembrot a piè del gran lavoro,
 Quasi smarrito, e riguardar le genti
 Che in Sennaar con lui superbi foro.
O Niobè, con che occhi dolenti
 Vedeva io te segnata in sulla strada
 Tra sette e sette tuoi figliuoli spenti!
O Saül, come in sulla propria spada
 Quivi parevi morto in Gelboè,
 Che poi non sentì pioggia nè rugiada!
O folle Aragne, sì vedea io te
 Già mezza aragna, trista in su gli stracci
 Dell' opera che mal per te si fe'.
O Roboam, già non par che minacci
 Quivi il tuo segno; ma pien di spavento
 Nel porta un carro prima che altri il cacci.
Mostrava ancor lo duro pavimento
 Come Almëon a sua madre fe' caro
 Parer lo sventurato adornamento
Mostrava come i figli si gittaro
 Sopra Sennacherib dentro dal tempio,
 E come, morto lui, quivi il lasciaro.
Mostrava la ruina e il crudo scempio
 Che fe' Tamiri, quando disse a Ciro:
 'Sangue sitisti, ed io di sangue t' empio'.
Mostrava come in rotta si fuggiro
 Gli Assiri, poi che fu morto Oloferne,
 Ed anche le reliquie del martiro.
Vedëa Troia in cenere e in caverne.
O Ilion, come te basso e vile
Mostrava il segno che lì si discerne!

In the passage just given there are three groups of four tercets each, the initial word of each tercet of the first group being *Vedea*, that of the second *O*, and that of the third *Mostrava*. Finally, all three of these words are brought together and form the initial words of the three lines composing the tercet following the three groups just mentioned. The *canzone* of Bindo Bonichi consists of five strophes, each having a repeated phrase, which occurs at the beginning of every fourth line of the sixteen verses composing the strophe. The repeated phrase of the first strophe is *Guai a*, that of the second *Grave è*, that of the third *Foll' è*, that of the fourth *Sagg' è*, and in the fifth all four of these phrases are repeated just as *Vedea*, *O*, and *Mostrava* are repeated in a single tercet by Dante.²²

OLIVER M. JOHNSTON.

²² For examples of repetition in Old French, compare Paris, *Extraits de la Chanson de Roland*, p. xxxix; Gröber, *Zeitschrift*, VI, pp. 492-500; A. Nordfeld, *Les Couplets similaires dans la vieille épopée française*, Stockholm, 1893; Geddes, *La Chanson de Roland*, New York, 1906, p. LXI.

XXIV.—THE ORGANIC UNITY OF *TWELFTH NIGHT*

There is no agreement among Shakespearian critics with regard to the organic unity of *Twelfth Night*. Dr. Furnivall in one place believes that "the leading note of the play is fun."¹ In another place he says less aptly that "the lesson is, sweet are the uses of adversity."² Morton Luce records his "impression that the perfect unity of *Twelfth Night* lies in the wise good humor that pervades the play."³ Schlegel is representative of a group of critics who believe that "love regarded as an affair of the imagination rather than of the heart, is the fundamental theme running through all the variations of the play."⁴ Most commentators, however, have agreed that the leading thought of this play may be discovered in its title; that the words *Twelfth Night, or What You Will*, are themselves the key-note of the play; that Shakespeare's first thought was to provide a comedy suitable for the festival. No one of these critics has thought that an organic idea has been more than incidental in this creation of pure mirth. So purely comic are its scenes, and so entirely sufficient are all of its incidents, that critics have not gone behind its gay life to look for an underlying moral law.

But such a moral law does exist as the fundamental idea of the play. *Twelfth Night* is a philosophical defence of a moderate indulgence in pleasure, in opposition on the one hand to an extreme hostility to pleasure and on

¹ *Twelfth Night*. Ed. by Morton Luce. P. xxxiv (foot-notes).

² *Ibid.*

³ *Twelfth Night*. Ed. by Morton Luce, p. xxix.

⁴ Brandes, *Shakespeare*, vol. 1, p. 273.

the other hand to an extreme self-indulgence. Of the two extremes, the course of life that would banish all indulgence is emphasized as the more objectionable. In contrast to both, wise moderation is held up as the course to follow.

In opposing the extreme of excessive austerity Shakespeare is taking up cudgels for the stage in its struggle against the puritans; for the dramatists and the puritans fell out about the question of pleasure and pastime. The puritans in Shakespeare's day were permitting less and less of pleasure in their own lives, and in the lives of those about them. In this endeavor they were turning away from "stage-plays" as one of the chief purveyors to the people's pleasure. So little recreation, indeed, did they allow in their own life of discipline that their enemies accused them of banishing all recreation.

Stephen Gosson in his *Apology of the School of Abuse*,⁵ contended that the puritans did not banish recreation. However, recreation meant one thing to the dramatists and another and entirely different thing to the puritans. Puritans allowed as recreation, "food, sleep, change of labour, music, conference with holy men, reading Fox, the Bible, and doing problems."⁶ To the puritans it was strictly re-creation, "signifying to refresh either the body or the mind . . . when wearied, or spent in the employment of men's lawful callings, to the end that men recreated and refreshed, may cheerfully return to their lawful callings again, and therein serve God faithfully."⁷ To the man of the renaissance, with his love of imaginative

⁵ *An Apologie of the Schools of Abuse*: Arber Reprint edition, p. 72.

⁶ *A Short Treatise against Stage Playes* (1625), p. 241. In *English Drama and Stage* (Rox. Lib. 1869).

⁷ *A Short Treatise against Stage Playes* (1625), pp. 240, 241.

freedom and of pagan latitude, this definition of a recreation leading to asceticism was entirely repellent.

The puritan's aversion to pleasure did not cease with his withdrawing of himself from pastimes and plays. He strove to make it impossible for others to enjoy what he thought a sin. It was not enough that, being virtuous, he did not care for cakes and ale, and ginger hot in the mouth; he was determined that others enjoying these things of the flesh should join him in giving them up, if not of their own free will, then by force of legislation or of arms. As a result the puritans stood out prominently and disagreeably in the mind of the average man of the street in Shakespeare's day, for their hostile attitude towards pleasure, and their zeal in trying to force their opinion upon others.

To the dramatist the name of puritan was, therefore, anathema; and he savagely attacked him in his most effective way. On every stage he held him up to scorn as a man who merely affected holiness. This he gave out to be the real puritan. In these attacks he presented the puritan condemning all pastimes, not that the puritan might grow strong by righteous living, but that he might enjoy the good opinion of others for a piety which in reality he did not possess. In short the dramatist made the puritan out to be a religious hypocrite: to the world a strict observer of religious forms, but at heart a self-seeker.

William Prynne in 1633, reviewing the dramatist's hostility to his fellow puritans, said rightly that in their plays puritans were represented as either "hypocrites, fools, or furious mad-ones." Such indeed might be a general description of the puritans that Jonson, Marston, and Chapman give us in their plays. Zeal-of-the-Land Busy in *Bartholomew Fair* and Deacon Ananias in *The*

Alchemist well correspond to Prynne's description of the dramatist's attack upon the puritan.

The puritan as he appears in the plays of the Elizabethan dramatists meets no mercy. He is created for the purpose of derision. After he has been given an opportunity to display his churlish parts in denouncing vices, he is quickly revealed the hypocrite in word and deed, while the degree of his back-sliding is proportioned to his earlier pretence of virtue. As a result his disgrace at the end of the play is as satisfying to his enemies as it is humiliating to himself.

Shakespeare's method of attacking the puritans, however, is far less obvious than that of his fellow dramatists. By some he has even been thought to pass over with indifference the dispute of the theatre with the puritans. His infrequent mention of puritans lends appearance to this view, as does the fact that in his dramas we find only infrequent, and then only obscured, satire of puritan costume, speech, and manner. However, he does take part in the dispute, but in his distinctive way. *Measure for Measure* is characteristic of Shakespeare's method of attacking the enemy of the stage. In it he elevates his criticism of the religious reformers of the day from the level of personal satire and abuse to a higher plane of philosophical discussion. Angelo in this play is a scathing denunciation of a hypocrite who in his abuse of power falls from heights of severe virtue to gross sin.

In *Twelfth Night* certain factors have obscured the organic unity that is behind the spontaneous and satisfying mirth of the play. The fact that Shakespeare's art is romantic and not realistic, has hidden the underlying purpose of the play behind its story of love at cross purposes. Another fact that contributes to make our understanding of the play less complete is our re-

moval from the thought of the day for which the play was written. There is no doubt that in this as in Shakespeare's other plays there is a large body of ideas, facts, and sentiments which the author could presuppose on the part of his audience, but which we have to reconstruct with the assistance of notes and comments, so far as we are able to reconstruct them at all. The theme of *Twelfth Night*, closely related as I believe that it is to the actual thought of the day, required less explanation at that time than it requires now. Malvolio's dress, his starched gait, his close cut hair, his nasal intonation of voice, told the Elizabethan audience what has frequently been doubted by critics since that time, that Malvolio was none other than a puritan.

The organic idea quickening and giving life to *Twelfth Night* was born of the strife of Shakespeare's day. Written at a time when the renaissance and the reformation had come in England to the parting of the ways, *Twelfth Night* bears testimony of the influence of these contending currents of freedom and of restraint. Society was at variance with itself; and in the excitement of political and religious strife, extremes of every kind were championed. The puritan party was rallying to the defense of an extreme virtue; and against them were arrayed all the elements of society that held either other ideals or no ideals at all. It was no time for dispassionate judgment to assert itself. A judicious Hooker was at this time as rare as he was influential. Well-balanced natures that could at the same time feel deeply and judge rightly were conspicuously infrequent.

There was in the controversial puritan writing of the time as in the writing of their opponents, especially at the beginning of the dispute, the attempt to insist upon moderation in everything in life. In and out of the drama is

heard the plea for moderation, measure, a mean in all things; it is pointed out repeatedly that nature tolerates nothing in extreme degree. At first both puritans and their enemies allowed the use, but disallowed the abuse. The middle ground of things that were "indifferent," however, grew smaller to the puritans as the years advanced; and forms and ceremonies, recreations and diversions, that at one time were allowed, were gradually added to the list of forbidden things. The moderate middle ground upon which the man of the renaissance could meet and enjoy the reformed protestant became finally too small to stand upon; and the sweet uses of philosophy and of reasonableness gave way to party strife and prejudice.

The well balanced life, although an ideal that in theory hovered before the eyes of both dramatists and puritans, gave way in the heat of persecution and of hatred to passion; and as a result the followers of the reformation found an ever-increasing gulf forming between themselves and the men of the new learning. "Tell many of these men of the Scripture," says an ardent follower of the reformation, in speaking of the true sons of the renaissance, "they will scoff and turn it into a jest. Rebuke them for breaking the Sabbath day, they will say, you are a man of the Sabbath, you are very precise, you will allow us nothing, you will have nothing but the word of God; you will permit us no recreation, but have men like asses, who never rest but when they are eating."⁸

The correction of the abuse alone did not satisfy the cry for reform, but because this or that practice was not found mentioned in Holy Scripture, it should, therefore, the reformer maintained, be taken away. The determination of the puritans to follow every action of Christ's

⁸ *A Short Treatise against Stage Playes* (1625), pp. 240, 241.

(and no other's) as nearly as they were able ("omnis Christi actio nostra est instructio"),⁹ left no common standing ground upon which the pleasure seeker of the theatre and the sterner abstainer from pleasure could meet. The lack of balance, of moderation, on the part of the reformers, caused the friends of the arts to plead in vain that because of the abuse, the use should not be denied. "But what!" Sir Philip Sidney exclaims in defending poetry against its defamers, "Shall the abuse of a thing, make the right use odious?"¹⁰

Shakespeare, one of the sanest men that ever lived, viewed the struggles about him with a calmness that refused to allow him to become a partisan on either side. When the reformers were sweeping aside all pastime, and their opponents in reaction were sinking to new follies in their opposition, Shakspeare composed *Twelfth Night* in praise of the much-needed, well-balanced nature, to extoll that happy union of judgment and of feeling which is the basis of a higher sanity. He does this so deftly, with so little intrusion of his purpose in other than the most perfect dramatic form, that we of another time, removed from the strife of the puritan age, enjoy the result without realizing the purpose behind the finished production. Only the figure of Malvolio stands out in his hostility to all forms of amusement, to remind us that he is Shakespeare's contribution to the portraits of those enemies of art and of life in its fullest development, which aroused the Elizabethan dramatists to energetic and continued opposition.

The problem of life as Shakespeare saw it, and reveals it to us in this play, is basic; far greater than that of any group or sect of persons. It is the conflict in human nature between the reason and the emotions; and he sug-

⁹ Stubbes, *Anatomic of Abuses*, p. 111.

¹⁰ *Defense of Poesy*. Ed. by A. S. Cook (1890), p. 36.

gests to us in the perfect sanity of Viola and of Feste that the solution lies not in the exclusion of the one or the other, but in the union of the two. In two groups of characters in the play he presents to us the evil results of following, to the exclusion of the other, either reason or emotion. In the self-conceited Malvolio and the strict Olivia he gives us representatives of those reformers of his day who, ignoring the moderate, gravitate to an extreme course of life in which reason is exalted to the exclusion of the emotions. Similarly, in Sir Andrew and Sir Toby, the other extreme from a well-ordered life is represented, one in which pleasure and folly make up the whole existence of man.

Edmund Spenser, in the second canto of the second book of the *Fairie Queene*, which is devoted to the virtue of temperance, gives us in allegorical narrative form what Shakespeare is giving us in *Twelfth Night* in dramatic form. There we are shown "the face of golden Mean," whom "her sisters, two extremities, strive to banish clean." These three sisters correspond to the three divisions that may be made of the important characters of *Twelfth Night*. Of the three sisters, Medina, or Golden Mean, is opposed on the one hand to Elissa, melancholy and unfriendly to good cheer; and on the other hand to the young Perissa, "full of disport still laughing, loosly light."

Betwixt them both the fair Medina sate,
With sober grace and goodly carriage;
With equal measure she did moderate
The strong extremities of their outrage.
The forward pair she ever would assuage
When they would strive due reason to exceed.

Malvolio and Olivia in *Twelfth Night* may be said to correspond to Elissa who "with bent lowering brows, as she would threat, she scould and frownd with froward

countenance." Similarly Andrew Aguecheek and Orsino correspond to Perissa, the other sister, in whom is embodied the opposite extreme:

No measure in her mood, no rule of right,
But poured out in pleasure and delight;
In wine and meats she flowed above the bank,
And in excess exceeded her own might.

In Feste and Viola, we have the golden mean of the play. The description of Medina by Spenser might well describe Viola:

Ne in her speech, ne in her havior,
Was lightness seen or looser vanity,
But gracious womanhood and gravity,
Above the reason of her youthly years.

There is general agreement among critics with regard to the excellence and the sanity of the characters of Viola and Feste. To them Shakespeare has given self-control and a penetration that guide them in their course of life, without exposing them to the extreme either of folly or of austerity. They represent the golden mean of temperance, in whom reason and emotion are at poise.

The affection that Shakespeare has for Viola, who with Feste shares the distinction of standing between the "lighter people" and "the prudent ones," is clear. It is she to whom Shakespeare gives his own thoughts when she defends Feste's fooling, condemned by both Malvolio and Olivia:

This fellow is wise enough to play the fool,
And to do that well, craves a kind of wit;
He must observe their mood upon whom he jests,
The quality of person and the time:

.
This is a practice
As full of labour as a wise man's art:

In another place Viola shows a sense of proportion in rating sins, that we neither expect nor find in Malvolio or Olivia.

I hate ingratitude more in a man
Than lying, vainness, babling, drunkenness,
Or any taint of vice, whose strong corruption
Inhabits our frail blood.

III, 4.

But this ability to see and to think clearly, and to control her affections when necessary, was Viola's part in Shakespeare's plan of the play. As a further result of her well-balanced character, the plan of the play rewards her with the husband of her choice, while Orsino and Olivia are defeated in the aims of their affections. Similarly Feste in the sub-plot does not meet disappointment as do Andrew and Malvolio, but remains the happy son of mirth, to whom Shakespeare has given in goodly measure his own penetration into the motives of others.

In the persons of Orsino and Sir Andrew we have characters that are accepted as examples, in different degrees, of ungoverned natures. Orsino has surrendered himself entirely to his passion for Olivia, that will "bide no deny." No check of reason holds him back from his extravagance of love; and when count is taken at the end, his suit for the hand of Olivia is no more successful than that of the witless Sir Andrew, who has wasted his time in "fencing, dancing, and bear-baiting." So far as they are shown to us they have acted without reference to the guidance of reason; and are the products of their surrender to their unchecked inclinations.

With Sir Andrew may be included Sir Toby, Maria, and Fabian, as representatives of the extreme of mirth and frivolity. Andrew is in the fore-rank of these "lighter people." He is closely followed, however, by Sir Toby,

who will not hear of a song of "good-life," but clamors for a "love-song," which has as its theme the present enjoyment of life—

For in delay there lies no plenty,
Present mirth has present laughter,
What's to come is still unsure.

II, 3.

On the same occasion it is Sir Andrew who gives utterance to his belief that life consists not of the four elements, but rather of eating and drinking; and for this sentiment he is proclaimed by Sir Toby, to the accompaniment of a call for wine, no less than a scholar.

The character of Olivia is open to no misunderstanding. She is the most impulsive of the whole impulsive group; nor do we feel the smallest surprise when her exaggerated grief gives sudden place to exaggerated passion. With regard to grouping her with Malvolio, however, it is important to dwell upon her determination to spend seven years in mourning. Her actions and words ally her with "her sad and civil steward," who suits so well with her fortunes. Her nature and his agree in looking upon life with severity. Her austere attitude is natural to her, so that it is not solely because of the recent death of her brother that she hath abjured the company and the sight of men. Until her distracting frenzy for Cesario seizes upon her, she not only rules pleasure out of her own life but regulates the life of her household with severity. The reproofs that she administers to Feste and to Cesario, upon her first visit, reveal her a stern governess of her household. "She has no folly," as the Clown says of her. Her whole endeavor is concentrated upon a rule of reform that will either separate Sir Toby and the other members of her household from their disorders, or else dismiss them from her house.

It is to this model of virtue that comes the distracting

frenzy of falling in love with Viola disguised as a messenger from Orsino. Her self-discipline does not save her from the folly of loving Viola madly in spite of her resolution not to admit the suit of man. She is conscious of her revolt from her standard of reason and refers to it several times:

There is something in me that reproves my fault
But such a headstrong potent fault it is,
That it but mocks reproof.

III, 4.

I love thee so, that maugre all thy pride,
Nor wit nor reason can my passion hide.

III, 1.

Olivia is only one of a number of examples that Shakespeare gives us in his plays, to show the futility of the aims of those who would be wiser than nature; and seek, in ruling out of life the emotions, to exalt the single standard of reason to supreme importance.

Malvolio shares with Olivia the distinction of representing the extreme of austerity, and is similarly brought to see his error. The placing of Olivia and Malvolio in the centre of the plot interest, points to Shakespeare's intention in this play of emphasizing the inability of the puritans to rule out of life pleasure and pastime.

Those critics who have found Malvolio's punishment¹¹ both coarse and excessive have failed to conceive Malvolio as the hypocrite that Shakespeare intended him to be. This was the Elizabethan dramatist's usual denunciation of the puritans who ordered their life after Malvolio's

¹¹T. Kenny (1864). Furness, *Twelfth Night*, p. 382: "There is nothing in his conduct to justify the unscrupulous persecution of his tormentors."

Wm. Archer, in Furness, *Twelfth Night*, p. 399: "Punishment excessive to the point of barbarity."

principles. It is Maria, Olivia's handmaid, who reveals him to us. She knows from frequent observation both what he is and what he is not. He is not as he seems, a genuinely pious man. It is only sometimes that he is a kind of a puritan. His puritanism is a pose that he adopts to advance himself at this time when with his mistress puritanical mannerisms are in favor. He affects it all. The show of wisdom and of gravity that he puts on, he learns from books. He is not what he appears, a grave and sedate man of virtue, acting from the conviction of his inner spirit, zealous in the truth, and therefore not suffering any vice to go unrepended in Olivia's house. At heart he is very different, as Maria tells us, from that which he appears to be. He is not humble in spirit; but proud and arrogant to those below him. He is the best persuaded of himself, so crammed, as he thinks, with excellences, that it is his ground of faith that all who look upon him love him.

A complete antithesis exists between his ground of faith and that of the true Christian of the day, who, wishing to make more sincere his expression of love to God and man, had given to him, in derision at first, the name of puritan. Maria's exposition of Malvolio's ground of faith as self-love marks him off in spirit from the part he acts, and classes him as a hypocrite.

The inconsistencies in Malvolio's character that Mr. Archer and other critics ¹² have noted and have attributed to Shakespeare's incomplete mastery in the delineation of Olivia's steward, are not defects, but the natural inconsistencies that would arise in such a conflict between the real Malvolio and the part that he is acting.

It is probable that to the audience of his day, Malvolio

¹² Furness, *Twelfth Night*, pp. 399, 400.

appeared as a designing steward, who hoped to win his lady's favor by playing the puritan in her household. Feste had a shrewd suspicion of his motive when he wished him a "speedy infirmity for the better increasing his folly." Maria also saw through him. She based her plot of the letter on this weakness. Finally we hear Malvolio confessing in secret that his thoughts are upon the days when he shall be Count Malvolio by reason of marriage to his lady. If we keep this motive of his in mind, and measure his desire to please Olivia accordingly, there will arise no doubt in our mind as to whether his punishment is excessive.

In the presence of Olivia and of others he may feign a humbleness, but there is no genuine humility in Malvolio's make-up. When alone, in thinking of the favor his mistress shows him, "contemplation makes a rare turkey-cock of him" and "he jets under his advanced plumes." And later he shows his inner self by believing the passages of impossible grossness in the letter with their appeal to his enormous self-conceit. Besides being encouraged in the letter to make love to Olivia, he is urged to cast his humble slough, and appear fresh, to be opposite with a kinsman, surly with servants. He is commanded to let his tongue tang with arguments of state and to put himself into the trick of singularity.

No order could be more welcome to Malvolio, whose thoughts are constantly on "state" and on the acquiring of power. "This is open," he exclaims with delight upon receiving the command, "I will be proud, I will read politick authors, I will baffle Sir Toby, I will wash off gross acquaintance, I will be point devise the very man. I will be strange, stout, in yellow stockings and cross-gartered, even with the swiftness of putting on." And he is

"strange" and "stout" when he comes to Olivia in yellow stockings. With ridiculous boldness in his lady's presence, he answers Maria with, "Shall nightingales answer daws?" And later, when given over to the care of Sir Toby, he is both surly with servants and opposite with a kinsman. Here it is that he revels according to his nature in disdain and arrogance, "Go hang yourselves all, you are idle, shallow things; I am not of your element; you shall know more hereafter."

If further proof were needed to mark off Malvolio and Olivia as of "the prudent ones," a formidable list of qualities and practices objectionable to them might be compiled, in which together they shared their disapproval with other puritans. In such a list would be included health-drinking, drunkenness, quarrelling, bear-baiting, fencing, bad manners, dancing, evil company, mis-spending time, poetry, plays, idle compliment, untruths, idleness, jesting, pranks, boldness, oaths, lack of regard for proper place and proper time, singing, disorderly conduct, staying out late at night, feasting, music, discourtesy, disrespect of persons, folly, fashionable dress, shallowness. The sure hand of the master dramatist has touched Malvolio's and Olivia's dislike of these habits lightly, but sufficiently to score his points with an audience alive to the significance of each touch. In forming our opinion of Olivia and of Malvolio with regard to this list, it is well to keep in mind that in an age of greater license than our own, some of the habits objected to by Malvolio, such as excessive drinking, bear-baiting and oaths, which are offensive to us, were not objectionable to most people.

At the end of *Twelfth Night* is a song sung by Feste that is thought by some to be full of wisdom and by others to be hardly intelligible. The refrain to each couplet omitted, the words of the song are as follows:

When that I was and a little tiny boy,
A foolish thing was but a toy.

But when I came to man's estate,
Gainst Knaves and Thieves men shut their gate.

But when I came alas to wive,
By swaggering could I never thrive.

But when I came unto my beds,
With tosspots still had drunken heads.

A great while ago the world begun,
But that's all one, our play is done,
And we'll strive to please you every day.

In these words we have Feste touching lightly upon the fundamental idea of the play. Experience, coming to him with man's estate, has taught him the difference between men who are knaves and men who are not. The third and fourth stanzas of his song give his division of knaves into two classes, representatives of each of which he finds in his fellows of the sub-plot. Malvolio, who by swaggering tries to thrive in his suit for Olivia's hand, is his reference to the one class; and Sir Toby, Olivia's drunken cousin, and his foolish dupe Sir Andrew Aguecheek, whom canary has put down, are the point of his allusion to the tosspots, who go to bed with drunken heads. This division of knaves by Feste is his reference to the followers of the two extremes in the play. Experience has taught him that against both "men shut their gates."

"A great while ago the world begun," he adds. This matter of good and evil is as old as the world, is his thought. You have seen the folly of the fools, and the disappointments that they have reaped from their folly. "But that's all one, the play is done, we will strive to please you every day."

Thus it is that Feste, the wise discerner of motives

throughout the play, gives us in this his song, and the last words of the comedy, assistance in penetrating to its fundamental idea; and in so doing adds his word to the support of the theory that Shakespeare in *Twelfth Night* scorns the folly of extremes, and holds up to high praise the mean that we term golden.

MORRIS P. TILLEY.

APPENDIX

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL
MEETING OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
A JOINT MEETING WITH
THE AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION,
HELD UNDER THE AUSPICES OF
HARVARD UNIVERSITY, AT CAMBRIDGE, MASS.,
DECEMBER 29, 30, 31, 1913,
AND OF THE
NINETEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CENTRAL
DIVISION OF THE ASSOCIATION,
HELD UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI, AT CINCINNATI, OHIO,
ON THE SAME DAYS.

THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION

The thirty-first annual meeting of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, a joint meeting with the AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, was held under the auspices of Harvard University, at Cambridge, Mass., December 29, 30, 31, 1913, in accordance with the following invitation:

HARVARD UNIVERSITY,
CAMBRIDGE.

DECEMBER, 17, 1912.

Dear Mr. Howard:

I write to say that if there is any chance of the Modern Language Association of America meeting in Cambridge and Boston a year hence, I hope you will extend a most cordial invitation to them on behalf of Harvard University.

Very truly yours,

A. LAWRENCE LOWELL.

PROFESSOR W. G. HOWARD.

All sessions of both Associations were held in Emerson Hall.

FIRST SESSION OF THE M. L. A., MONDAY, DECEMBER 29

The meeting was called to order by Professor Alexander R. Hohlfeld, President of the Association, at 2.50 p. m.

The Secretary of the Association, Professor W. G. Howard, presented as his report volume xxviii of the *Publications* of the Association, including the *Proceedings* of the last annual meeting; and the report was unanimously accepted.

The Treasurer of the Association, Professor Karl Young, presented the following report:

A. CURRENT RECEITS AND EXPENDITURES

RECEITS

Balance on hand, December 20, 1912,	-	-	-	-	\$ 634 15
From Members for 1906,	-	-		\$ 3 00	
“ “ “ 1907,	-	-		3 00	
“ “ “ 1908,	-	-		3 00	
“ “ “ 1909,	-	-		6 00	
“ “ “ 1910,	-	-		12 00	
“ “ “ 1911,	-	-		74 00	
“ “ “ 1912,	-	-		294 00	
“ “ “ 1913,	-	-		2,830 50	
“ “ “ 1914,	-	-		48 10	
From Members, for Life Membership, on behalf of the Trustees of the Permanent Fund,	-	-		100 00	
				<hr/>	\$3,373 60
From Libraries, for Vol. XXVI,	-	\$	2 70		
“ “ “ “ XXVII,	-		27 00		
“ “ “ “ XXVIII,			178 20		
“ “ “ “ XXIX,	-		65 80		
			<hr/>		\$ 273 70
For Publications, Vols. VIII-XX,	-	\$	120 94		
“ “ “ XXI,	-		10 20		
“ “ “ XXII,	-		6 75		
“ “ “ XXIII,	-		5 40		
“ “ “ XXIV,	-		6 30		
“ “ “ XXV,	-		10 00		
“ “ “ XXVI,	-		10 00		
“ “ “ XXVII,	-		21 35		
“ “ “ XXVIII,	-		63 55		
“ “ “ Miscellaneous,	-		36 80		
			<hr/>		\$ 291 29
For Reprints, Vol. XXVIII,	-	-	-	15 00	
From Advertisers, Vol. XXVII,	-	\$	157 50		
“ “ “ XXVIII,	-		37 50		
			<hr/>		\$ 195 00
Interest, Bank of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.,				44 72	
				<hr/>	\$4,193 31
					<hr/>
					\$4,827 46
					<hr/>

PROCEEDINGS FOR 1913

V

EXPENDITURES

To Secretary, for Salary, - - -	\$ 400 00	
“ “ “ Stationery and		
Printing, - -	42 63	
“ “ “ Postage and Ex-		
pressage, - -	22 90	
	<hr/>	\$ 465 53
To Secretary, Central Division, for		
Salary, - -	\$ 100 00	
“ “ Expenses, - -	91 34	
	<hr/>	\$191 34
To Treasurer, for Salary, - - -	\$ 200 00	
“ “ “ Stationery and		
Printing, - -	15 55	
“ “ “ Postage and Ex-		
pressage, - -	83 84	
“ “ “ Clerical services, -	17 85	
“ Treasurer’s Assistant, for Salary,	50 00	
“ “ “ Expenses, -	50 10	
	<hr/>	\$ 417 34
For Printing <i>Publications</i> ,		
Vol. XXVIII, No. 1, - -	\$ 677 67	
“ XXVIII, No. 2, - -	611 23	
“ XXVIII, No. 3, - -	672 11	
	<hr/>	\$1,961 01
For Reprinting <i>Publications</i> ,		
Old Series, Vols. I and II, - - -	\$ 215 50	
For Printing and Mailing Program,		
31st Annual Meeting, - - -	163 50	
To Committee of Central Division on Prepara-		
tion of College Teachers of English, -	21 10	
To Committee of Central Division on Simplified		
Spelling, - - - - -	21 00	
For Purchase of <i>Publications</i> , - - -	72 24	
Transferred to Permanent Fund, - - -	100 00	
Exchange, - - - - -	2 30	
	<hr/>	\$3,630 86
Balance on hand, December 22, 1913, - -		1,196 60
		<hr/>
		\$4,827 46
		<hr/>

B. INVESTED FUNDS

Bright Fund (Eutaw Savings Bank,
Baltimore),

Principal, December 20, 1912, - \$1,668 45

Interest, April 1, 1913, - - 74 93

————— \$1,743 38

von Jagemann Fund (Cambridge Savings Bank),

Principal, December 20, 1912, - \$1,157 52

Interest, January 23, 1913, - 23 14

Interest, July 24, 1913, - - 23 60

————— 1,204 26

————— \$2,947 64

The President of the Association appointed the following committees:

(1) To audit the Treasurer's report: Professors H. E. Greene, E. H. Mensel, and J. D. Bruce.

(2) To nominate officers: Professors Gustav Gruener, E. C. Armstrong, and C. F. Brown.

To test the feeling of the meeting the Secretary asked for a vote on the following proposition:

Resolved: that this meeting favors the holding of a Union Meeting in 1914 and the holding of an annual meeting of the Association at San Francisco in the summer of 1915.

There were no votes in the affirmative.

On motion of the Secretary it was

Voted: that the Executive Council be authorized to appoint a delegate or delegates to the Conference of Teachers of English at Stratford-upon-Avon in the first week of August, 1914.

On behalf of Professor E. M. Hopkins, *Chairman*, the Secretary offered to those interested copies of a *Report on the Cost and Labor of English Teaching* by a Committee

of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America and the National Council of Teachers of English, and conveyed to the meeting Professor Hopkins's invitation to all members of the Association to apply to him for additional copies.

The Secretary read the following letter:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
Bureau of Education
WASHINGTON

December 26, 1913.

Mr. W. G. HOWARD,
Secretary, Modern Language Association of America,
Cambridge, Massachusetts.

My dear Mr. Howard:

May I ask that you will kindly give to the members of the Modern Language Association of America the greetings of the United States Bureau of Education and my hearty good wishes for a most pleasant and profitable meeting. Will you also assure them that it will give us great pleasure to serve them in any way we can at any time.

Yours sincerely,

P. P. CLAXTON,
Commissioner.

This letter was gratefully acknowledged.

The reading of papers was then begun.

1. "Bishop Las Casas and the Rise of the Myth of the Noble Indian." By Professor Camillo von Klenze, of Brown University.

[The discoverers of America, like Columbus and Vespucci, and other travelers to the new continent in the 15th and 16th centuries, like Magellan, Staden, Thevet, Ulrich Schmidt, etc., describe the natives sometimes as kindly, sometimes as savage. They have no thesis to prove. Several writers, however, like Oviedo (1535), Gomara (1553), and others, in order to extenuate the Spanish atro-

cities in Central and South America, make the Indian the embodiment of all that is savage and bestial. Such injustis, added to the unutterable cruelties inflicted on the aborigines, evoked the protest of the Spanish Bishop Las Casas and caused him to spend his life in the attempt to alleviate the sufferings of the defenseless natives. His pamphlet, *Brevissima relacion de la destruycion de las Indias* (1552), is an eloquent vindication of the gentle and kindly Indian whom Spanish selfishness had wittingly misrepresented. The book was taken up with almost incredible avidity by the enemies of Spain and of Catholicism—and their name was legion—in the 16th and 17th centuries. Over forty editions appeared in seven languages, in the Netherlands, in France, in Germany, in England, and in Italy. The introductions to these translations reflect the great political and theological struggles of the age of the Counter-Reformation and of dawning Toleration. Other writers soon folloed. So the Milanese Benzoni, Englishmen like Francis Drake and Walter Raleigh, and especially the half-breed Garcillasso de la Vega, whose voluminous *Commentarios reales* (Lisbon, 1609) add grandeur and dignity to the picture of the innocent and noble Indian of Las Casas. Thus, before the opening of Canada in the second half of the 17th century, the way had been thoroly prepared for an enthusiastic reception of the North-American Indian who was destined to play so powerful a part in the imagination of Europe.—*Twenty-five minutes.*]

2. "Emerson et Montaigne." By Professor Régis Michaud, of Princeton University.

[L'essai d'Emerson sur Montaigne, dans ses *Representative Men*, constitue un chapitre important de l'histoire de l'influence de Montaigne à l'étranger. Par une comparaison suivie de certains passages du *Journal* d'Emerson récemment publié, de ses essais et d'une édition de Montaigne annotée par Emerson lui-même, l'auteur de ce rapport précisait l'étendue de la dette d'Emerson envers Montaigne. Il attribuait à Montaigne 1) une influence directe sur certains dates critiques de la vie de pensée d'Emerson, 2) la doctrine essentielle de certains essais sur l'amitié, les livres, l'histoire, l'éducation, 3) la philosophie des héros, 4) le scepticisme relatif d'Emerson et ce qu'il nomme sa "gaie science." L'auteur finissait par une critique du portrait de Montaigne tel que le donne Emerson dans les *Representative Men*.—*Twenty-five minutes.*]

3. "Goethe as viewed by Emerson." By Dr. Frederick A. Braun, of Princeton University.

[The esteem in which Emerson is held as one of our foremost thinkers and the growing sentiment that he is the most representative American poet lend increasing interest to his relation to the great literary men of Europe. The present study treated of Emerson's diverse attitudes toward Goethe and sought to throw new light on them from sources hitherto unused and but little known.—*Twenty minutes.*]

4. "The History of the *Letters of Abelard and Heloise.*" By Dr. Charlotte E. Morgan, of Mrs. Randall-McIver's Classes.

[The purpose of the paper was twofold: in the first place, it traced the history of the *Letters* from the first printed edition, in 1616, to date, and showed how the changes introduced in the French versions of the seventeenth century, and retained in the English versions to this day, were due to direct imitation of *The Letters of a Portuguese Nun*; in the second place, it indicated the known facts concerning Abelard and Heloise from their time to 1616, and the problems presented—the lateness of the manuscript, 1359 or later, the lack of contemporary reference to the letters, or to the romance, the renown of both in the time of Jean de Meung; and finally it suggested questions pertinent to the further investigation of the authenticity of some or all of the *Letters.*—*Ten minutes.*]

This paper was discussed by Professor W. H. Hulme.

5. "A Twelfth-Century Vision of the Other World." By Dr. H. W. L. Dana, of Columbia University.

[An account of a hitherto unpublished *Vision*, found in a manuscript of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris. The *Vision* seems to have been written by a Cistercian Monk at the end of the 12th century. It describes the departure of a monk's soul from his body; his visit to the regions of Purgatory, the mouth of Hell, the throne of God, etc.; and his return to the body. The relation of this *Vision* to other Medieval Vision Literature and to Dante's *Divine Comedy.*—*Twenty-five minutes.*]

6. "Notes on Dante's Gianni Schicchi and a Few Parallels." By Mr. Rudolph Altrocchi, of Harvard University.

[The episode of Gianni Schicchi as given by early Dante commen-

tators. Conjectures on its origin. Two parallels in the Italian *Novella*. The same story dramatized by Regnard. His supposed sources, and two imitators. The story as it appears in a French and in an English novel of the middle of the nineteenth century. Possible relations between these various forms.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

At eight o'clock in the evening of Monday, December 29, members of both Associations assembled in Emerson Hall, Professor A. R. Hohlfeld in the chair. In the name of President Lowell they were welcomed to Harvard University by Professor George Herbert Palmer. Thereupon an address was delivered by Professor Harold N. Fowler, of Western Reserve University, President of the American Philological Association, on "The Present and Future of Classical Studies in the United States."

After these addresses, members and guests of the Associations were received in The Harvard Union by Professor and Mrs. Herbert Weir Smyth and Professor and Mrs. George Lyman Kittredge, representing the Divisions of Ancient and Modern Languages of the Harvard Faculty of Arts and Sciences.

SECOND SESSION OF THE M. L. A., TUESDAY, DECEMBER 30

The session began at 9.55 a. m., Professor Kenneth McKenzie in the chair.

For the Trustees of the Permanent Fund Professor William Allan Neilson, *Managing Trustee*, reported that the amount of the fund on hand was \$6600., and the report was unanimously accepted.

For the Committee on the Reproduction of Early Texts Professor John William Cunliffe, *Chairman*, reported progress, and the report was unanimously accepted.

The reading of papers was then resumed.

7. "The American Dialect Dictionary." By Professor William Edward Mead, of Wesleyan University, Connecticut.

[The importance and the magnitude of the work of preparing an adequate American Dialect Dictionary are not generally appreciated, altho more than one tentative effort has been made to deal with the problem. But the completion within the past decade of the great English Dialect Dictionary emphasizes the value of dialectal survivals and makes it possible to measure in some degree the extent and the character of the work to be done in America. The problem is, however, far more complicated than in England, owing to the greater territory to be covered and the peculiar conditions of development on this side of the Atlantic. Obviously, the work can be done only by wide cooperation, and by the expenditure of considerable money. For a multitude of reasons it should be accomplished within the next few years if it is to be done at all. Delay involves irreparable loss.—*Twenty minutes.*]

This paper was discussed by Professor F. N. Scott.

8. "Is Shakespeare Aristocratic?" By Professor Albert H. Tolman, of the University of Chicago.

[The different conclusions of scholars upon this question. Why it was natural for Shakespeare to favor the crown and the nobility. The features of his work and the individual plays that seem distinctly anti-democratic. Those elements in Shakespeare and the particular plays which show sympathy for the plain people, an appreciation of lowly worth. Can we safely draw any conclusion concerning the poet's personal attitude? Shakespeare usually aristocratic in spirit, but also remarkably catholic. His sympathetic presentation of important ideas.—*Thirty-five minutes.*]

This paper was discussed by Professor W. H. Hulme.

9. "Typical American Folk-Songs." By Professor John A. Lomax, of the University of Texas.

[These folk-songs came from widely different sources throughout the country and from groups of people, usually living in isolation, who follow a variety of occupations.—*Fifty minutes.*]

During the reading of this paper, and to the end of the session, Professor A. H. Thorndike was in the chair.

10. "The Ballad and Tradition." By Professor Arthur Beatty, of the University of Wisconsin.

[The paper considered unsolved problems in the origin and diffusion of ballads, in the light of recent developments in anthropology, archeology, folklore and esthetics.—*Twenty-five minutes.*]

11. "Vowel Alliteration in Modern Poetry." By Professor Fred Newton Scott, of the University of Michigan.

[Vowel alliteration, tho slighted by prosodists, is a not inconsiderable element in modern English verse. It must be carefully distinguisht from tone color or "vowel music." Its peculiar effect is probably due to the glottal catch.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

At one o'clock on Tuesday, December 30, the members and gests of the two Associations wer entertained at luncheon by the President and Fellows of Harvard College at The Harvard Union.

From one to three o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday, December 30, Mrs. John L. Gardner of Boston admitted members of the Associations to her residence in Fenway Court, and gave them an opportunity to inspect her remarkable collection of works of art.

At two o'clock on Tuesday, December 30, there was a meeting of the CONCORDANCE SOCIETY.

JOINT SESSION

of the Modern Language Association and the American
Philological Association

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 30

The session began at 2.45 p. m., Professor A. R. Hohlfeld in the chair.

The reading of papers was continued.

12. "The Life and Work of Francis Andrew March." By Professor James W. Bright, of the Johns Hopkins University.

[An address in commemoration.—*Thirty minutes.*]

13. "The Witch Scene in Lucan." By Professor H. J. Rose, of McGill University.

[Not surprising to find a Stoic conversant with witchcraft. Elements of originality. Why Erichtho lives in the cuntry. Why she uses ded bodies. Reasons for this: the ded are poisonus; flesh more realistic than the wax doll; the ded hav a magnetic power over the living. The incantation: the thret to the Furies; the thret to tel the story of Persephone; magic power of the tale; the address to Pluto; an evil deity is addrest, probably Ahriman. Minor points.—*Twenty minutes.*]

14. "The Germanic Preterit." By Professor Eduard Prokosch, of the University of Texas.

[1. The Germanic preterit is not chiefly a perfect tense, but a contamination of perfect and aorist forms in which the latter largely prevail. 2. The plurals of the fourth and fifth ablaut classes ar pure aorist. 3. The sixth and seventh ablaut classes ar to be explaind on the basis of aorist presents.—*Twenty minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professor Hermann Collitz.

During the reading of this paper Professor C. D. Buck was in the chair. Thereafter Professor H. N. Fowler presided until the end of the session.

15. "The Harmonizing of Grammatical Nomenclature." By Professor Wm. Gardner Hale, of the University of Chicago.

[A Report of the Committee of Fifteen.—*Twenty minutes.*]

This report was discust by Professor C. H. Grandgent.

16. "An Especial Need of the Humanities in Democratic Education." By Mr. William Fenwick Harris, of Cambridge, Mass.

At the conclusion of this session there was a meeting of THE AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY.

At eight o'clock in the evening of Tuesday, December 30, members of both Associations assembled in Emerson Hall, Professor H. N. Fowler in the chair. Professor Alexander R. Hohlfeld, of the University of Wisconsin, President of the Modern Language Association, delivered an address on "Light from Goethe on Our Problems."

After the address by Professor Hohlfeld, ladies in attendance were received by Mrs. Herbert Weir Smyth, at her residence, 15 Elmwood Avenue.

After the address by Professor Hohlfeld, gentlemen in attendance were entertained by the Divisions of Ancient and Modern Languages of the Harvard Faculty of Arts and Sciences at a Smoker in The Harvard Club of Boston. An address was made by the Reverend Samuel M. Crothers, D. D., of Cambridge.

THIRD SESSION OF THE M. L. A., WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 31

The session began at 10 a. m., Professor A. R. Hohlfeld in the chair.

The Report of the Committee of Fifteen on the Harmonizing of Grammatical Nomenclature was presented for action. Professor C. H. Grandgent proposed two motions and one resolution. After discussion by Professors J. W. Bright, Hermann Collitz, W. A. Adams, Albert Schinz, W. G. Hale, C. E. Fay, F. N. Scott, G. L. Kittredge, Adolphe Cohn, and L. F. Mott, it was

Voted: (1) that the Report of the Committee of Fifteen, as pre-

sented by the Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature, be accepted, and that the Committee of Fifteen be discharged;

(2) that the Report of the Joint Committee be approved; that the present representation of our Association on that Committee be continued, and that our representatives be authorized to take, on our behalf, such action as may be necessary to complete the Report and to arrange for its publication; and that our Treasurer be authorized to contribute from the moneys of our Association such a sum as he may deem expedient, to cover our share of the expenses of the Committee; and

Resolved: that the Modern Language Association of America expresses to the Committee of Fifteen and to the Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature its gratitude for their long, arduous, and devoted service.

Professor H. E. Greene reporting for the Auditing Committee that the Treasurer's accounts were found correct, the Treasurer's Report was unanimously accepted.

Professor C. F. Kayser presented a resolution and a motion, and after discussion by Mr. W. B. Snow, Professors Hermann Collitz, Marian P. Whitney, J. W. Bright, Kenneth McKenzie, C. H. Handschin, and Dr. Clara L. Nicolay, it was

Resolved: that the proper collegiate training of young men and women who intend to teach modern foreign languages in secondary schools is a subject demanding immediate attention from the Modern Language Association of America; and

Voted: that a Committee of seven, whereof the chair shall be one, be appointed by the chair to consider the subject of the foregoing resolution and report at the next meeting of the Association.

For the Nominating Committee, Professor Gustav Gruener reported the following nominations:

President: Felix E. Schelling, University of Pennsylvania.

First Vice-President: Camillo von Klenze, Brown University.

Second Vice-President: Benjamin P. Bourland, Western Reserve University.

Third Vice-President: John S. P. Tatlock, University of Michigan.

The Secretary was instructed to cast one ballot for the gentlemen nominated, and they were declared unanimously elected to their several offices for the year 1914.

On motion of Professor G. L. Kittredge, seconded by Professor Adolphe Cohn, and assented to by the Secretary, it was

Voted: that the Secretary be requested to ascertain by postal card the wishes of the members as to the use of the co-called reformed spelling by the Association.

For Honorary Membership in the Association the Executive Council presented:

Francesco Flamini, University of Pisa,
Abel Lefranc, Collège de France,
Gustav Roethe, University of Berlin,
Edward Schroeder, University of Göttingen,
Francesca Torraca, University of Naples,

and they were unanimously elected Honorary Members.

On motion of Professor A. H. Tolman the following resolution was adopted by a rising vote:

We, the members of the Modern Language Association, express our hearty thanks to Harvard University, to Radcliffe College, to Professor George Herbert Palmer, to Professor and Mrs. Herbert Weir Smyth, to Professor and Mrs. George Lyman Kittredge, to Mrs. John L. Gardner, to the Reverend Samuel M. Crothers, to the officers of the Colonial Club, the Harvard Union, the Harvard Club of Boston, the University Club of Boston, and to the members and associates of the Local Committee, for the kind hospitality with which we have been welcomed.

[The thanks of the Association were subsequently conveyed to all of the persons and organizations mentioned.]

The reading of papers was then resumed.

17. "*Guy of Warwick* in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." By Dr. Ronald S. Crane, of Northwestern University.

[This paper aimed to throw light on the history of the medieval romances in England after the close of the Middle Ages by tracing from the days of the early printers to the end of the seventeenth century the fortunes of the story of *Guy of Warwick*. Shortly before 1500, one of the several existing versions of the Middle-English metrical romance of *Sir Guy* was printed by Richard Pynson. It went through several later editions, and up to about 1570 remained in circulation as the favorite, if not the only, version of the legend known to the public. It then seems to have fallen into neglect, partly perhaps as a result of the criticisms which assailed all the old romances in the latter half of the sixteenth century, partly as a result of the antiquated character of the language and versification. Interest in the story itself, however, survived; for between 1592 and 1640 there appeared no fewer than six fresh accounts of *Guy's* career—a ballad, three poems, and two plays. Of these by far the most important was Rowlands's poem, *The Famous History of Guy Earle of Warwick* (lic. 1608). Not only was it very widely read, but in the later seventeenth century it furnished the material for a second group of new versions of the legend, five prose chapbooks published between 1680 and 1706. In these chapbooks, the old medieval saga—now much altered by the addition of new episodes and the abridgment of the old ones—lived on through the eighteenth century.—*Twenty-five minutes.*]

18. "Comment faut-il étudier les Littératures du Moyen-Âge." By Professor Jean B. Beck, of the University of Illinois.

[Au moyen-âge, la production littéraire était intimement liée aux productions de l'art. "Ars" comprenait alors la théorie et la pratique. Distinction moderne entre art et science. Les résultats obtenus par la méthode analytique dans les nombreuses histoires littéraires ne paraissent pas généralement satisfaisants. Toute littérature morte doit être vivifiée par une méthode illustrée et synthétique, en vue de faire comprendre à l'étudiant la parfaite unité de la culture des arts et des lettres. Conditions particulières dans lesquelles se trouve l'étudiant américain par rapport à l'étudiant romaniste, germaniste ou angliciste en Europe.—*Twenty minutes.*]

19. "The Renaissance of Germanic Studies in England, 1559-1689." By Professor C. F. Tucker Brooke, of Yale University.

[A sketch of the revival of interest in Anglo-Saxon and other early Germanic languages from the investigations of Archbishop Parker and his secretaries to the appearance of the first Old English and Gothic Grammars by George Hickes.—*Twenty minutes.*]

20. "Chaucer and the Seven Deadly Sins." By Professor Frederick Tupper, of the University of Vermont.

[Because Gower's use in the *Confessio Amantis* attests the value of four of Chaucer's "Canterbury Tales" as *exempla* of the Deadly Sins and the aptness of others gives them like warrant, because in each of the stories that deal with the Sins Chaucer points at length the moral, because he assigns each of these narratives to a representative of the vice under rebuke, and, finally, because he closely links, by large plunderings of his own prose, the tales in question with the Parson's sermon against the Sins, the conclusion is reached that certain of the pilgrims illustrate in their persons, prologs, and tales the Deadly Seven, and that the Parson's tract is but the culmination of a long sustained *motif*.—The discovery of this *motif* imparts to some seven of the "Tales" a new interest as revelations of cardinal emotions, it vindicates the relevancy of sundry "moralities," hitherto deemed episodes, and it unmasks many instances of delightful irony.—*Twenty minutes.*]

21. "Four Hitherto Unidentified Letters by Alexander Pope, and new Light on the Famous Satire on Addison." By Professor M. Ellwood Smith, of Syracuse University.

[Current history still mistakes the date of first publication of Pope's *Atticus* passage. That this appeared in the *St. James's Journal* in 1722 has been pointed out, but not, it is believed, that the four letters to which these verses are appended were also by Pope. Yet many circumstances point to such conclusion. The evidence and motifs, Pope's responsibility for the publication, and the letters themselves as masterly examples of feigned adulation and veiled sarcasm, were considered.—*Twenty minutes.*]

FOURTH SESSION OF THE M. L. A., WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 31

The session began at 2.50 p. m., Professor Kenneth McKenzie in the chair.

The reading of papers was resumed.

22. "George Borrow in Spain." By Professor Rudolph L. Schevill, of the University of California.

[Some comments on Borrow's recently published Letters to the British and Foreign Bible Society. A large portion of these letters was not included in *The Bible in Spain*, and permits us to add a few traits to the accepted character of Borrow as a man and a writer. The proportion of truth and fiction in his experiences becomes a little clearer from these letters, the gist of which was often changed for presentation to the general public.—*Twenty minutes*.]

23. "The Source in Art of the so-called 'Prophets' Play of the Hegge Cycle." By Mr. John K. Bonnell, of the University of Wisconsin.

[What Halliwell calls "The Prophets" in the Hegge cycle, is found to be in reality a combination of an equal number of prophets with the thirteen royal ancestors of Christ from David to Amon. It is, in short, a genealogical tree springing from the root of Jesse,—the *Radix Jesse* (so designated in the rubric) which introduces the line of kings. This combination of the prophets with the royal ancestors is a familiar device in plastic art, where it is known as the Jesse Tree (*Radix Jesse*, *Arbre de Jesse*). It dates from at least the middle of the twelfth century, and is known to have been fairly widespread at that time. A window in York Minster in the twelfth century represented the Jesse Tree.—*Twenty minutes*.]

This paper was discussed by Professor H. J. Rose.

24. "Ye and You in the King James Version." By Professor John S. Kenyon, of Butler College.

[Various histories and grammars of the English language state that in the King James Version *ye* is always nominative and *you* objective. But in the edition of 1611 there are some three hundred nominative *you's* and many objective *ye's*. The first extensive changes were made

by a Cambridge editor, probably Dr. Antony Scattergood, in 1678. These wer added to by Cambridge and other editors about 1760, and completed by an Oxford editor in 1769. Objectiv *ye* was likewise changed to *you*. In present-day editions three nominativ *you's* remain in the text and a varying number in the margin. Nearly half the nominativ *you's* of the A. V. wer taken directly from the Bishop's and Geneva Bibles; the rest ar probably due to the tendency of the current language. *Ye* and *you*, often apparently singular, invariably correspond to a plural original, except in four instances where *you* is the indefinit pronoun. These facts modify somewhat our ideas of the style of the version, especially as they thro added light on the attitude of the translators to their contemporary language.—*Ten minutes.*]

During the reading of this paper, and until the end of the session, Professor A. R. Hohlfeld was in the chair.

25. "Richard Cœur de Lion in Medieval Art." By Mr. Roger S. Loomis, of the University of Illinois.

[I. Richard's encounter with Saladin. Illustrations found in mural painting, tile, painted chest, and three illuminated psalters. These influenst by Continental illustrations of combats between Christian and pagan champions. II. Richard's struggle with a lion. Illustrations in tile, illuminated psalter, and carvd boss. III. The *Pas Saladin*. Illustration on carvd chest.—*Twenty minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professor D. S. Blondheim.

26. "The Influence of the Popular Ballads upon Wordsworth and Coleridge." By Dr. Charles Wharton Stork, of the University of Pennsylvania.

[Wordsworth was influenst mainly by the fact that the ballad often deals with common people and homely events. He often used ballad subjects, but always gave them a filosofical or reflectiv tone, altogether foren to the popular stile. *Lucy Gray*, *Ruth*, and *Heart-leap Well* all tel stories, but in every case the story is of minor importance. At his weakest in *Peter Bell*. The *White Doe of Rylstone* and the *Song for the Feast at Brougham Castle*, two of Wordsworth's greatest poems, ar both on ballad subjects, the forms being taken from the ballad *The Rising in the North*. In each case the beauty of the poem comes from the contrast of Wordsworth's

higher moral aspect with the more primitiv conventions of the ballad. Ballad atmosfere has never been better given than in *The Solitary Reaper*.

Coleridge's best poems ar all ballads. This was the one form which gave solidity to his otherwise vaporus genius. In contrast with Wordsworth, he used all the devices of ballad stile with masterly effect, infusing his own special qualities of subtle music and psychological power at the same time. The *Ancient Mariner*, *Christabel*, and the *Dark Ladye* ar of course the great examples, and in *Kubla Khan* the "woman wailing for her demon lover" is a familiar figure of ballad tradition, again alluded to in *Genevieve*. The *Ode to Dejection* opens with the mention of *Sir Patrick Spens*.—*Twenty minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professor Archibald Mac-Mechan.

At 4.50 p. m. the Association adjurnd.

PAPERS RED BY TITLE

The folloing papers presented to the Association wer red by title only:

27. "A Fifteenth-Century Italian Version of the Legend of Saint Alexius." By Mr. Rudolph Altrocchi, of Harvard University.

[Description and transcription of the manuscript, which is in a volume of *Ore*, dated 1439, and in the library of the University of Chicago. Study of the peculiarities of this version; subject-matter, versification, dialect. Its literary value. Its relation to the older Italian versions.]

28. "Notes on the Discussion concerning True Nobility." By Professor Harry Morgan Ayres, of Columbia University.

[The discussion concerning the nature of true nobility, found, among other places, in Chaucer's *Wife of Bath's Tale*, which Tyr-whitt credits Boethius with having set abroad in the Middle Ages, proves to contain much that antedates the *Consolations of Philosophy*, and provides an excellent example of a literary commonplace of which Classical Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance alike made abundant use.]

29. "A Study of the Metrical Use of the Inflectional *-e* in Middle English, with Particular Reference to Chaucer and Lydgate." By Dr. Charlotte Farrington Babcock, of Simmons College.

[The writer has examined a number of early Middle English texts, all of Chaucer's verse, and representative works of Lydgate, in the endeavor to show the relation between metrical apocope and grammatical decay, and to establish, if possible, new criteria for literary chronology in Middle English.]

30. "Grammatical Tact." By Professor Josephine M. Burnham, of Wellesley College.

[Certain grammatical difficulties assail even the practised writer—difficulties (a) inherent in the language used; (b) psychological. To avoid these the tactful writer employs various devices, hitherto only partially formulated: (1) *variation* in form of phrase or in connective; (2) *substitution* of an equivalent construction; (3) *evasion*—dodging the difficulty; (4) *omission* of troublesome copula, etc.; (5) *departure from the norm*.]

31. "Scott and the Spanish Historical Novel." By Professor Philip H. Churchman, of Clark College.

[From 1800 to 1830 the Spanish novel was weak and sentimental. During this period Scott is rarely mentioned in Spanish periodicals, but liberal exiles in London write often of him and begin to translate his novels. Other translations begin also to be published in Spain itself. In 1830 original historical novels, quite in Scott's manner, begin to appear; and during the next ten or fifteen years almost every young romantic tried his hand at the new *genre*, but none of them achieved great results.]

32. "The Source of Juan del Encina's *Égloga de Fileno y Zambardo*." By Professor J. P. Wickersham Crawford, of the University of Pennsylvania.

[Most of the historians of the Spanish drama have denied any influence of Italian literature upon the plays of Juan del Encina, claiming that the tragic *dénouement* in the *Égloga de Fileno y Zambardo* is derived from the *Celestina* or from the *Cárcel de Amor* of Diego de San Pedro. The purpose of this paper is to show that the *Égloga de Fileno y Zambardo* is a close imitation of the second eclogue of Antonio Tebaldeo da Ferrara, first published in 1499.]

33. "The Origin of the Euphuistic Rhetoric." By Professor Morris W. Croll, of Princeton University.

[The characteristic figures of the Euphuistic rhetoric are parallelism

(exact balance, especially in the form of antithesis) and parisonity (likeness of sound between corresponding parts of parallel members). The use of these figures, which is already a characteristic feature of sixteenth-century prose before *Euphues*, is attributed by Norden, Feuillerat, and hence many others, to the training given by humanist teachers in the imitation of the same figures in Cicero and Isocrates. It is here maintained, on the contrary, that they are chiefly medieval survivals, and that their increased use in England in the sixteenth century, though ultimately due to the new literary impetus of humanism, was contrary to humanistic ideals and precepts.]

34. "Anti-Jacobin Satire in America." By Dr. Harold M. Ellis, of the University of Texas.

[A study of literary opposition in America to the advocates of "French freedom," with reference to literary antecedents and to the place of this group of writers and documents in the history of satire in English. The *Echo* papers (1791-1800), of Alsop, Hopkins, Dwight, and other Hartford wits; J. S. J. Gardiner's *Remarks on the Jacobiniad* (1795); William Clifton's *Group* (1795) and other writings (1796-1799); T. G. Fessenden's *Democracy Unveiled* (1805).]

35. "Problems of Present Day Criticism." By Dr. Jos. E. Gillet, of the University of Wisconsin.

[I. World's unrest; forms of literary criticism; unrest in criticism more on modern-language side. II. A glance back. Prominent present-day systems: Taine, Hennequin, Brunetière, Gervinus. Subjective criticism. The teaching of Dutch literary history. III. Some reasons of failure: heaping of material and extension of field of research; backward state of psychology and premature desire of finding laws. IV. Suggestions for remedies: comparative treatment on larger scale; more knowledge of and attention to practical value of past experiments in criticism. V. A glance on recent critical work. Conclusion.]

36. "Literary Relations of England and Germany—Two New Items." By Professor James H. Hanford, of Simmons College.

[(1) The fable of the three vices brethren, which forms the theme of one of Hans Sachs's *Fastnachtsspiele*, appears also in an English prose version of 1580, compiled by Thomas Salter. Salter's dialog is not derived from the work of Hans Sachs but from the Latin of Philippus Beroaldus or from one of the German translations published during the sixteenth century. (2) The English disputation between the Cap and the Head, published in 1564, is a translation from a German work by Niclas Praun.]

37. "Survivals of the *Enueg* and *Plazer* in French and Italian poetry of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries." By Dr. Raymond Thompson Hill, of Yale University.

[This tipe of popular poetry appears in French in many short anonimus poems often didactic in caracter. Sometimes these take the form of warnings against dangers, diseases, etc., as in certain works of Eustache Deschamps and Guillaume Alexis. The relation-ship of this kind of poetry to rimed imprecations. Another fase is seen in satires against women, of which one of the best examples is *Il Manganello*, an anonimus Italian poem of the fifteenth century, one chapter of which is a perfect *enueg*. Two series of sonnets by Folgore da San Gimignano resemble the *plazer*, while a closely related set by Cene della Chitarra ar examples of *noie*. A classifica-tion of these varius forms and a comparativ study wil afford insight into the lives of some of the authors and the society of the time.]

38. "The Inconsistency of John Dryden." By Dr. Percy Hazen Houston, of the University of Texas.

[Dryden's curius wavering between the large expansivness which he admired in his ancestors the Elizabethans, and the necessity which he felt of bending his neck beneath the neo-classic yoke has been often noted, and varius explanations and excuses hav ben made therefor. An attempt is here made to trace this mental attitude to certain temperamental antinomies between him and his time. Thru a study of political and religius life, his poetical and dramatic practis, and finally his critical utterances, his whole life may be shown to be in a fair degree consistently out of joint with his age. It was by sheer force of genius that, while nearly always a follower in critical activity, he remains the outstanding figure of his age in nearly every form of literary endeavor.]

39. "Opitz and his Relation to the Scandinavian Countries." By Dr. Amandus Johnson, of the University of Pennsylvania.

[A chapter on literary relations based upon newly discovered letters of Martin Opitz.]

40. "Illustrations of Chaucer in the Life of the Fourteenth Century." By Dr. Ernest P. Kuhl, of Harvard University.

[An investigation of some of Chaucer's minor contemporaries reveals the fact that the descriptions in the General Prolog corres-pond strikingly with the biografies of some of these contemporaries. Particularly is this true of the Monk, the Merchant, the Man of Law, and the Franklin. This paper is not an attempt to identify the *actual*, but rather the *kind* of man Chaucer had in mind.]

41. "The Sources of Greene's *Orlando Furioso*." By Mr. Charles W. Lemmi, of Simmons College.

[This paper attempts to sho that, contrary to Dr. Churton Collins's belief, Greene's play is derived almost entirely from Ariosto's poem; and that, in the light of such a derivation, varius obscure passages in it become interestingly significant, and the date of its composition becomes less a matter of conjecture than before.]

42. "Mr. Arnold Bennett and the English Novel." By Dr. Gustavus H. Maynadier, of Harvard University.

[Despite frequent faulty selection of material, weakness in conversation of caracters, and crude workmanship, Mr. Bennett givs, thru unvarying power of vivid description, sense for dramatic situations, and the capacity to analyze human nature, as strong assurance as any writer on either side of the Atlantic that the novel is stil an important part of the civilization of the English race.]

43. "Poets as Heroes of Epic and Dramatic Works in German Literature." By Dr. Allen Wilson Porterfield, of Barnard College, Columbia University.

[There ar more than two hundred instances in which a German poet has, in good faith, made another poet of German or other nationality a speaking caracter in an epic or dramatic work and has given him an important if not the leading rôle. The paper discusses the availability of the poet for such treatment, analyzes a few of the works in question, and attempts to explain their frequency in German literature.]

44. "The Origin of the Runes." By Dr. Amandus Johnson, of the University of Pennsylvania.

[I. Brief history of the varius views: erly opinions; theories of Wimmer, Hempl-Tailor, and von Friesen. II. Home and Date: the Black Sea district; circa 150 A. D. III. Individual runes largely from the Greek "commercial" script. IV. Migration and adoption of the runes: Scandinavains, Germans, Anglo-Saxons.]

45. "The Completeness of Chaucer's *Hous of Fame*." By Professor W. Owen Sypherd, of Delaware College.

[Chaucer's *Hous of Fame* must not be regarded as a prolog to a story or group of stories; but rather, except for the missing brief conclusion, as a poem complete in itself, unified and consistent in subject-matter and form. There is no evidence in the poem or in

Chaucer's other works that the poet uses "love tydynge" in the sense of "love stories," or that he wil *tel* such tidings (or stories) merely because he *hears* them. Considerd in the light of probabilities, such essential elements as the explanation of the purpose of the jurny and the nature of the reward; the division into three books; the emfasis on the unusual experiences of the jurny,—all lead to the conclusion that the poem exists for the sake of the story of this wonderful jurny to the house of tidings, and not for the sake of a story or stories to follo.]

46. "Kayrrud in the *Franklin's Tale*." By Professor John S. P. Tatlock, of the University of Michigan.

[Kayrrud, the home of Dorigen, is the modern Kerru, a name stil found in Brittany, and usually indicating a former Gallo-Roman settlement. The spelling goes to sho that the source of the tale was not French.]

47. "The Problem of Setting in Pre-Richardsonian Fiction." By Dr. Arthur Jerrold Tieje, of the University of Illinois.

[Term limited to accounts in fiction of scenery, objects, customs. Five uses consciusly discust before Richardson; setting to lend "variety"—to impart information—to giv vividness—to express love for nature—to show influence of scenery upon man. Practically all setting apologized for as digression—a situation resulting from the antagonism of realists and romancers. Effort for geograical accuracy traceable from 1590, for temporal accuracy from 1626.]

48. "A Comparative Study of the Abruzzese Dialects." By Dr. Herbert H. Vaughan, of the University of Pennsylvania.

[The most interesting points to be noted ar: (1) the lines of demarcation between Central Italian and Abruzzese; (2) the modification of the tonic vowel under the influence of the final Latin vowel; (3) the breaking down of the consonant sistem due to late preservation of vowel quantity; (4) local peculiarities.]

49. "The Present Status of the Study of Henry Fielding." By Professor John Edwin Wells, of Beloit College.

[The extent and the nature of the additions recently made, or redily to be made, to knolege of Fielding and his works, render opportune a general review of the writings on Fielding of the past twenty years, with consideration of the folloing: Additions to the Fielding Canon; Corrections of dates of composition, publication, performance; New facts concerning Fielding's life: New notions of his works; Sources and collections recently become accessible;

Special problems awaiting solution; Investigations now being pursued by various students.]

50. "Mrs. Bunyan's Dowry." By Professor James B. Wharey, of the University of Texas.

[Mrs. Bunyan's dowry consisted of two books—Arthur Dent's *Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven* and Lewis Bayly's *Practice of Piety*. There are no traces of influence by Bayly upon Bunyan, but the influence of Dent upon both the thought and style of Bunyan is clearly traceable in *The Life and Death of Mr. Badman*.]

51. "The Origin of the Easter Play." By Professor Karl Young, of the University of Wisconsin.

[By means of some thirty new texts of the *Quem quaeritis* Introit trope of Easter, it is possible to revise the accepted accounts of the origin of the Easter play.]

52. "Extant Elizabethan Jigs." By Professor Charles Read Bakervill, of the University of Chicago.

[Evidence of the Stationers' Register shows that jigs were ballads. Jigs were first entered on the Register in 1591. *Rowland and the Sexton*, entered in that year, is extant in a German version. Of the two dramatic ballads published in the *Shirburn Ballads*, *Rowland's Godsonne* was moralized as early as 1592, and is known from Nashe's *Summer's Last Will and Testament* to be a jig, while *Attowell's Jigge* was entered on the Register in 1595, and is definitely connected with the stage by its translation into German as a *Singspiel* and by the ascription of it, in a copy in the Pepys Ballads (I, 226), to George Attowell, in 1591 a leading member of the combined Strange's and Admiral's actors. The short dialog in the Dulwich MSS. belongs to a very widely spread class of dialog songs and ballads dealing with wooings. Other probable song dramas are studied, and questions of development and influence are discussed.]

53. "Blood-brotherhood in the Middle English Romances." By Miss Rose Jeffries Peebles, of Vassar College.

[The present study has for its object the examination of the primitive custom of sworn brotherhood as it occurs in the medieval English romances. The fragmentary suggestions of ritual and obligations connected with the custom obtained from *Eger and Grine*, *Amis and Amiloun*, *The Knight's Tale*, *Athelston*, *Rauf Coilyear* some of the Arthurian romances, and elsewhere assume new significance when considered in the light of the known ritual and obligations of blood-brotherhood as it still survives among barbarous peoples.]

54. "The Drama of the Interregnum, 1642-1660." By Professor Arthur Llewellyn Eno, of the Pennsylvania State College.

[An account of surreptitious dramatic performances, despite the parliamentary ordinances against the stage. The occupations of surviving Elizabethan actors and playwrights. The exiles in France and Holland. Strolling players on the Continent. The impetus given to printing by the closing of the theatres. Analysis of the tendencies leading to the presentation of the so-called first English opera. In assembling much scattered information, and in presenting some new material, this paper tends to prove that the drama was by no means so dead as is commonly supposed during the Puritan suppression of the stage.]

55. "Our Vocabulary in the Making." By Professor Albert Schinz, of Smith College.

[What is meant when we use the trite phrase, *language the result of natural growth*, shown in connection with the recent formation of a vocabulary for aviation.

Definite laws of thought and of speech are at work, laws as definite as laws in the physical world; laws which, if once we know them sufficiently, can be applied in improving our vocabulary and language. Just as an artificial crane constructed in following the physical laws renders greater service than the natural crow-bar which is a mere stick, so vocabulary and a language constructed in following the laws of speech ought to render greater service than a merely natural way of expressing oneself.]

56. "The Theme of *Paradise Lost*." By Mr. H. W. Peck, of the University of Texas.

[Treatment of subject prompted by the article of Professor E. N. S. Thompson, in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, March, 1913. In opposition to the view of Professor Thompson, the writer holds that Milton, in composing *Paradise Lost*, thought he was dealing with historical facts and with theology as well as with moral principles; that he did not consider the poem merely symbolic. An attempt to prove this thesis from the text of *Paradise Lost*, from *Christian Doctrine*, and from the views of the early interpreters. Since Milton's theology is now antiquated, we should approach *Paradise Lost* from the historical and literary points of view. Definition of *Paradise Lost* which includes the contribution of various types of constructive criticism.]

57. "A Note on the *Tannhäuser-Legend*." By Professor Arthur F. J. Remy, of Columbia University.

[In Liliencron's collection of historic German folk-songs there is one by a certain Jörg Wetzel von Schussenried dealing with events of the Peasant War during the year 1525. Speaking of the fall of Weissenburg (July 7), the poet says that its citizens were taut "to sing *Danheuser* in Latin"—evidently a proverbial way of saying that they were severely and harshly treated.]

58. "The Symbolism of the Mystery in Hölderlin's *Hyperion*." By Miss Louise Mallinckrodt Kueffner, of Vassar College.

[The monistic reaction of the eighteenth century against the consciousness of dualism and the mechanistic interpretation of nature. The study of the philosophy of mythology. Interest in the mystery and pre-Socratic thought. Recognition of the "romantic" element in Greek religion, thought and literature. Revival of secret brotherhoods. Influence of this thought on literature. Hölderlin's *Hyperion* analyzed from this point of view.]

59. "Chaucer and Renclus de Moiliens." By Professor John L. Lowes, of Washington University, St. Louis.

[The relation between the account of the Parson in the Prolog to the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Romans de Carité* is even closer than has hitherto been pointed out. The figure of the Parson is a tissue of conventions so amazingly vivified that we lose sight of the fact that they are conventions. These commonplaces, one here, one there, occur in a wide variety of documents, and what Chaucer has done is to bring them together. But the parallels between Chaucer's grouping of half a dozen of these same conventions (two at least of which have been already observed) and their similar arrangement by Renclus de Moiliens is so close as to raise again the question of Chaucer's use of the *Romans*. And the general subject of Chaucer's artistic methods is also involved.]

60. "Spenser and Gower." By Professor John L. Lowes, of Washington University, St. Louis.

[The procession of the Seven Deadly Sins, in the fourth Canto of the First Book of the *Faerie Queene*, shows certain very striking parallels with the treatment of the procession of the Sins in the early part of Gower's *Miroir de l'Homme*. The question thus raised is one which demands further investigation.]

MEETING OF THE CENTRAL DIVISION

The nineteenth annual meeting of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America was held at Cincinnati, Ohio, under the auspices of the University of Cincinnati, December 29, 30, and 31, 1913. All the sessions were held in McMicken Hall. Professor Thomas Atkinson Jenkins, Chairman of the Central Division, presided at all the sessions except the departmental sections on the afternoon of the second day.

FIRST SESSION, MONDAY, DECEMBER 29

The Central Division met at 2.35 p. m.

The Secretary, Professor Charles Bundy Wilson, presented as his report the Proceedings of the meeting of 1912 and the Program for the meeting of 1913.

This report was accepted.

The Chairman announced the following committees:

- (1) On nomination of officers: Professors O. F. Emerson, R. A. Law, P. Ogden, H. Z. Kip, and M. Levi.
- (2) On place of next meeting: J. Goebel, S. W. Cutting, A. F. Kuersteiner, D. Ford, and E. E. Brandon.
- (3) On resolutions: G. L. Swiggett, L. M. Gay, and C. H. Gray.

The reading of papers was then begun.

1. "Emigration to America in German Fiction." By Dr. Preston A. Barba, of Indiana University.

[The Democratizing of German fiction thru Scott and Cooper. The great exodus of Germans to America and its impetus to the development of German Emigration Fiction. Goethe and his embryonic plans for an "Auswanderungs-Roman." Willkomm's *Europamüder* as a precursor. The Emigration Novel of Sealsfield, and his successors, Ruppius, Gerstäcker, Strubberg, and Möllhausen.—*Ten minutes.*]

2. "Folk Criticism." By Miss Jean Olive Heck, of the Raschig School, Cincinnati.

[Children's singing games furnish our most easily accessible material for a study of contemporaneous folk poetry. Children's statements about these games throw light on the attitude of primitive people toward their ballads and other forms of literature. In Cincinnati, some adaptations and compositions indicate the beginnings of new traditional singing games. In different neighborhoods, variations suggest the conditions under which the diffusion of such traditions takes place. The reasons given by the children for their preferences among the singing games show what elements have led to the perpetuation of these traditions.—*Ten-minute summary.*]

This paper was discussed by Professors G. M. Miller, J. T. Hatfield, H. G. Shearin, T. A. Jenkins, S. W. Cutting, Miss Aldrich, Dr. J. M. Rudwin, and the author.

3. "The Modern German Fairy-Drama: Its Relation to the Drama in General and its Fundamental Thought." By Professor Herman Babson, of Purdue University.

[Comprehensive study of plays produced from 1889 to 1907 shows (a) that they fail to meet tests sufficient to accord them a place within the limits of strict drama; (b) that their underlying thought, essentially idealistic in tone, concerns itself with the struggle of the individual to realize and to express himself amid present-day conditions and forces which tend to prevent his doing so.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

4. "Some Characteristic Traits of the Early Dramas of Maurice Maeterlinck." By Professor Moritz Levi, of the University of Michigan.

[The romantic element as seen in the setting, the events, and characters. Silence, mystery, and blind forces enshrouding the personages. Nature of these forces. Symbolism. Affinity between nature and man. Scenic transition. Style: Personification; peculiarities of metaphor, etc.; repetition; brevity of speech. Imitation and originality. Beauty of these early dramas.—*Ten minutes.*]

5. "Der Teufel im Geistlichen Drama des deutschen Mittelalters." By Dr. Josef Maximilian Rudwin, of Purdue University.

[Der erste textliche Beleg für den Teufel im mittelalterlich-religiösen Drama ist der lateinisch-romanische Sponsus aus dem zwölften Jahrhundert. Das erste Auftreten des Teufels in einem kirchlichen Schauspiel ist aber nicht im Parabelspiel, sondern im Osterdrama gewesen, und zwar in der Höllenfahrtsszene, obgleich wir diese in der Kirche höchstens bis zur Mitte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts zurückverfolgen können. Der religiöse Bühnenteufel ist keine lustige Person, sondern eine biblische Figur, und seine komische Rolle ist die natürliche Folge des Stoffes.—*Ten minutes.*]

6. "Interdependence in English Fiction." By Professor Robert Naylor Whiteford, of Toledo University.

[The purpose was to show the unconscious and conscious indebtedness of the English novelists to their English predecessors in atmosphere, motivation, dialog, and characterization. This method of study of the English novels, from Sir Thomas Malory to William De Morgan, proves that there is a common national genius, a surprising network of common reticulation, which has developed fiction as a piece of our national literature.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

This paper was discussed by Professors S. W. Cutting, J. M. Clapp, and R. A. Law.

SECOND SESSION, MONDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 29

7. Address of welcome by President Charles William Dabney, of the University of Cincinnati.

8. Address of the Chairman of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America, Professor

Thomas Atkinson Jenkins, of the University of Chicago, on "Scholarship and Public Spirit."

These addresses were followed by a reception to the members and their friends.

THIRD SESSION, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 30

The session began at 10.00 a. m., when the reading of papers was resumed.

9. "*Sans et Matière* in the Works of Crestien de Troyes." By Professor William Albert Nitze, of the University of Chicago.

[Sketch of a longer treatment of the technique of the twelfth-century poet. Crestien uses the terms in the prolog to his *Lancelot*. Comparison of this with the prolog of the *Erec*. Comparison of the prologs of the *Thèbes*, *Troie*, and *Lais* of Marie de France. Tracing back of the ideas there expressed to the *Liber Sapientiæ*, which formed a part of the *Vulgate*. The 'moral' interpretation of literature, Gregory's use of *sensus*, Dante's, etc. Finally, the bearing of this indication of method on the material (*matière*) in Crestien's Arthurian works.—Fifteen minutes.]

This paper was discussed by Professors L. M. Gay and O. F. Emerson.

10. "The *Roman à Clef* in Seventeenth-Century English Fiction." By Professor Alfred Horatio Upham, of Miami University.

[Under French influence the *roman à clef* seems to have had wide popularity in England after the Restoration, to have affected all narrative forms then prevalent, and to have aided materially in shifting the emphasis of fiction from heroic extravagance to concrete detail presumably founded on fact. This appears from consideration of numerous specimens still accessible, particularly in the British Museum.—Ten-minute summary.]

This paper was discust by Professors J. W. Kuhne and J. M. Clapp.

11. "Tannhäuser, the Pseudo-Hero of the Folk-Song." By Dr. Philip Stephan Barto, of the University of Illinois. Read by Mr. M. W. Steinke, of the Northwestern University.

[Tannhäuser as hero of the Venusberg myth appears first in the folk-song of the sixteenth century, of which numerous versions exist. A critical examination shows which one is the oldest. From the name in this version and the orthography thereof in the others we conclude the hero of the folk-song story was not originally Tannhäuser, but that this latter name is of accidental introduction.—*Ten-minute summary.*]

12. "Lodowick Carliell's Position in the Late Elizabethan Drama." By Professor Charles Henry Gray, of the University of Kansas.

[English heroic drama, formerly regarded as a new departure, has of late years been shown to be a continuation of late Elizabethan drama. The position of connecting link has been given to Davenant. More typical is Lodowick Carliell, whose plays show earlier expression of the prevailing dramatic tendency, more variety of type, and greater devotion to the heroic ideal.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professors A. H. Upham and D. L. Thomas.

13. "The Present Crisis in the Science of Literature in Germany." By Professor Julius Goebel, of the University of Illinois.

[The development of the present situation and its explanation. The fundamental causes of the crisis. Academic fetishes. The collapse of the Scherer school. New movements.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professors J. T. Hatfield, S. W. Cutting, C. E. Eggert, and the author.

The members of the association and their friends were entertained at luncheon by the University at half-past twelve on Tuesday in McMicken Hall.

Immediately after the luncheon the ladies were entertained by an automobil ride around the city.

FOURTH SESSION, TUESDAY AFTERNOON, DECEMBER 30

In accordance with the custom of the Central Division, this session was devoted to three departmental meetings, representing the English, Germanic, and Romance languages and literatures. Subjects of importance to the advancement of instruction constituted the programs of the respective sections. All three sections met in lecture-rooms in McMicken Hall.

ENGLISH

Chairman—Professor John Mantel Clapp, of Lake Forest College.

Secretary—Professor George Morey Miller, of Wabash College.

The chairman announced the distribution of the "Report of the Committee on the Labor and Cost of English Teaching," and reported progress for the Committee on the Preparation of English Teachers, stating that a more complete report would be presented at the next meeting. The regular program was then taken up.

14. "The Correlation of Rhetoric, English Literature, and Foreign Literature, in College Teaching." By Professor Frank Aydelotte, of Indiana University. Read by Professor Clyde William Park, of the University of Cincinnati.

This paper was discust by Professors J. S. Harrison, F. W. Chandler, R. A. Law, C. C. Freeman, E. McVea, A. H. Upham, H. G. Shearin, F. G. Hubbard, O. F. Emerson, G. M. Miller, C. W. Park, and D. Ford.

GERMANIC LANGUAGES

Chairman—Professor M. Blakemore Evans, of the Ohio State University.

Secretary—Professor Charles Bundy Wilson, of the State University of Iowa.

The secretary announced that a message had been received from Professor Evans stating that he was detained at home by illness. On motion, Professor George Oliver Curme, of the Northwestern University, was thereupon called to the chair. The regular program was then taken up.

15. "A Few Hints on German Composition." By Professor Max Poll, of the University of Cincinnati.

The discussion of this paper was opened by Professor G. H. Danton, and was continued by Professors H. Babson, G. O. Curme, C. E. Eggert, F. W. Truscott, L. M. Price, S. W. Cutting, and E. Elias.

16. "The Character of Intermediate Texts." By Professor Ludwig Lewisohn, of the Ohio State University.

The discussion of this paper was opened by Professor W. W. Florer. The discussion of the first paper had consumed so much time that no further discussion of this paper was possible.

17. "Requirements for the M. A. Degree." By Professor Starr Willard Cutting, of the University of Chicago.

The discussion of this paper was opened by Professor Julius Goebel. Lack of time prevented further discussion.

ROMANCE LANGUAGES

Chairman—Professor Bert Edward Young, of Vanderbilt University.

Secretary—Dean Edgar Ewing Brandon, of Miami University.

18. "How Are We to Teach French Literature to Undergraduates?" Method of presentation, reading in and out of class, etc. By Professor J. L. Bergerhoff, of the Western Reserve University.

This paper was discussed by Professors W. A. Nitze, J. Lustrat, E. E. Brandon, B. L. Bowen, M. Levi, and A. Nonnez.

19. "Prose Composition." By Professor Henry Raymond Brush, of the University of North Dakota.

This paper was discussed by Professors P. Ogden, J. Lustrat, M. Levi, J. L. Bergerhoff, B. L. Bowen, W. A. Nitze, C. A. Bruce, and O. K. Boring.

The gentlemen were received on Tuesday evening, in the rooms of the Literary Club, No. 25 East Eighth St. Among the entertainments of the evening were an interesting informal talk by President Charles William Dabney, readings, and songs in several dialects by members and guests. The Swiss songs by Professor A. C. Zembrod.

and the Spanish songs by Professor A. F. Kuersteiner were particularly well received.

FIFTH SESSION, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 31

The session began at 9.35 a. m.

Professor F. G. Hubbard presented the following report and resolutions for the executive committee of the Central Division:

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION CONCERNING SIMPLIFIED SPELLING.

At the fifth session of the Indianapolis meeting of the Central Division there was read a letter addressed to the Central Division by Mr. E. O. Vaile, chairman of the Committee on Simplified Spelling of the Illinois State Teachers' Association. This letter concluded with a request that our Association "endeavor in some organized, efficient way to promote the establishment of the new spellings in the usage of our universities and colleges."

On motion of Professor James Taft Hatfield it was voted that the matter be referred to the Executive Committee to investigate and to report at our next meeting (see Proceedings for 1912, page xxxiv).

The letter of Mr. Vaile reads as follows:

Oak Park, Ill., Dec. 24, 1912.

To the Modern Language Association,

Mr. Charles B. Wilson,

Secretary, Central Division.

Gentlemen:

As representing the teachers of the State of Illinois and sharing your interest in the simplification of our English spelling, may we most respectfully express to you our conviction that a great desideratum in this movement at the present time is its substantial and practical endorsement by our universities and colleges?

The teachers in our elementary and secondary schools can not with propriety introduce the new spellings in their school rooms until these spellings are more fully authorized. In the estimation of our school boards and of the school public in general the adoption of

new spellings in our schools can be sanctioned only when they have come into regular and dominant use by our universities and colleges. Changes once established there, in the usage of the highest court of appeal, will be challenged no further. In fact, in progressive communities our lower schools will then be put on the defensive if they do not come into line.

Your action of a year ago in adopting the recommendations of Circular 23 issued by the Simplified Spelling Board, had a decided effect in improving the standing of this movement with the general public. But such endorsement does not appeal with commanding force to school boards and teachers. Tho their personal convictions and practice may entirely agree with it, yet as public servants, accountable to public opinion, or rather prejudice, they must have due warrant for what they teach or permit to be taught. They must know that they are sustained by a weight of authority that can not be disputed, nor with credit ignored.

This being the situation, shall we not be pardoned for begging you, in your position of potent influence, to make it your endeavor, in some organized, efficient way, to promote the establishment of the new spellings in the usage of our universities and colleges?

Very respectfully yours,

COMMITTEE ON SIMPLIFIED SPELLING

ILLINOIS STATE TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION,

By its Chairman.

The Executiv Committee began its investigation of the matter by formulating two *questionnaires*, which were sent out in the month of May, 1913. One of these *questionnaires* was addrest to members of the Modern Language Association living in the territory from which come ordinarily those who attend the meetings of the Central Division. This territory covers the following States: Ohio, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Missouri, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North and South Dakota. The other *questionnaire* was addrest to the presidents of colleges and universities and was sent to institutions in the territory described above, with the addition of the following States: California, Oregon, Washington, Nevada, Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico.

The first *questionnaire* was sent to 450 members of the Association; 206 replies were received. The second *questionnaire* was sent to 300 institutions; 132 replies were received.

SUMMARY OF ANSWERS TO QUESTIONNAIRE SENT TO COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

The replies to the *questionnaire* sent to colleges and universities will be considered first. Total number of *questionnaires* sent out, 300; total number of replies, 132.

Question 1. Has your institution adopted officially the changes in spelling recommended by the Simplified Spelling Board? Total number of replies, 132. No, 121. Yes, 6. Yes, conditionally, 5. Of the six that reply yes, two have adopted simplified spelling to a limited extent as indicated in a printed list of words. One has adopted it to be introduced "as rapidly as feasible." Three have adopted it in full. Of conditional adoptions, five are in the State of Illinois. Here the adoption comes into force when two-thirds of the colleges and universities in the State agree to it. One is in Kansas under the same conditions for that State. A little further information may be gleaned from the answers to Question 7 in the *questionnaire* sent to members of the Association. "Has your institution adopted them (*i. e.*, simplified spellings)?" In addition to the institutions enumerated above, one normal school has partially adopted simplified spelling; one State agricultural college has adopted some of the 300; and one State university has adopted a selected list from the 300.

Question 2. If these changes have been adopted, was their adoption through action of (*a*) the president? (*b*) the board of trustees? (*c*) the faculty? In the institutions where simplified spelling has been adopted, it has been thru action of the president in three cases; of the president and board of regents in two cases; of the president, board of regents, and faculty in one case; and by the faculty alone in three cases.

Question 3 (*a*). Has your faculty ever voted on the question? Total number of replies, 132. No, 122. Yes, 17. Committee appointed, 4.

Question 3 (*b*). If so, what was the vote? In seven cases the vote was negativ. In four of these cases no numbers were given. In one case the majority was three to one; in one case the vote was fourteen to two; and in another, twelve to six. In six cases the vote was affirmativ; in one of these it was nearly unanimous; in one, unanimous; in one, twelve to two; in the other cases no numbers are given.

Question 4. What is the present attitude of the faculty of your institution toward simplified spelling? Total number of replies, 110. In 32 cases the attitude is unknown; in 15 cases the attitude is that of indifference or lack of interest; in 11 cases the attitude is divided

or neutral; in 19 cases the majority is favorable or friendly; and in 19 cases the majority is opposed. In two cases simplified spelling seems to be used by comparatively large numbers; in three cases by few. In one case it is reported that the modern language departments are favorable, and in one case the English department is reported as unfavorable. In three cases the attitude is favorable provided that united action to a greater or less extent can be obtained. In one case it is reported that a committee has been appointed, and in another case it is suggested that the attitude of the faculty is to a certain extent affected by fear of an unfavorable attitude toward simplified spelling on the part of the State legislature.

Question 5 (a). To what extent is simplified spelling used in publications of your institution? Total number of replies, 111. In 93 cases the reply is "not at all;" in ten, "very little;" in two, "moderately;" in one, "as rapidly as feasible;" in one, "partially in bulletins, none in catalogue." In one, "the first, second, and third lists are used in all but the catalogue; and many beyond the first list in the catalogue." In one, "it has come into use as far as adopted;" and in two, "it is in use to the full extent."

Question 5 (b). In official correspondence? Total number of replies, 110. In 89 cases the reply is "not at all;" in 14 cases, it is used to a small extent; in two cases its use is optional; in one case the first, second, and third lists are used; in one case it is used to the full extent, and in one case simplification goes farther than the Board has yet gone. In one case adoption is proceeding as rapidly as possible, and in another all officers do not yet use it.

Question 6 (a). Do you believe that the official adoption of simplified spelling by colleges and universities would hasten its adoption in the high schools and in the grade schools? Total number of replies, 101. Yes, 69. No, 3. In 21 cases the answer is a weak affirmative expressed by such words as "possibly," "probably," "perhaps," "may be," "very likely." In five cases strong doubt is expressed. In two cases there is qualification concerning extent or co-operation, and in one case the reply is "no opinion."

Question 6 (b). Are you in favor of the official adoption by colleges and universities of simplified spelling? Total number of replies, 100. Yes, 37. No, 33. "Not at present," eight. In doubt, five. Open to conviction, one. Not interested, two. In favor of but little change, or of a change at a slow rate, ten. In favor of official adoption, under conditions involving co-operation to a greater or less extent, four.

From this summary the committee draws the following inferences:

(1) Very few institutions, six out of 132, have adopted the changes

of the Simplified Spelling Board. Five others have adopted them conditionally.

- (2) Where the changes in spelling have been adopted, the action has been taken by the president alone, by the president and the governing board, and sometimes by the faculty alone.
- (3) Few faculties have ever voted upon the matter (17 out of 133). In seven of these cases, the vote was negativ; in six it was affirmativ; in four cases no definit information is given concerning the result.
- (4) The attitude of the faculties of 110 institutions is in general one of lack of interest or indifference. In 19 cases only is the majority of the faculty reported as favorable or friendly, and in the same number of cases the majority is reported as opposed. In 32 cases the attitude of the faculty is reported as unknown or unexpressed, which may be taken to indicate that there is very little interest in the matter.
- (5) In only 18 institutions out of 111 is "simplified spelling" used in the publications, and in only 21 cases out of 110 is it used in official correspondence, and in 14 of these its use is but little.
- (6) A majority of the replies express a belief that the official adoption of the suggestions of the Simplified Spelling Board by colleges and universities would hasten adoption in the high schools and in the grade schools. About one-third of those replying favor the official adoption by colleges and universities. About the same number are opposed, and the rest are doubtful or favor postponement or gradual adoption.

From all this we think that it may fairly be inferred that "simplified spelling" has obtained almost no recognition from colleges and universities, and that faculties in general have expressed little interest or concern in the matter. While a majority of the institutions replying think that adoption by higher institutions of learning would hasten adoption in secondary schools, only about one-third are in favor of adoption by colleges and universities.

SUMMARY OF ANSWERS TO QUESTIONNAIRE SENT TO MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL DIVISION

We consider now the replies to the *questionnaire* sent out to members of the Central Division. Total number of *questionnaires*, 450; total number of replies, 206. These replies may be summarized as follows:

Question 1. Are you in favor of "simplified spelling?" Total number of replies, 206. Yes, 118. No, 56. Qualified, 32. Of the

qualified answers, 16 may be called qualified yes, eight qualified no, and eight neutral. The qualifications generally limit the extent of the application of the term "simplified spelling." Some of them express objection to the procedure of the Board.

Question 2 (a). Do you approve the changes recommended by the Simplified Spelling Board? Total number of replies, 199. Yes, 79. No, 65. Qualified, 55. Almost all of the qualified affirmative answers make reservations with regard to the extent of the changes recommended by the Board. The qualified negative answers object in a more decided way to the extent.

Question 2 (b). Do you wish to have the Board go further? Total number of replies, 189. Yes, 62. No, 73. Qualified, 54, about evenly divided between yes and no. Most of the qualified affirmatives suggest limitation in the way of slower and less radical changes than those proposed in the past. Two or three express a desire to have the Board proceed more rapidly. Nearly all of the qualified negatives express opposition to any further action by the Board at present.

Question 3 (a). Are you in favor of recognizing the Simplified Spelling Board as the authority in the determination of simplifications? Total number of replies, 185. Yes, 98. No, 66. Qualified, 21. Of the affirmative qualifications (7), most are concerned with the expediency of accepting, temporarily, the present Board, in lieu of any other existing authority of the same nature. The qualifications in the negative (14) generally object to the Board as authority, or as the only authority, or criticize the composition and action of the Board.

Question 3 (b). If not, whom would you suggest as proper authority in this matter? Total number of replies, 53. As might be expected, there is a very wide range to the suggestions for a proper authority. In five cases, it is suggested that the present Board would be acceptable if its authority were limited; if it were more uniform and thoroughgoing; if it contained more members from various bodies; if it co-operated with universities and societies; if it showed greater wisdom. An international board is favored by five, three of whom favor a phonetic alphabet. A board representing all English-speaking nations, or representing England and America, is favored by six. An American joint board is favored by six. The bodies mentioned are the Modern Language Association, American Philological Association, the most important universities, philologists, men of letters, newspaper men, publishers, and writers. The Modern Language Association is favored by seven. Three of these propose co-operation with the Simplified Spelling Board. Usage is proposed as the only authority

by four, the dictionaries by four, and eight want no authority. There are six recommendations of a miscellaneous character.

Question 4. To what extent do you simplify your own spelling? Total number of replies, 186. In 71 cases spelling is not simplified at all. In 25 cases there is very little simplification. In nine cases substantially all the simplifications proposed by the Board are used. This use is confined to correspondence in ten cases. Most of the simplifications are used by four, and seven limit their use to the list of 300 words. In 13 cases members report that they use the simplifications to a greater or less extent, determined by convenience, practicability, permission, the occasion, the person addressed, the desire to avoid criticism or to appear peculiar, in theory but not in practice. There are four other replies, too miscellaneous, and too extended for classification. In 23 cases specific words are mentioned. Among them are the following: *Thru, tho, catalog, program, rime, thot, altho, labor, center, defense, honor, medieval*; the use of the past participle in *-t* is mentioned by six.

Question 5. Do you urge others to use the changes recommended by the Simplified Spelling Board? Total number of replies, 189. Yes, 50. No, 117. Qualified, 22. In almost all cases the qualification is concerned with the extent of the simplification or with the degree of urgency.

Question 6 (a). Do you favor the use of these changed spellings by colleges and universities? Total number of replies, 160. Yes, 89. No, 65. Qualified, 6. The qualifications concern the extent or suggest greater or less option.

Question 6 (b). Do you favor the use of these changed spellings by normal schools? Total number of replies, 152. Yes, 89. No, 62. Qualified, one ("doubtful").

Question 6 (c). Do you favor the use of these changed spellings in high schools? Total number of replies, 153. Yes, 89. No, 62. Qualified, two ("hardly," "some").

Question 6 (d). Do you favor the use of these changed spellings by grade schools? Total number of replies, 157. Yes, 92. No, 63. Qualified, two.

In 13 replies general qualifications to (a), (b), (c), and (d) together are stated. The character of these is rather too miscellaneous for brief presentation.

Question 7. Has your institution adopted them? The results of the replies to this question have been combined with those of the replies to Question 1 of the *questionnaire* sent to presidents of colleges and universities: "Has your institution adopted officially the changes in spelling recommended by the Simplified Spelling Board?" They have been given above.

Question 8. Are you in favor of having the Central Division of the Modern Language Association adopt resolutions urging colleges and universities to recognize, adopt, and put into use the changes already recommended by the Simplified Spelling Board, and to be recommended by the Board in the future? Total number of replies, 181. Yes, 79. No, 76. Qualified, 26. Of the qualified answers 15 may be called qualified affirmativ, nine qualified negativ, and two neutral. As examples of the qualified affirmativ the following may be given: "Chiefly cases of divided usage." "The list of 300 words only, for the present." "Only in co-operation with the Modern Language Association." "For past simplifications." "Must go slowly." "To recognize, not to adopt and put into use." As examples of the qualified negativ the following may be given: "Not if use is to be compulsory." "Not until spelling is completely remodeled." "Not yet."

From this summary the committee draws the following inferences:

Question 1. It is clear that a majority, tho not a very large one, favors simplified spelling.

Question 2 (a). A majority does not approve the changes recommended to their full extent.

Question 2 (b). There is a strong feeling that the Board should go no further, at least for the present.

Question 3 (a). About 53 per cent. accept the Board as authority; about 35 per cent. do not accept it; and the rest either accept the Board as authority because there is no other authority at present, or they object to the present composition of the Board.

Question 3 (b). The suggestions concerning another authority are rather miscellaneous, but in general favor a body composed of representatives of language associations, educational associations, institutions of higher education, writers, and publishers. Some suggest an international English committee. No one proposes a self-constituted body.

Question 4. Simplified spelling is not used to any considerable extent by the members of this association.

Question 5. About 135 of those who replied to the *questionnaire* approve simplified spelling (see Question 1), but only about one-half of this number urge others to use it.

Question 6. About 58 per cent. of those who reply to this question favor the use of simplified spelling in colleges, normal schools, high schools, and grade schools.

Question 7. A very small number of colleges and universities use simplified spelling either in their publications or in official correspondence.

Question 8. The majority in the affirmativ is too small to warrant the Executiv Committee to recommend that the Central Division adopt resolutions urging colleges and universities to recognize, adopt, and put into use the changes already recommended by the Simplified Spelling Board, and to be recommended by the Board in the future.

F. G. HUBBARD,
A. F. KUERSTEINER,
G. O. CURME.

Committee.

RESOLUTIONS RECOMMENDED BY THE EXECUTIV COMMITTEE

Resolvd, 1. That the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America favors the movement for the reform of English orthography;

2. That the Central Division requests the Executiv Council for the year 1914-15 to consider the whole subject of the further reform of English orthography and to make recommendations to the Association at the union meeting to be held in 1915.

Professor B. E. Young moved that the report of the Executiv Committee be approved and that the resolutions presented by them be adopted. Professor J. T. Hatfield moved the following amendment:

Resolvd, That the Central Division favors and advocates the immediate adoption, on the part of all American institutions, of the list of 300 simplified words issued by the Simplified Spelling Board.

This amendment was lost, and then the original motion was carried, approving the report of the Executiv Committee and adopting their resolutions as recommended.

On behalf of the committee on place of meeting, Professor Julius Goebel reported recommending that the Central Division accept the invitation of President George E. Vincent to hold the meeting of 1914 in Minneapolis under the auspices of the University of Minnesota.

This recommendation was adopted.

For the committee on the nomination of officers Professor O. F. Emerson presented the following nominations:

Chairman: Julius Goebel, University of Illinois.

Executive Committee:

Max Poll, University of Cincinnati.

Lucy M. Gay, University of Wisconsin.

Morgan Callaway, Jr., University of Texas.

On motion the report was accepted and the persons nominated were unanimously elected.

On behalf of the committee on resolutions, Professor Lucy M. Gay presented the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America express by a rising vote our sense of loss in the death of Professor Charles W. Benton and of Professor Henry Le Daum, and our appreciation of the services they rendered to education;

That the secretary be requested to communicate our sympathy and respect to Mrs. Benton and to Mrs. Le Daum.

These resolutions were unanimously adopted, and the secretary sent communications as directed.

On behalf of the committee on resolutions, Professor Lucy M. Gay presented the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America convey to the University of Cincinnati our appreciation of its thoughtful attention for our every need and every pleasure and our thanks for its generous hospitality.

This resolution was unanimously adopted.

On behalf of the Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature, Professor F. G. Hubbard presented a report in pamphlet form. And then on motion of Professor B. L. Bowen the following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, 1. That the Report of the Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature be approved; that the present representatives of our Association on that committee be authorized to take, on our behalf, such further action as may be necessary to complete the report and to arrange for its publication; and that our treasurer be authorized to contribute from the moneys of our association such a sum as he may deem expedient to cover our share of the expenses of the committee.

2. That the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America hereby recommends that, as soon as may be found practicable, the nomenclature provided in the report be used in the schools of the United States.

The secretary reported that the foreign scholars whose names follow had been nominated for honorary membership by the Executive Council of the Association. On his suggestion the Central Division took favorable action on these nominations:

Francesco Flamini, Professor at the University of Pisa.

Abel Lefranc, Professor in the Collège de France.

Gustav Roethe, Professor at the University of Berlin.

Edward Schroeder, Professor at the University of Göttingen.

Francesco Torraca, Professor at the University of Naples.

On the suggestion of the chairman the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the secretary and the Executive Committee be directed to arrange, if possible, to devote the fifth session to a *colloquium* at which one or two subjects of wide general interest shall occupy the whole of the session except the part needed for routine business.

On motion of Professor O. F. Emerson the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the Central Division of the Modern Language Association asks and urges the departments of Latin in our colleges and universities to offer courses in medieval Latin as of important assistance to the study of the medieval and modern literatures.

The reading of papers was then resumed.

20. "The Early English Translations of Bürger's *Lenore*." By Professor Oliver Farrar Emerson, of the Western Reserve University.

[The appearance of five English translations and seven versions in the single year 1796 has been often noted. Some new light may now be thrown on the relations of these translations, their authors, and the different influences affecting them.—*Fifteen minutes*.]

This paper was discust by Professor H. G. Shearin.

21. "Chrétien de Troyes' Technical Use of Proverb and *Sentenz*." By Professor Henry Raymond Brush, of the University of North Dakota.

[It was early noticed by Holland and others that Chrétien de Troyes makes frequent use of proverbs and *Sentenzen*. It is also to be observd that he uses them to a far greater extent than earlier writers do, and that his successors imitate him in their use of proverbial expressions. Chrétien's chief sources of proverbs are (1) the Bible, (2) classical Latin authors, (3) medieval Latin authors, (4) *Li Proverb au Vilain*. It has not been brought out that he uses proverbs increasingly in succeeding works, that they constitute an essential part of his style, and that he utilizes them in different ways. The frequent use of the popular proverb is worthy of note on account of Chrétien's often exprest antipathy to the *vilain*. Chrétien seems also to have coind many proverbs and *Sentenzen* that were taken into popular currency.—*Ten-minute summary*.]

This paper was discust by Professors L. M. Gay, J. L. Borgerhoff, and T. A. Jenkins.

22. "Shakespeare and Thomas Heywood." By Professor Daniel Ford, of the University of Minnesota.

[A collation of Heywood's plays, particularly his early ones, with Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Troilus and Cressida*, and *Timon of Athens* suggests that in these semipurious plays there is present "at the least a maine finger" of Thomas Heywood. Viewd from the standpoints of subject matter, spirit, meter, and diction, they yield evidences of his connection with them.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professors R. A. Law, D. L. Thomas, and G. M. Miller.

The members of the association and their friends were entertaind at luncheon by the University at half-past twelve on Wednesday in McMiken Hall.

After luncheon several members and their friends accepted the invitation of Professor J. M. Burnam, Professor of Latin in the University of Cincinnati, to inspect his collection of rare manuscripts and books which are preservd in the Van Wormer Library.

SIXTH SESSION, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 31

The session began at 2.10 p. m., when the reading of papers was continued.

23. "Chrétien de Troyes and Hue de Rotelande's *Ipomédon*." By Professor Lucy Maria Gay, of the University of Wisconsin.

[The content, language, and style of *Ipomédon*, make it difficult to believe with Kölbing, that Hue was influenced by Chrétien's *Charrete* or *Yvain*. Bardoux's interpretation of *Ipomédon* in his work on Walter Map. Possibility of dating more closely its composition. Contrary to the statement of Paul Meyer, Hue often breaks the couplet, but even *Thèbes* offerd encouragement in this.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professor H. R. Brush.

24. "Colonial Theatres in Charleston, South Carolina." By Professor Robert Adger Law, of the University of Texas.

[A recent article in *The Nation* (February 27, 1913) has shown that one of the first American theatres was erected in Charleston, South Carolina, as early as 1736, and that plays were seen there at irregular intervals from that year till the Revolution. Search of contemporary newspapers reveals information concerning the history of several colonial theatres, the plays given in them, and the acting companies.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

25. "The Provençal *Lais*, *Markiol* and *Nompar*: Their Relation to the Latin *Sequences* and to the French *Lais* and *Descourts*." By Mr. John Raymond Shulters, of the University of Illinois.

[Bartsch's edition of the *Lais*, *Markiol* and *Nompar*, left many questions unsolved. This was due to the fact that he left completely aside the musical notation. The purpose of this study is to furnish a complete text of the *lais* and to discuss in detail their form, versification, and rhythm as revealed by the aid of their musical notation. The method of modal interpretation, established by Dr. J. B. Beck (*Melodien der Troubadours*, Strassburg, 1908) is used. A proper interpretation of the melodies should throw a new light on the origin of the *lais* and their relation to the Latin *sequences*, and also on difficult problems of accentuation, rhythm, and versification. Finally, it is the purpose of the author to show what bearing, if any, these *sequences* and older *lais* had on the later development of poetic form, especially in the French *lais* and the *descourts* and *acorts* in both Provençal and French literature.—*Ten-minute summary.*]

This paper was discussed by Professor T. A. Jenkins and the author.

26. "Dryden's Relation to the German Lyric in the Eighteenth Century." By Professor Milton D. Baumgartner, of the University of Nebraska. Read by Professor S. W. Cutting, of the University of Chicago.

[The fame of Dryden as a lyricist in Germany centered in his second Saint Cecilia ode, *Alexander's Feast*. The favorable English

criticism, and the musical composition of Händel account for the favorable reception in Germany. Numerous translations and commendatory reviews by poets and critics of note bespeak its popularity in Germany, where this and some of Dryden's other odes influenced the odes of Germany. This is a part of a study of Dryden's Relation to Germany in the Eighteenth Century now being published.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

27. "Notes on Gustav Frenssen." By Professor Warren Washburn Florer, of the University of Michigan, and Miss Mary J. Ruthrauff.

[This paper contained information on the life of Gustav Frenssen and especially material on *Jörn Uhl*. It was based on letters from Frenssen and on an interview with Frenssen by Miss Ruthrauff.—*Twelve minutes.*]

This paper was discussed by Professors S. W. Cutting and W. W. Florer.

At the conclusion of the reading of papers the chairman gave a brief review of the various sessions, and then the Central Division adjourned at 3.35 p. m.

PAPERS PRESENTED BY TITLE ONLY

28. "Italian and Spanish Drama on the English and American Stage." By Professor Charles Carlton Ayer, of the University of Colorado.

[Italy and Spain, unlike France and Germany in the nineteenth century, furnished but few plays to the modern English repertory. Even Salvini, Ristori, and Rossi took their plays largely from abroad. At present, however, the works of modern Italian and Spanish dramatists (D'Annunzio, Braccio, Echegaray, Guimera, etc.) in English translation, are commanding attention in England and in the United States.]

29. "Pronunciation Reform *versus* Spelling Reform." By Professor Calvin S. Brown, of the University of Mississippi.

[English spelling and pronunciation should be brought into closer harmony. In some cases it would be better to try to change the

spelling to agree with the pronunciation; in other cases it would be better to try to change the pronunciation to agree with the spelling.]

30. "The Pronouns of Address in Goethe's *Faust*." By Professor William Herbert Carruth, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

[In *Faust, Part I*, Goethe uses for the second person singular nominativ: Du, Ihr, and Er (or Sie), and the corresponding oblique cases, with a single instance of Ihnen as dativ singular. The nominativ plural is always Ihr. Accordingly the singular forms alone afford ground for examination. Goethe's usage is in the main the conventional literary usage of the eighteenth century, but it is difficult, if not impossible, to establish a change in attitude corresponding to the many and abrupt shifts in the pronoun of address. It is the writer's belief that such shifts without change in attitude were not regarded by many German, as well as English authors, as rhetorical defects.]

31. "A Modification of the Theory of Prose Rhythm." By Dean Joseph Villiers Denney, of the Ohio State University.

[Both the Jespersen theory of the origin of the sentence and the James theory of the "stream of thought" compel a restatement of the doctrine of dynamic stress. The dynamic stress is not often concentrated at one point in the sentence. The "point of dynamic stress" is not the "fountain of stress." The latter is the valuation which the speaker puts upon his idea. The signs of this valuation are the numerous points of major and minor stress. The minor are not derived from the major stresses.]

32. "On the Paleography and the Language of *Konungs Skuggsjá* A. M. 243, B, a." By Professor George Tobias Flom, of the University of Illinois.

[Presents some of the results of a study of the script, the typical scribal errors, and the vocabulary of this principal Old Norwegian manuscript of the *Konungs Skuggsjá*. The study is based on the complete photographic copy in the library of the University of Illinois, and forms part of the introduction of a fac-simile and diplomatic edition of the manuscript at present in the course of preparation.]

33. "Theodor Körner and Alexander Petöfi: a study in Parallel Development." By Dr. Alexander Green, of the University of Illinois.

[As Körner the aspirations of the German, so Petöfi graspt the essence of the struggle of his nativ land against Austrian oppression. Körner was the bard of the German War of Liberation; Petöfi was the Tyrtæus of the Hungarian War of Independence. Poets tho they were, both did in deeds what they preacht in words.]

34. "Cultural Movements in Germanic Mythology." By Professor Paul H. Grumann, of the University of Nebraska.

[The purpose of the paper is to show how the principles followed by Sophus Bugge in the interpretation of the Baldr myth are applicable to the whole field. Incidentally, the paper is in harmony with the new theory in regard to the original home of the Indo-Europeans.]

35. "*Ollanta*, A Quichua Drama." By Professor Elijah Clarence Hills, of Colorado College.

[This drama in the Quichua language of Upper Peru has been commonly accepted as an ancient Inca drama. It came to light between 1770 and 1780, when a manuscript was produced by Dr. Antonio Valdés, parish priest of Tinta, Peru. Editions have been published by von Tschudi, Markham, Pacheco Zegarra, Middendorf, and others. An attempt to determin the origin and the age of the play by a critical study of the fable, language, and prosody.]

36. "A Visualisation Method for Teaching German Grammar." By Dr. Francis Waldemar Kracher, of the State University of Iowa.

[This treatise, which is to appear in print in the near future, describes in detail a visualisation method, which can be applied with equally good results for individual or class instruction. Every teacher knows that he must stimulate the students' ability to comprehend grammatical forms by means of the eye as well as by the ear. All grammarians, therefore, try to present changes in inflections and word order in a conspicuous way, attractiv to the eye. This particular method uses movable cards, which the student himself handles in laboratory fashion, thereby really and practically working out the changes which occur and which to some are difficult to comprehend. In this manner the pupil obtains a more rapid and a clearer impression of changes in constructions and inflections than he could by merely writing them down or repeating them orally.]

37. "The Prioress's Oath." By Professor John L. Lowes, of Washington University.

[A large and interesting mass of material dealing with St. Eligius

has accumulated in recent years, without apparently having attracted the notice of Chaucerian scholars. It gives valuable aid towards the interpretation of Chaucer's well-known line.]

38. "The Lady of Dreams in Mediæval Poetry." By Dr. Olin Harris Moore, of the University of Illinois.

[Visions of Jaufre Rudel, Arnaud de Marueil, Giraud de Borneil, Amanieu des Escas, Folquet de Romans. Relations with mariolatry. The *Quant li solleiz conversèt en Leon*. Relations with the legend of the *Princesse Lointaine*. Bearing on autobiographical questions in *Li jus Adan*. Development of subject in Italy.]

39. "Word-Coinage and Modern Trade-Names." By Professor Louise Pound, of the University of Nebraska.

[Prolific and untrammeld invention of trade-names at the present time. Variety of devices employed in the effort to produce something striking or rememberable. Popularity of curtailments and distortions, of extensions, of hyphenated forms, of fanciful and phonetic spellings, of blends, of arbitrarily created and seemingly meaningless new words. Contrast with the type of commercial name thought effective some generations ago.]

See *Dialect Notes* for January, 1914.

40. "English Influences upon Freytag's *Soll und Haben*." By Dr. Lawrence Marsden Price, of the University of Missouri.

[The investigation is based on a study of Julian Schmidt's attitude toward the English novel as defined in the *Grenzboten*, 1848-1862. *Soll und Haben* is presented as an integral part of the *Grenzboten* literary policy. Freytag tries to realize in practice what Schmidt commends in theory. The intimate relations of the *Grenzboten* editors with Auerbach, Reuter, and Ludwig are referred to, and the influence of the English novel upon the early works of poetic realism indicated. As an intermediary in this influence the *Grenzboten* is shown to have played an important rôle.]

41. "The Source of Wilhelm Raabe's *Sankt Thomas*." By Dr. Charles Allyn Williams, of the University of Illinois.

[According to Raabe's statement, the chief source of his historical tale, *Die schwarze Galeere* (written 1860), was a continuation of Schiller's *Geschichte des Abfalls der Vereinigten Niederlande* by Karl Curths (*Der niederländische Revolutionskrieg*, Leipzig, edition of 1823). An examination of Curths's history shows that it also fur-

nisht Raabe the basis for *Sankt Thomas* (begun in 1861, not finisht until 1865). In this story the author shows even a greater inclination to depend upon Curths than was the case in *Die schwarze Galeere*, but he is no less skilful in constructing the tale upon the sober account of the history.]

42. "Brieux, the Moralist on the Stage and the Paradox of His Work." By Professor Charles Edmund Young, of Beloit College.

[While Brieux is generally accepted as a serious writer, seeking to bring about various reforms through the medium of the stage, there is also a widespred impression that many of his plays are of a questionable nature on account of his freedom in boldly handling subjects usually avoided. There is, furthermore, an idea that he is a rank pessimist, seeing contemporary life in the worst possible light. This paper aims to study the extent of his reform crusade and to point out the solid qualities of his work, showing also how he contradicts the pessimism of his plays by one in which he warns his readers that French literature does not present a correct picture of French society.]

43. "The Verbal as Adverb." By Dr. Jacob Zeitlin, of the University of Illinois.

[The present participle in English frequently fails to conform to its definition, for in sentences like "he went *riding*," it seems to have the nature of an adverb. This adverbial function is probably based on the primary force of the participle in Indo-Germanic. The disappearance of the adjectival inflection in Modern English tended to loosen the organic bond between the verbal in *-ing* and the noun. Where its meaning brings it into close relation with the noun it still retains the nature of an adjectiv, but very frequently its meaning connects it unmistakably with the verb or with the sentence as a whole, and in such cases a reasonable method of analysis demands that it be treated like any other adverbial expression.]

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

DELIVERED ON TUESDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1913, AT CAM-
BRIDGE, MASS., AT THE THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL
MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION

BY ALEXANDER R. HOHLFELD

LIGHT FROM GOETHE ON OUR PROBLEMS

Many of you, I am inclined to think, may be wondering why I should have chosen Goethe as a guide in considering some of the professional problems of the modern language men of this country. Let me assure you that the selection is neither accidental, nor meant to be facetious.

In the majority of the presidential addresses delivered before this Association, in its Eastern as well as in its Western branch, it has been customary for the speaker to present his case from a frankly personal point of view. Indeed, a deliverance like this, if it is to measure up at all to rightful expectations, must needs partake of the nature of a confession of faith. Emotions, to be sure, should not take the place of argument. But argument should be of such a character as to reveal those fundamental aspects of personality that lie beyond the reach of ready and conscious adjustment.

Whatever opinion of Goethe you may therefore have, individually and collectively, I think I had better admit from the outset that with advancing years I have constantly grown in admiration and in reverence for him of whom even Emerson could finally say, "The old Eternal Genius

who built this world has confided more to this man than to any other." More and more I have developed such a sense of dependence on Goethe for counsel and courage, for light and leading that, even though I tried, I could not keep it from asserting itself whenever on broad questions of principle I am to express my deeper personal convictions. It would not matter whether Goethean influence were specifically referred to or not in the title chosen for this address. It would inevitably be present; even as biblical standards would necessarily have determined the attitude of the early Puritan settlers here in New England on any large problem of culture or education.

To reassure you, however, I can truthfully say that my admiration is not blind. Nor is it ignorant of all that the most determined *advocatus diaboli* could urge against the canonization of my saint. On the contrary, favorite investigations of my own and of my pupils have brought me into unusually close contact with most of the adverse opinions concerning Goethe that have been voiced by German and by foreign writers. But I am more willing than ever to endorse the sentiment of a recent biographer, whose words, to be sure, have immediate reference to the German people:

Whenever a solar eclipse has threatened the orbits of our nation's public affairs or cultural life, we have invoked Goethe as the helper and bringer of light, and never yet in vain.

And on further reflection, ladies and gentlemen, I hope you may be disposed to agree with me that the patron saint whom I invoke has some peculiar warrant for presiding over a gathering like this, and that he has not been chosen merely to humor the racial idiosyncrasies of an unregenerate president.

Auspicious, you will grant, is Goethe's early and sincere interest in the institution whose guests we are on this occasion, an interest engendered through personal acquaintance with men of resonant New England names, like Everett, Ticknor, Cogswell, Bancroft, and graciously expressed in the dedication of a set of his writings in 1819 "to the library of the University of Cambridge in New England, as a mark of deep interest in its high literary character, and in the successful zeal it has displayed thro' so long a course of years for the promotion of solid and elegant education."

But granting that this is merely a casual though happy coincidence, let me remind you how fitly Goethe represents that living union of the ancient and the modern humanities which this meeting may be claimed to symbolize. A typically modern poet, Goethe remained a convinced admirer of ancient literature and art through all the vicissitudes of his long literary career, and the masterpieces of his ripe manhood are the noblest products of the classical renaissance in modern German literature.

To our Latin colleagues let me point out what Rome meant for the maturing of his art and for his happiness as a man. Many years after he had left the Eternal City, he could still exclaim:

Wandelt von jener Nacht mir das traurige Bild durch die Seele,
Welche die letzte für mich ward in der römischen Stadt;—
Wiederhol' ich die Nacht, wo des Teuren soviel mir zurückblieb,
Gleitet vom Auge noch jetzt mir eine Träne herab.

And oh, what comfort our Greek friends can find amid the chill blasts of modern indifference in the shelter of him for whom the ancient Greeks always remained those models to whom we moderns should ever return; not indeed to imitate them mechanically, but to be moved to like efforts in our sphere by the never failing inspiration of

Greek health and strength and beauty. "Every man be a Greek in his own way, but be one!" And as to those of us who are primarily students of modern life and letters, can we not safely entrust ourselves to Goethe with his strong sense of reality and of the present, who with undiminished interest and remarkable freedom from prejudice kept in touch to the last with all the significant cultural movements of his day? It is true, he often and eloquently expressed his deep sense of the continuity of all human knowledge and experience.

Wer nicht von dreitausend Jahren
Sich weiss Rechenschaft zu geben,
Bleib' im Dunkeln unerfahren,
Mag von Tag zu Tage leben.

And yet, at the reminiscent age of 80 years, he could still say with equal assurance and truth, "Only because men do not know how to appreciate and vivify the present, do they long so much for a better future or coquettishly ogle with the past."

Those among us who are devoting our labors to the study of Germanic culture claim him as our own in a deeper sense and see in him, in the words of Jacob Grimm, "the sun in the literary heavens of Germany." But the colleagues in the fields of English and of the Romance languages may none the less accept him as their spokesman with equal confidence. What foreigner ever proclaimed more enthusiastically the greatness of Shakespeare and of English literature, or more heartily acknowledged the cultural debt of gratitude that he owed to the classic poets of France? Not only his wide first-hand acquaintance with the languages and literatures of England, France, and Italy, but also his actual critical and exposi-

tory writings in these fields would, from a purely scholarly point of view, assure him a place of distinction among the ablest members of this Association. And were the Orientalists meeting with us, they would unquestionably be willing to do homage not only to the inspiration, but also to the learning of the poet of the *West-östlicher Divan*.

Not only as scholars, however, but also as teachers, we may be sure of finding our efforts appreciated at the hands of one who, despite his preëminently artistic endowment, found and nurtured a characteristic trait of didacticism in his own nature. More specifically, as teachers of foreign tongues we are indebted to him for that happy axiom so frequently quoted in support of our work, that he who has no knowledge of a foreign language does not know his own: "Wer fremde Sprachen nicht kennt, weiss nichts von seiner eignen."

In fact, as teachers and as scholars, as philologists in the broader and in the narrower sense of the term, as representatives of ancient and of modern literature, as Anglists, Romanists and Germanists, as classicists, romanticists and realists, we all can confidently enter the temple consecrated to the service of the patron saint whom I invoke. "Introite, nam et hic dii sunt."

In the brief time at my disposal, I cannot attempt to suggest all of the relations that might readily be established between characteristic views and utterances of Goethe and some of those manifold interests and problems that confront at the present time "the advancement of the Modern Languages and their Literatures," in constitutional parlance the object of the existence of our Association. Every one who knows fairly well not only the poet Goethe in his recognized "works," but also the man and thinker, as he has gradually become more and more

revealed through the rich treasures of his letters and conversations, every one so informed will be ready to admit that of such relations there exist a large number that suggest themselves easily and naturally. Some of them I have already referred to, or at least hinted at, as the advantage of the study of foreign languages, or the relative claims of the ancients and the moderns. Others might easily take us far afield into those general problems of education in which our own professional destinies are deeply involved, as, for instance, the latter-day invasion of the champions of the practical and utilitarian with its many reactions on the study of the humanities and chiefly perhaps of language and literature.

Instead, I propose to single out three important, broad and characteristic aspects of Goethe's view of life which had a profound bearing on his own work and development, which have proved very illuminating to me in dealing with the poet's complex and many-sided nature, and which permit of a ready and natural application to our own professional aims and conditions. If thus far I have laid the emphasis of my remarks upon Goethe himself as a source of light, I shall henceforth rather dwell upon those problems of ours that appear to be illumined by his light.

First, I desire to direct your attention to a group of thoughts suggested by the Goethean conception of *Weltliteratur*, which in his old age appeared to him as a matter of great moment and promise. Of course, in a sense, the facts underlying this idea are old, as far as it relates to a literary interchange between the leading nations of Europe, if not of the world. But what previously had been left to the play of chance or the stress of necessity was conceived by Goethe, who was justly aware

that he himself had become one of the great "Weltdichter," as a conscious movement growing out of new conditions of international life. According to his view, this movement should be fostered and guided, as on the other hand there are to be expected from it far-reaching results in the super-national life of the civilized world. Goethe's ideal must not be confused with that of the non-national cosmopolitanism of rationalistic thinkers of the 18th century. In their view the national differences separating the various peoples were in the main to be considered as hindrances to be reduced and eliminated as much as possible in the interest of a uniform and universally human ideal of life and culture. Goethe, however, developed and advocated his ideas after romanticism had successfully vindicated the deeper significance of the historical, racial, and popular elements in the life and thought of a nation. He is far from seeing in these tendencies mere hindrances to a speedy consummation of his hopes, but rather acknowledges them as characteristic factors of significant value and advantage. Just because nations, like individuals, are differently endowed and cannot escape the "daimon" that animates and controls them, they can aid each other toward a fuller conception and realization of human perfection. For this purpose, in the cultural traffic of nations, those tendencies should be strongly encouraged which point toward closer harmony and fuller appreciation; tolerance is to be insisted on where there are deep-seated and irreconcilable differences; and, lastly, those aspects of a nation's life in which it is strongest and most successful—what Goethe calls "die Vorzüge" of a given nation—are to be considered as worthy of special recognition. The following brief quotations may illustrate these assertions.

Truly universal tolerance is most securely established if we are not disturbed by the peculiarities of individuals or nations, but at the same time adhere to the conviction that everything truly meritorious is distinguished by being common to all mankind.

Only we repeat that we should not possibly expect that nations should think alike; but they should at least take notice of each other, comprehend each other, and if they cannot love each other, at least learn to bear with each other.

From the manner in which [foreigners] think of us, more or less favorably, we in turn learn to judge ourselves, and it cannot do any harm if for once we are made to reflect upon ourselves.

In the spirit of this conception Goethe was eager to do all that lay in his power to increase the nations' interest "an einer edlen allgemeinen Länder- und Weltannäherung." What he ultimately hoped for as at least one of the results of such mutual approach and appreciation is most clearly shown in a passage from a letter of Carlyle which he translated for his German fellow-countrymen with terms of highest approval:

Let nations, like individuals, but know one another and mutual hatred will give place to mutual helpfulness; and instead of natural enemies, as neighboring countries are sometimes called, we shall all be natural friends.

This noble thought, thus sanely pictured, neither suggests nor tolerates that puerile spirit of utopian recklessness which has done much to discredit the entire movement in the minds of many people who otherwise might well come under its spell and help serve its ends. In Goethe's

sober conception, the idea is entirely free from the blemish of an unruly and short-sighted disregard for the established laws of life. Results, he knows, will neither be sudden nor perfect, and he expressly warns his followers that they should not expect more than is reasonable.

Such a program of international appreciation, tolerance, and helpfulness has, it seems to me, a highly valuable significance for us modern language men who represent disciplines in the pursuit of which, no matter how objectively and judiciously we may proceed, the respective national points of view are bound to manifest themselves. This natural state of affairs is even further accentuated by the fact that in a large number of institutions, in our subjects far more than in others, and in this country far more than elsewhere, native Americans are working side by side with the representatives of other nationalities. The conditions of our profession thus offer an unusual opportunity for putting to the test, on a small scale, as it were, the Goethean principle "*einer edlen allgemeinen Länder- und Weltannäherung.*"

Pray do not fear that I have any intention of advocating that our Association as such recognize or support any of the specific movements now organized in this country and abroad in behalf of international conciliation and world peace. What I do desire to accomplish, however, thru these feeble words of mine is to aid in arousing among us as a profession a more general consciousness of the peculiar opportunities and responsibilities which apparently are ours in regard to a great world movement that has begun to fire the imagination and the will of many of the best minds of our age. We, above all, ought to have and undoubtedly do have that deeper knowledge that is claimed to be the warrant of appreciation and sympathy. But if so,

should we not remember that "no man, when he hath lighted a candle, putteth it in a secret place, neither under a bushel, but on a candlestick, that they which come in may see the light?" Of course, I have no reference to the thoughtless use of high-sounding arguments such as you must have heard at teachers' meetings or seen in print in our popular proselyting literature, when the promotion of the peace of the world is conjured up as one of the reasons why John and Mary should not fail to elect German or French in their high school course, maybe in preference to Latin or Greek. But what has often seemed strange to me is that, to my knowledge, so very few of the scholars working in the field of the modern languages have been known to make their influence felt in a cause that is so peculiarly related to their specific work and interests.

An attitude of mind that would naturally emphasize the solidarity of our interests rather than those elements that tend to keep us apart would, moreover, have valuable results of a more immediate and practical nature nearer home. We all, the East no less, I understand, than the West, are keenly conscious of the change that is going on in regard to the value placed upon the study of foreign language in the national scheme of education. We are under fire from almost all sides, and if the most peremptory of up-to-date reformers could have their way, language and literature would promptly be removed from the essentials of the new education, if not altogether excluded. It is evident that under such circumstances the strength of our position will be greatly augmented by all that makes for harmony and mutual helpfulness within the fold; while everything that fosters dissension and jealousy and extreme rivalry cannot but reduce our prospects. United we surely stand more firmly, divided we shall certainly fall more easily.

In making these suggestions, I am primarily thinking of our own Association. But as this is a joint meeting of the classical and of the modern language groups, I feel justified in laying especial stress on the fact that in this respect, if in no other, all the language interests form a community the individual members of which are closely dependent on one another. The more indifferent the purchasing public becomes to the wares we have to offer, the more solicitous some of us are likely to grow in our efforts to retain old customers or to find new ones, either overpraising our own goods or calling in question the quality of those of our rivals. Of course, fair and frank competition is inevitable and, within limits, desirable and necessary. We all believe or should believe in the value, even the superior value, of the subject in which our work primarily lies. But we should aim to make our claims, whether in theory or in practice, in public or in private, on the positive side of what our subjects legitimately have to offer and avoid all wilful disparagement of the characteristic values of rival claimants. Differences of opinion need not be glossed over, convictions must be expressed, preferences plainly stated. But none the less we should be able to convey the sincere impression that back of it all we are animated by good will for those who work in another field, by interest in their success, respect for their labors. Let us be assured that a public and a student body, prone as they are to linguistic and literary scepticism, will only too readily assent to and be influenced by whatever we urge against a competitor and, no doubt, will soon find or make an occasion for again quoting it garnished to taste, as coming from those who ought to be in a position to know. So far so good. But do not forget that the claims which we may make in support of our own subjects will be riddled

by similar counter-arguments which our colleagues may have leveled against us on other occasions. To quote an instance that has recently come to my notice, it certainly should not be necessary that the just claims for the high value of Latin training in the schools should assume the form of an uncalled for and reckless attack upon German because it is, at least with us in the West, "that most serious competitor of Latin in secondary schools." And matters are, of course, not improved, but only rendered worse, if it be pointed out that equally ill-considered and damaging statements against the classics emanate from the representatives of the modern tongues.

I think we are ready to admit that the cause of language was not advanced in any true sense thru the acrimonious charges and counter-charges which flew thru the air not so many years ago when the conflict was waging over the introduction of the modern languages into the traditional curricula of schools and colleges. What was unwise then would, however, be suicidal today, when the attack is from without. Only the common enemy is deriving advantage from any ammunition we may use against one another.

I plead, then, both in the interest of a great world movement and in the interest of our undivided attention upon the common cause of linguistic and literary culture, for the maximum of unity of effort, of mutual appreciation, of whole-souled emphasis on what unites us as co-workers and not on what separates us in regard to minor matters of aim and method or of a characteristically national point of view. It may be that this warning is unnecessary. Nobody would be happier than myself if I could be shown to be mistaken. But I admit that it has seemed to me as though of late there were a tendency gaining ground, not

only in matters of mere language instruction, but also in regard to the higher cultural values represented by the various literatures which we represent, that could not be claimed to be in harmony with the Goethean conception of *Weltliteratur* and that does not augur well for the most successful defense of our present endangered position.

In Goethe's ideal of *Weltliteratur*, and even more strikingly in some of the other attitudes and opinions of his already alluded to, we find recurrent an underlying principle which I have selected as the second matter to bring to your attention. Be a Greek and be a German, be an artist and be a teacher, prize the present and honor tradition, rely on personality and esteem foreign achievement—formulas like these reveal a mode of thought that seeks the secret of health and beauty and greatness in a harmonious synthesis of conflicting tendencies, an idea charmingly applied to Goethe himself in those two little characteristic lines:

Bin Weltbewohner,
Bin Weimaraner.

And indeed we are touching here upon one of the most vital and fertile of the more fundamental concepts of Goethe's philosophy of life. All growth and development, in fact, all life, physical, intellectual, and spiritual, is viewed by him as a constant fluctuation between opposites which are equally necessary for the maintenance of the evolutionary process. This perpetual flux and reflux appears to him as by no means void of meaning or consistency. He firmly believes in positive progress, in a real upward or forward tendency, and bases his assurance on the observation, made in nature and in human life, that, in the last analysis, a development in a given direction is benefited by

the succeeding rebound in the opposite direction. It is corrected and enriched by it, and the entire process is thus lifted, as it were, to a new and higher level. In this sense the life of the entire universe in its dynamic evolution is symbolized by Goethe now as the interaction of attracting and repelling magnetic poles, now as a pulsating process in which systole and diastole, contraction and dilation, follow upon each other with rhythmic regularity. In either case syntheses between opposites lead gradually to ever new and ever more refined forms of development.

A few brief quotations may again illustrate this principle, which in all guises and disguises occurs again and again in many of Goethe's conceptions and utterances.

Polarität und Steigerung, die zwei grossen Trieb-
räder aller Natur.

People say that half-way between two conflicting opinions lies truth. By no means! It is the problem that lies there. . . eternally dynamic life imagined only as tho at rest.

A century that relies entirely upon analysis and is afraid, as it were, of synthesis is not on the right track. Only the two together, like exhalation and inhalation, constitute the life of science.

During my entire life I had proceeded now as poet and now as observer, now synthetically and then again analytically. The systole and diastole of the human spirit, as tho a second breathing, were with me never separate, always pulsating.

This doctrine of opposites as one of the basic principles of life, no less in the most complex cosmic processes than in the minutest problems of individual existence, is, of course, not of Goethe's invention. In some form or other it is as old as the history of human speculation, and

philosophers trace it far beyond the Platonic system to Heraclitus or even to doctrines of earliest oriental meditation. What gives us a right to consider it as a characteristically Goethean principle is the frequency and intensity with which he insists on it and the illuminating power which it assumes if applied to Goethe's own contradictory and yet harmonious personality.

Viewed in the light of such a theory, that which we conceive as rest, both in the moral and in the physical world, is not rest at all, but rather a temporary state of tension or balance, resulting from the equalizing influence of two opposite forces. The solution of any problem of life is therefore not to be sought at either extreme, nor indeed at some comfortable "dead" point representing a definitive and permanent adjustment. As far as any "solution" is possible at all, it is to be found in the vigilant maintenance of a relative balance amid the constant shifts of conflicting tendencies, which in themselves are equally true and equally false.

Permit me to apply this theory for a few moments to the work of an association as complex as the one whose welfare depends on us. We are all aware that within its limits there exists a wealth of different and maybe antagonistic tendencies, all of which we are bound to consider necessary for the welfare of the whole: the classic and the romantic, the medieval and the modern, the Germanic and Romance, literature and "philology," culture and learning, teaching and research. What a fruitful field for discussion and debate! At every turn live problems which will never permit of static solution, except perchance in the abstract reasoning of speculation.

Nur der verdient sich Freiheit wie das Leben,
Der täglich sie erobern muss.

From these conflicting interests I desire to single out for brief consideration one phase of the much-discussed problem of the relation of teaching and research. And in speaking on this question I trust I may be pardoned if I repeat some statements which I made several years ago in an address as chairman of the Central Division of our Association. I considered the issue an unsolved problem then, as far as the activities of our Association are concerned, simply because no trace of balance existed between conflicting claims of approximately equal weight and dignity. For the same reason I must consider it an unsolved problem now. At the same time I feel convinced that a fairly thoroughgoing attempt at a more equitable settlement cannot safely be put off very much longer. Unfortunately, I myself am far less sure than I thought I was several years ago as to the best method of securing improvement. I only feel more convinced than ever that the present situation is an anomaly which we cannot continue to countenance with equanimity.

A brief historical retrospect will help to justify my conviction that our profession should no longer delay making strong and liberal provision, in some form or other, for the pedagogical and broadly cultural interests of our work in addition to those in pure scholarship and research.

The first volume of our *Publications* of the year 1884-5, out of a total of 17 printed papers, contained as many as nine, over one-half, of a general and in the main pedagogical character. Thus we clearly see to what extent the teaching interests were then overshadowing the ideal of research. Soon, however, the pendulum began to swing in the opposite direction; systole followed upon diastole. After the first three volumes, not more than one or two papers of a general or pedagogical character ap-

peared each year, until finally, in the seventh volume, that of 1892, there is not a single paper printed that deals directly with the teaching problems of our profession. Since then, aside from some of the presidential addresses that have dealt with such questions, scarcely a single non-technical article seems to have been printed as a regular part of the *Publications* of our Association. A so-called "Pedagogical Section" which at least in name had kept up the older tradition, ceased to exist about 1902, and in the same year the presidential address frankly proclaimed that the object of this Association, as phrased in the third section of the Constitution, should be interpreted as: "the advancement of philology in the departments of the modern languages." This meant, of course, that in our Association, as far at least as its official character and, above all, its publications were concerned, the older college ideal had been entirely superseded by the modern university ideal, chiefly that of the graduate school, as it had developed in our strongest institutions; and these—as was natural and proper—have been the acknowledged leaders in the policy of the Association.

Most of us, I feel sure, rejoice heartily in this ascendancy and final victory of scholarship, and we can easily imagine how much, in the early history of the Association, the repression of narrowly and superficially pedagogical interests was needed. We feel deeply grateful to those who, in this struggle for supremacy, held high the banner of learning and ultimately won the day. The legitimate question now, however, seems to be whether the swing of the pendulum has not carried us too far toward the opposite pole. With our present strength as a strictly scholarly body assured, should we not be ready to recognize that it behooves us to give more attention and en-

couragement than we do now to the broader educational and practical interests of our profession? Has the ideal of productive scholarship in all these years taken root so little that we must fear it will suffer and die unless we keep it surrounded by the high walls of a protective tariff? The exclusiveness which once, no doubt, was the part of wisdom and has helped to make us strong is now the part either of superciliousness or of timidity and impairs the fullness of the influence which we might wield.

When I speak of important educational problems that require recognition at the hands of the leaders of our profession, I am far from thinking primarily of the well-worn, though in its place important question of sound methods of elementary language teaching. Very different subjects claim our attention with at least equal force; as, for instance, the broad and complex problem of the exact function of the modern languages and literatures in the general intellectual and cultural training of our American undergraduates and all that results from clearness on this point; or the question of the proper university training for prospective secondary and college teachers of modern languages, a question which, in turn, involves the scrutiny of the character and sequence of the work constituting a "major" for the degrees of bachelor or master of arts and, in a measure, even for the doctor's degree. And there are many other problems of similar weight and difficulty that call for consideration and solution.

The seriousness of the situation is even greater than might appear at first sight. Had we journals of high standing specifically devoted to the interests and problems of modern language instruction, then indeed interested members might make good thru their individual efforts what we leave undone as an association at our meetings

and in our publications. But this is not the case. Every European country has one or more such publications. We in this country possess practically nothing of the kind for the modern foreign languages,¹ even tho we have a fairly large number of journals and of other serial publications exclusively devoted to the interests of research—a situation which corresponds neither to the actual conditions nor to the real needs of our profession. Our classical colleagues, with more sincerity and wisdom, have recognized the need of a publication of a more practical character. They have thereby not jeopardized their legitimate interests in research while they have greatly enhanced both the thoroness and effectiveness of their school and college teaching and the all-important feeling of a real solidarity all along the line. A similar venture has been made for English, it is true. But I for one must regret that it does not represent a closer connection with the spirit and membership of our Association.

This suggests the trend, however, which things are bound to take if we do not bestir ourselves. If even the most solid and important educational problems of our profession are to remain practically eliminated from our

¹The *Monatshefte für deutsche Sprache und Pädagogik*, excellent service tho it has rendered in the otherwise unoccupied field, has, for various reasons, never become a journal of general appeal to secondary and college teachers. Some of the most important contributions on modern language instruction have been published of late years in *The Educational Review*, *The School Review*, *Science*, and other journals of a general character in which they are in danger of being overlooked by the profession. We have, moreover, no channel of communication whatsoever for those minor matters of information which men working together in a professional brotherhood should have of each other, as for instance, significant new appointments, new foundations of chairs, or libraries, or seminaries, important changes in the requirements for degrees, and so forth.

meetings and publications, these interests must either be transferred to other organizations already in existence or they must find expression in new organizations of their own. Should the Association, after careful consideration of all matters involved, desire to remain a research society pure and simple, as learned societies rightfully may be, such a result need not dismay us. If, however, we desire to be recognized as leaders in all legitimate questions concerning the scholarly teaching of our subjects, we cannot view idly the growing estrangement and dissatisfaction of an important element of our profession.

I myself, as I have already indicated, have no remedy to propose. But what I think we owe to ourselves is a frank recognition of the existing unsatisfactory situation, a searching diagnosis of the case with the aid of the best expert advice available, and a firm resolve to do squarely whatever the situation may seem to require. It will not do for us to shirk our responsibility toward the more immediate teaching interests, remote as they may be from the personal work of many of the leaders of the Association, by claiming that we are not our brother's keeper. The best talent and most vigorous life of our profession have been gathered together by us in our body and—*noblesse oblige*.

If we decide to remain what we are, we should make it clear to those of our colleagues who feel that their pedagogical interests require organization, that we would not stand in the way of any attempt of theirs to solve their problems through some organized form of their own, but that on the contrary we wish them Godspeed and are willing to render them all possible assistance. In that case we might lose a few members, though surely not many; whereas we should gain in homogeneity of temper and aspiration.

If, on the other hand, we prefer to enlarge our sphere, we should from the start face the fact that no half-hearted measure will do. We must not attempt to put off the discontented a few years longer by throwing them a sop. A lamely revived pedagogical section for instance, with the right to get into a corner by itself and talk, will never do. Nothing but a pretty thoroughgoing reorganization could accomplish the purpose. For what the teaching interests in my opinion need above all is a journal, a channel of expression and communication that should be both scholarly and practical, and cost considerably less than the *Publications* of the Association. As regards annual meetings, I consider it exceedingly doubtful whether national conventions could ever be made to bring together a representative number of high school teachers or teachers of small colleges and normal schools for the purpose of discussing professional questions. Such an effort would no doubt be doomed to failure unless it were integrally connected with national monster meetings of a general character like those of the National Education Association. But the distracting atmosphere of such heterogeneous gatherings is anything but advantageous to the thoughtful and patient discussion of detailed problems interesting only to the specialist.

But whether the teaching interests find the needed recognition and organization inside of the Association or outside of it, in either case the balance which now is lacking would be restored. For from the standpoint of the general interests of the profession it does not matter whether that balance be adjusted between our Association and some outside organization or between two equally vigorous and active divisions within the Association. What does matter in the light of Goethean thought is the frank recognition

of the problem that lies half-way between the two conflicting opinions, and of the fact that only synthesis and analysis together, like inhalation and exhalation, constitute the healthy life of a science.

Some such adjustment of the present unsatisfactory condition I should claim to be highly desirable under any circumstances. It becomes an absolute necessity under those peculiar difficulties to which I have already alluded and from which our interests are suffering at this time. Teachers of foreign languages are at present constantly exposed to criticisms of and attacks upon their work, even tho such criticisms may in no way be aimed at their individual fitness or service, but leveled at the subjects themselves which they represent. And in this hour of stress and need, our teachers have neither a journal, nor an organization of generally recognized prestige to which they can look for information and guidance. They lack entirely the sustaining consciousness of a corporate body back of them. That is a grievous tactical error, and we must blame ourselves if we cannot hold our own as well as we could if better organized and disciplined.

This brings me to my third and last point—the present general situation in education and the outlook for the future. In this connection also I hope to find light in some characteristic views of Goethe. Pardon me if I appear to treat with undue brevity a subject as intricate and perplexing as it is significant and worthy of careful analysis. But I feel that I ought not to tax your patience much longer. Besides, my immediate predecessor in office has ably and fully discussed this question in his recent address on “The Dark Ages,” which, no doubt, is still fresh in the minds of most of you. It is with hesi-

tation, therefore, that I beg leave to differ from him in some measure, though not in regard to the facts which he described, nor in regard to the strictures he made. They were correct and just. His aim was to point out the deep and gloomy shadows that are in the picture and that are indeed disheartening. And he did it vigorously and convincingly. But if he held a brief for revealing darkness I, on the contrary, hold a brief for finding light. For does not the evolutionary theory of my spiritual guide bid me look for light even in the darkness, or at least expect that darkness must again be followed by light?

Verily, few great men of modern times are exponents of so contagious a spirit of refined optimism in regard to life in its totality, in its essential goodness and promise, as Goethe. This note of hopefulness and of confidence characterizes almost everything said and done by Goethe in the years of his maturity and, even more, of his old age. I again quote a few passages chosen almost at random.

‘Nein, heut ist mir das Glück erbest! ’
Du saddle gut und reite getrost.

At times our fortune looks like a fruit tree in winter. Who, at its sorry sight, would believe that these rigid branches and jagged twigs could burst into leaf and blossom in the coming Spring and then bear fruit! And yet we hope for it, we know it.

Even tho error should gain control in a science, truth will always retain a minority; and should this minority dwindle down to one single mind, there would still be no reason for alarm. This one mind will continue in his quiet and secluded work and influence, and a time will come when people will take an interest in him and his convictions and, as light begins to spread more generally, his convictions will again be able to venture into the open.

But tho an optimist, Goethe cannot be said to have taken life lightly. On the contrary, it appeared eminently serious to him; so serious that he confessed he could not understand how humor, a faculty which was by no means lacking in him, could ever with a thoughtful critic of life be more than an incidental touch in a portrayal of human affairs. Goethe, as he himself said, had inherited from his father not only his bodily frame, but also "des Lebens ernstes Führen." Nor did Goethe consider himself personally the pet child of fortune that many persist in seeing in him. He knew too well how intensely he had been compelled to struggle for all the real prizes which he had won from life. These prizes he saw in things inward and spiritual which are not to be measured in terms of financial comfort, material success, and physical well-being. In fact, Goethe had gradually learned not to expect too much of life and to practice that art of wise resignation which keeps as free from quietistic self-effacement as from the rankling bitterness of disappointment, and gratefully and joyously aims to fix the eye upon those things of life that are good and helpful.

In this spirit, then, I beg leave to express my convictions. The present educational situation unquestionably has in it many disquieting elements. Some of these are deplorable from whatever angle we view them; others, though hurtful, impress us as being due to temporary conditions of transition and no doubt will readjust themselves as soon as a new equilibrium has been found. But I see still other elements which clearly seem to have in them the promise of real progress, and which in the broadest interest of human development need and deserve our support, even tho they may point to a different conception of wisdom and of culture from that in which most of us of the older generation have grown up.

Deplorable under all circumstances is the spirit of superficiality and of narrow utilitarianism which has invaded the realm of education on all sides, spreading confusion of trade with life, of efficiency with wisdom, of success with happiness, of narrowly vocational training with real education. Not that vocational training is negligible; but its *substitution* for education, not only in practice, which is bad enough, but even in theory, which is worse, is baneful and must carry in its wake the worst errors and delusions.

Bad, tho in all likelihood of only transitory prominence, are those elements which result from the sudden expansion in educational affairs that we are witnessing. In consequence of the far-reaching social and economic changes that are going on in this as in all modern countries, large numbers of individuals and entire strata of society are drawn into those channels of higher education which were formerly reserved for smaller and more select groups. The result is on the one hand a spirit of instability and adventurousness that prefers the new simply because it is new; on the other hand a spirit of externalism that worships size and numbers, budgets and plants, mechanical efficiency and administrative availability as tho they were in themselves indications of cultural growth and spiritual power.

These tendencies we should likewise discountenance, in high places and in low places, in ourselves—for few of us remain immune—no less than in others. But let us not forget that historically we *are* committed to the policy of a national life on democratic lines, even tho not in the sense in which the man in the street conceives the idea. Let us not forget that ultimate success in this tremendous experiment becomes visionary as soon as the best minds of the nation do not identify themselves with it;

as soon as they assume beforehand that our greatest national hope, our noblest contribution to the large ideals of mankind, is bound to end in defeat instead of leading to new heights of achievement. Let us hope that a true spirit of learning and wisdom and culture can be kept sufficiently active and alive in our higher educational institutions, so that when its hour returns, and be confident with Goethe that it will return, it may be able to draw into its circle of influence far larger elements of society than was possible under the old order.

So much, however, seems certain; this future ideal of culture in whose ultimate reign we must believe unless we are willing to give up all hope of true progress, will not be merely a return to the older one we have cherished for generations. The Goethean conception of the periodicity of life, as I have said before, would be void of deeper meaning, did it not include the promise of an absolute advance. The interplay of action and reaction to him involved the principle of an ever renewed synthesis between the conflicting opposites, whereby life and its ideals are to be lifted to ever higher levels of content and meaning.

For the uncompromising traditionalists among us, who can see true progress only in a return to the cherished position that was once their own, this view of the trend of things contains but little comfort, I fear. In fact, I see the real promise of growth in a direction in which I should not be surprised to learn that many of my more immediate colleagues see nothing but danger—in the rich and growing development of an ever deeper study of the natural sciences. Superficially viewed, to be sure, they seem to be the arch-enemies of humanistic culture as represented in the disciplines of language and literature, of history and philosophy. No doubt, they have largely usurped the place formerly held in the estimation of the

public and in our college curricula by the older humanistic subjects. But usurpation of a place formerly held by another good occupant is in itself no ground for arraignment, either in education, or in life in general. Otherwise, how should we modern language men feel in the presence of our esteemed colleagues of the ancient classical dispensation?

As long as science is studied and taught solely as 'pure' theory or as 'applied' practice, it cannot claim to aspire to recognition of a more broadly cultural character. But thoughtful scientists who are not only scholarly investigators or practical men of applied science, but who are also broad-minded educators and believers in the spiritual values of human culture, have long begun to scan their field of study from a subtler point of view. The technical study of the humanities is not identical with humanistic culture, but it is an indispensable aid toward preparing the ground for it and rendering it more generally accessible. Similarly, modern scientists seem to ask themselves whether the theoretic study of nature and her facts and laws cannot likewise be made to unlock ultimately new elements of true culture? The question is far too difficult for me to do more than suggest it. Suffice to say that among modern men of science there are convinced advocates of human culture, who by no means confuse culture with mere skill or knowledge and yet answer this question in the affirmative. They have begun to search nature, not nature in its practical applications, nor nature in its picturesque or so-called emotional aspects, but nature in its strictly scientific principles, for esthetic and moral elements of culture and wisdom, and I believe not in vain.

Scientific men of such temper and aspirations I know are as yet in a small minority, and the wisdom and cul-

ture they are looking for in science is only dimly foreseen by them as a far away beckoning goal. The question for us, however, is the attitude we should assume toward such strivings. Should it be one of self-sufficient disdain or of appreciative sympathy?

If the representatives of language and literature consider themselves, in the educational world, as the traditional guardians of humanistic culture, they are under obligation to give serious consideration to every thoughtful movement on behalf of a hoped-for enrichment and enlargement of this culture. Apodictic judgments of *a priori* condemnation might bespeak more egotism than insight. Man will no doubt always remain the center of man's cultural interests. But to future generations man's relation to nature is certain to appear in a very different light from that in which it has long been viewed by either a transcendental or an exclusively rationalistic interpretation of human life. As our knowledge grows deeper and broader, "Law for man, and law for thing" may indeed be seen to have more in common than many of us are now willing to admit. Out of the discipline of science may come, not a substitute for humanism, heaven forbid, but perhaps a significant enrichment of humanism. I hope it may come through that synthesis of component opposites, which Goethean theory leads us to look and hope for.

And is not Goethe himself a striking symbolization of the development toward which humanistic culture seems to be tending? If advocates of the cultural possibilities dormant in science voice their regret that modern science has as yet inspired no poet, I think I may well point to Goethe, the poet-scientist, who, in this as in many other respects, seems to have been far in advance of his age. It would be an engaging task to examine in detail how

much of his art and of his spiritual personality Goethe owed, not only to his deep and sincere love of nature, wherein many another poet resembles him, but even more to those strictly scientific interests in nature in which he virtually stands alone among the sons of Apollo. To mention but one instance, who would not admit that in a poem like "Die Metamorphose der Pflanzen" modern science has indeed inspired true and noble poetry—not didacticism in verse, but genuine poetry of a deeply human appeal and significance? If most critics still deplore the years which they think Goethe wasted on his scientific studies, the time may be nearer than we think when men will marvel at such a short-sighted lack of comprehension. Then perhaps one of Goethe's chief claims to greatness as a representative of modern culture may be seen in the fact that as a humanist and poet he accepted science and made his scientific wisdom contribute to a truer and larger and richer conception of man in nature and of nature in man.

Let me quote at least one passage from those words in which the old Goethe himself referred to the inability of his contemporaries to understand the union of poet and scientist in him. They sound like a prophecy of what the future may bring us.

On all sides people refused to admit that science and poetry could be united. They forgot that science had developed from poetry; they failed to consider that after a cycle of generations (nach einem Umschwung von Zeiten) both might easily meet again on a higher level in a friendly spirit and to mutual advantage.

How far away this time is, who would venture to say? When it comes, when science thru more and more of its representatives shall seek to establish connections with

humanistic culture in the effort to evolve a new interpretation of man's nature and history and aspirations, I hope we of the older humanities may be ready to meet the movement critically, but not without sympathy and understanding, as Goethe, the humanist, would no doubt meet it, if he were among us; and not only we of the modern field, but also our classical colleagues. For it is not unlikely that a deepened interest in the classics will arise under the sway of such a new dispensation. The ancients, tho naïvely and by instinct, were truer disciples of nature than we moderns have often been.

As advocates of learning and culture, let us then not lose hope and courage. Let us stand together in helpful sympathy and coöperation; let us minister faithfully and liberally to all the various needs of the work committed to us; let us meet with appreciation those who, from a different point of view, may aim at the same lofty goal toward which there are many avenues of approach. The luck of the day and of the hour, I admit, is not with us, but light may come sooner than we think. And thus I close with the Goethean message of determination and good cheer conveyed in the simple couplet quoted before:

‘Nein, heut ist mir das Glück erbost!’
Du saddle gut und reite getrost!

THE CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

DELIVERED ON MONDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1913, AT CINCINNATI, OHIO, AT THE NINETEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE ASSOCIATION

BY T. ATKINSON JENKINS

SCOLARSHIP AND PUBLIC SPIRIT

IL MAESTRO

Dottrina abbia e bontà, ma principale
Sia la bontà; chè non vi essendo questa,
Nè molto quella, alla mia estima, vale.

ARIOSTO, *Satira settima*, 16.

"The scholars of the world," said a speaker before the International Students' Congress at Cornell University last summer, "have often been reproached for their self-indulgence and for their lack of heroism in great crises, and, like all other classes, they have much to answer for." From venerable Oxford issued the other day an equally serious charge. We professors were challenged "to solve something which has real importance in practical life, and," continues our critic, "as the professors of the literary arts dare (?) not do this, they would have a bad time, and could hardly make a living, if their subjects did not providentially happen to be endowed." This is indeed a cruel thrust, a veritable *coup de Jarnac* from one of our own guild. The author of a recent "best seller" tells us that the

present generation finds itself in a dilemma. "We have the choice," says one of them, "of going to people like yourself (the person addressed is professor of history in the thriving local university) who know a great deal and don't believe anything, or of going to clergymen, who—" but I omit the rest of that sentence and shall leave you to complete it.

Last year, Charles Tennyson, in a volume of reminiscences of the English Cambridge, noted the existence of "a certain inhumanity among the intellectual, and an aimlessness which comes from too diffuse a culture." About the same time but nearer home a sterner voice was raised to complain of "intellectual intolerance and superciliousness in the teacher, which should be educated out of him before he is fit for his job." Moreover, continues this *vox clamantis*, "there is a well-founded distrust of the capacity of the academic mind to set the standards for society," because the academic mind is "too reasonable, over-critical and afraid of action; it distrusts democracy, lacks the broad outlook and the human sympathy which should be the evidence of culture, and, in fine, exalts cleverness overmuch." Even the new President of Amherst College declares that "when professors are questioned as to results, they give little satisfaction. It often appears (he continues) as if our teachers and scholars were deliberately in league to mystify and befog the popular mind as to the practical value of intellectual work."

Notice that we cannot object that these criticisms emanate from regions "where ignorance wags his ears of leather"; on the contrary, all but one of these voices hail us from what used to be pleasantly known as the classic shades. And we are denounced in still other quarters. A man of the world, author of a recent "Plea for the Younger Generation," after complaining that Science and

System are the twin gods of the twentieth century, goes on to upbraid us in these terms: "O you teachers and professors . . . don't be so infinitely superior, so self-consciously clever, so ultra-modern." We would do well to appoint special professors of character "to supply the much-needed human note in our mostly inhuman schools and colleges."

It is probable that these animadversions point to some disturbing symptom in the body academic, rather than to any deep-seated or wide-spread evil: but to what extent are they founded in anything real? Boiled down, they accuse us professors of failure, or partial failure, in two respects: as regards our life in the community, we are said to be lacking in humanity and public spirit; as regards our pupils, while laboring to attend to the needs of their minds, we are not at the same time inspiring them with an effective idealism. Well-founded or not, these criticisms may at least cause us to pause and reflect; and they may stimulate us to clarify our conceptions of the calling wherewith we are called. To focus the matter I have ventured to propose for our consideration to-night these two propositions:

That to be satisfied with a scholarship which is devoid of public spirit is a reduced conception of the scholar's calling.

That as the religious temper is the best available source of public spirit, something of the religious temper should not be absent in the scholar and teacher.

No time should be lost in making three observations:

First, these propositions are not put forward in a spirit of contention, but merely for our candid examination. Unlike Dr. Pancrace I do not propose to defend them *pugnis et calcibus, unguibus et rostro*; I cannot offer, like the jovial Pantagruel at the Sorbonne, to debate them

daily for six weeks from 4 a. m. to 6 p. m., excepting two hours for lunch.

Second, by the expression a man of "the religious temper" is here meant any complete man who enjoys good health, just as, according to Cardinal Newman, Shakspeare was a religious poet, "exhibiting the religion of nature and of conscience." Would it be shocking to admit even Rabelais as possessing a good deal of the religious temper? It is true that because of certain glaring shortcomings of his he may at this moment be languishing on the seventh ledge of Dante's Purgatorio, but yet, as they know who have taken the trouble to filter his turbid stream, there is in pure Pantagrueism a great plenty of sanity, hopefulness, and constructive wisdom. Rabelais indeed might have furnished us with a motto for this address, he who wrote: "Learning and knowledge without conscience are only ruin to the soul."

And third, to consider these two propositions we need not, I hope, go deeply into philosophy or the philosophy of education. God forbid; such an excursion would be beyond our time and quite beyond my capacity. The philosophic Isms—pragmatism, activism, and the rest—are now as of old engaged in athletic struggles; mere professors of declensions can only hover, like Shakspeare's *Celia*, on the edge of the scrimmage and say to their fellow-spectators: "Would that we were invisible that we might seize the strong fellows by the leg!" Or we may adopt the wise attitude of the Boston gentleman who, on being asked whether he had understood one of Emerson's most transcendental lectures, replied, "No, but my daughters did." The younger generation, no doubt, fully understand all these things.

The second proposition, which calls for something of the religious temper in the teacher and scholar, seems to

imply that persons of the intellectual temper may generally be wanting in public spirit. If this really were implied, the history of scholarship would prove the contrary to be true; for whether love of truth or love of goodness has been their ruling passion, men of both tempers have been gloriously active for the common good. Take, for example, the two founders of the University of Halle, the first modern university. They were, as you know, Thomasius and Francke, professor of law and professor of theology. The former, author of an ambitious *Historia sapientiae et stultitiae* in three volumes octavo—ambitious, I mean, in the hopeful attempt to do justice to human foolishness in three volumes—Christian Thomasius labored for forty years against the intolerances and superstitions of his day. His was a rational mind with a great love of common sense. That he drew plentiful blood from his adversaries seems indicated by the fact that the *Universitas Halensis* was in those early days often referred to as “ein höllisches Institut.” Francke, on the other hand, was a deeply religious nature. In early manhood he was profoundly impressed by a certain passage in the New Testament; he tells us that it never left his mind, and that it became the lever of his whole life. His teaching of a practical Christianity assumed international importance, reaching even to the American colonies.

Thus both men, opposite as they were in temper, were fine examples of the public-spirited scholar. It does seem to be true, however, that the religious mind is oftener in the mood for active public service and has more staying power. If we compare Goethe with Fichte in the age of the first Napoleon, or Renan with Mazzini or Amiel in the time of Napoleon the Third, the contrast in mental temper is striking. It was Goethe who said: “I have always

kept myself as much as possible aloof from religion and politics." It is true that a great deal of water has flowed under the religious and political bridges since the sage of Weimar thus refused to disturb his Olympian calm. Both religion and politics were in his day waters more troubled even than they are now. But listen for a moment to the ardent Fichte: "The scholar ought to be morally the best man of his age. . . . Let him investigate as a matter of duty and not from simple intellectual curiosity, or merely to occupy himself. . . . The scholar must have a living and active integrity of purpose. . . . No one can labor successfully for the improvement of the human race who is not himself a good man, for we also teach much more impressively by example."

But the arch-priest of the intellectuals is no doubt Renan, he who wrote: "*Le savant ne se propose qu'un but spéculatif, sans aucune application directe à l'ordre des faits contemporains. . . . Spectateur dans l'univers, il sait que le monde ne lui appartient que comme sujet d'étude.*" And to the French clericals Renan said in effect: "If you will not dispute us our places in the University and in the French Academy; if you will not bother yourselves about what we teach or write, we will gladly hand over to you the country schools and the guidance of the common people."

Witness now the indignation of Mazzini at this attitude of cold detachment. The Italian patriot hotly retorts: "We are here on earth not to contemplate, but to transform. . . . Our world is not a spectacle, it is a field of battle. . . . Every existence has an aim: the moral sense and the spirit of action are indissoluble." And from his Swiss seclusion Amiel also protested that "the modern separation of the intellectual aristocracy from the honest and vulgar

crowd is the greatest danger that can threaten liberty. Scholars who, like Renan, are mere spectators, are no protection to society from any ill that may attack it." Amiel, of course, did not know that amid the clutter on Renan's desk there would be found, after his death, a stray slip of paper upon which he had written: "De tout ce que j'ai fait, j'aime mieux le Corpus"; that is, the monumental *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, a constructive work of the first magnitude. We shall do well, then, to dismiss this distinction of mental tempers as not essential to the present purpose. It was Descartes who said: "We should not conceive of any priority or preference between the mind of God and his will." This profound reflection may furnish us both the explanation of the existence of the two tempers, and a warning against disputing as to their relative merits. Let us return, then, to our two propositions, which call for some public spirit in every scholar, and a measure of the religious temper in most scholars. And first, what has been in the past the prevailing tradition of American scholarship in this matter? What has been our record as to public spirit and as to public service, and where does our tradition begin?

We are told that free intellectual inquiry—the *libertas philosophandi*—dates from Spinoza's famous *Tractatus* (1670). Halle, the first modern university, was founded in 1693-4, but the spirit of inquiry was not liberated there until about 1740. A decade later, Göttingen achieved independence of church control. In 1805, August Wilhelm Schlegel entered as tutor the Necker family at Coppet; in 1810 to 1813 appeared Mme. de Staël's *De l'Allemagne*, and this remarkable book contains (Ch. 18) these well-known and historic sentences: "The whole north of Germany is full of universities, the most learned in Europe.

In no country, not even in England, are there such facilities for gaining knowledge. . . . Not only are the professors [in these universities] men of astonishing learning, but what gives them an especial distinction is the conscientiousness of their teaching. In Germany, in fact, conscience enters into everything." Mme. de Staël then mentions by name Göttingen, Halle, and Jena. It is a capital fact in the intellectual history of this country that these sentences crossed the Atlantic and fell under the eyes of a generation of young men who, born after the close of the Revolution, were growing up to feel the need of a culture broader and deeper than the New World then afforded. George Ticknor, born in Boston in 1791, arrived in Göttingen during the historic summer of 1815, and it was four years before he came back to New England. "Germany," says Emerson, "had created science in vain for us until 1820, when Edward Everett returned from his five years in Europe and brought to Cambridge his rich results." Here were the beginnings. From 1815 to 1850 some 225 Americans are counted at German universities, and of these 137 filled academic positions on their return home. Ticknor, Everett, Bancroft, Cogswell, Patton, Greene, Prescott, Stuart, Longfellow, Allen, Lincoln, Lane, Whitney, Goodwin, Gildersleeve—these are some of the honored names of these intellectual pioneers. They might well have appropriated to themselves the well-known words of old Pasquier: "It was a fine campaign that we undertook against ignorance in those days, and the vanguard was in command of Ticknor and Everett, or, if you would have it otherwise, these were the forerunners of the others." They came to Germany at a fortunate moment; it was, as you know, the height of the Romantic ferment, and the northern universities were in a high tide of en-

thusiasm and expansion which began to ebb only about 1840.

What historian, a scolar himself and knowing something of the trade, will write for us the fascinating narrative of these our Argonauts? What great plans and high hopes filled their young minds as they journeyed uncomfortably by sailing vessel and diligence? Who in Göttingen represented to them the blind seer Phineus, who counseled with them as to the future journey? How deeply did they feel the atmosphere of high seriousness prevailing in intellectual studies? Were they not toucht with enthusiasm at their first perceptions of a method which directed their acute and eager minds straight to the sources, and which sifted and weighed "authorities" instead of merely citing them? What were their sensations when they contemplated the staggering products of the German *Sitzfleiss*? How much did they imbibe of the inimitable German *Akribie*? Can we not imagine them studying the dumpy *Gelehrte Anzeigen* of that day, and perchance hitting upon such bits of the scolar's ironical wisdom as—

Hätt' er etwas mehr gelesen,
So erfünd' er nicht so viel.

There is no mystery about their choice of Göttingen, as against Halle or Jena, Oxford or Paris. Hanover was in those days English territory, the reputation of the professors and the size of the library had imprest even Napoleon: the Emperor of the French declared that Göttingen belonged neither to Hanover nor to Germany, but to Europe. Experiences at the English universities like those of Coleridge may have steered them away from the mother country—from Oxford and Cambridge where to be a *versifex*, a writer of Greek and Latin verse, was the

main pathway to distinction, while both universities were perhaps too acutely mindful of the very recent unpleasantness with "the States" to welcome Young America with enthusiasm. From Oxford itself Everett wrote, in 1818, "There is more teaching and more learning in our American Cambridge than there is in both the English Universities together." This was written almost a century ago: it is evident that even then, in the wingèd words of President Hadley, you could "tell a Harvard man a long way off," etc. In muddy old Göttingen, called by Ticknor the "land of gutturals and tobacco," the first Argonauts made themselves royally at home. Until our *Argonautica* shall be fitly written, we have, however, only glimpses of their interesting experiences. Ticknor wrote home that America did not know what the study of Greek meant; he compared the Harvard library to a closetful of books. Everett "blushed burning red to the ears" when a German *Gelehrter* pickt up an American newspaper containing a Latin address by the students of Baltimore to President Monroe: for the Latin was not Latin, and the language of the translation which accompanied the address could not, alas, be called English. The more mature Cogswell wrote: "It appals me when I think of the difference between an education here and in America." As to the faculty of *Georgia Augusta*, no doubt these young men felt as had felt, some time before, the Englishman Dr. Askew upon first meeting the encyclopedic Gesner, founder of the Göttingen library: *talem virum nunquam vidi* was Askew's solemn pronouncement. I imagine they were imprest much as in our own day Abraham Lincoln was astonisht by Carl Schurz: "You are an awful fellow," said Lincoln, as Schurz concluded an impassioned address, "now I can understand your power." George Bancroft, for his part, was not imprest to the point of being

overawed. Referring to his Latin oration delivered when he was made Doctor, the young man tells us that it pleased the audience, "tho some thot I spoke too dramatically. 'Tis not the custom here," he continues, "to declaim, but I chose to do it as an American for the sake of trying something new to the good people." This I believe is one of the first recorded instances of "letting the eagle scream" in foreign parts: would to Heaven it had been the last!

Like a church-spire or a mountain peak, the figure of George Ticknor looms up taller the farther we recede from his life-time. He was a hard and serious worker; his enthusiasm and gratitude for the new outlook given him were genuine, and he defended German science with warmth. At the University, he reports, it was Dissen, an associate professor of Greek, who taught him the most. Altho then a young man of barely thirty and of feeble constitution, "Dissen," said Ticknor, "comes entirely up to my idea of what a scolar ought to be, for he has at the same time a deep religious feeling, he has the desire to impart his learning and to do good." Edward Everett, after two years, took the oath of Doctor (September, 1817), but Ticknor after twenty months at *Georgia Augusta* went on to Paris, carrying among others three letters of introduction to Mme. de Staël. He had meantime received news of his appointment to the new Smith chair at Harvard College: the languages to be taught were originally French and Spanish. At Paris he found in the works of Barbazan and Raynouard material wherewith to study privately Old French and Provençal, but the public courses at the French university disappointed him: "There is too much striving for effect, too little desire to instruct." He reports in the same vein that Villemain's

public lecture contained no "severe" instruction: as a whole it seemed to him little else than "a spectacle"; but the young Bostonian seems to have appreciated the lively spirit and the charm of French society. Inaugurated Smith professor in August 1819, Ticknor held this position for fifteen years. It is claimed that he deserves the title of "the father of all serious modern language study in America." Rather a formal and taciturn man, Ticknor freely gave of his best in counsel, and—what is perhaps more significant—he lent his books generously. He labored to liberalize the Harvard curriculum and did much to stimulate the idea of the necessity of great libraries to the welfare of the nation. To measure the solid worth of his *History of Spanish Literature* we have only to compare it with its immediate predecessor, that of Bouterwek, who was reading at Göttingen when Ticknor was there. Bouterwek's was a vast history of European eloquence (*Beredsamkeit*): George Ticknor, remarkably enough, was able to work himself free from the rhetorical preoccupation, and in this achievement he marked himself as more modern than his fellow Argonauts Everett, Bancroft, Motley, and others. Ticknor in fact belongs in a class of Romance scholars with Friedrich Diez and Gaston Paris, both of whom followed him at Göttingen and, like him, were among those who can easier bear the reproach of being dull and uninteresting than that of turning aside for temporary applause or for any other trivial reason from their far-reaching pursuit of the sober and often baffling facts in the history of the human spirit.

Ticknor's better-known companion, Edward Everett, had a career remarkable for the variety of its public service. He was at first professor of Greek, but later also Member of Congress, college president, Governor of the

State, Minister to England, United States Senator, and Secretary of State. In his lectures, Emerson tells us, "he abstained from all ornament, detailing erudition in a style of perfect simplicity; it was all new learning that wonderfully took and stimulated the young men." His influence was great: his graces of person and presence, his mastery of fact, quotation, and expression, the perfect self-command and security of his manner, all lent weight to his many public appearances. "Education," said Everett, "is the mind of this age acting upon the mind of the next. . . . The business of education is to assist the growth of our spiritual nature. . . . Knowledge is the faithful ally of both natural and revealed religion." He noted with real concern the scanty place assigned to religion in the new University of Virginia, while from his addresses it appears that he used his influence to promote the education of women, prison reform, the improvement of public sanitation, the temperance movement, and even the humane treatment of animals. Evidently here was a scholar who saw "all in the one as well as one in the all."

Longfellow, Ticknor's successor in the Smith chair, was only a short time in Göttingen (1829), but long enough to be impressed by the professors who studied sixteen hours a day and came forth only on Sundays. You have seen in print Longfellow's inaugural at Bowdoin College, 1830; it gives us a respectful idea of his scholarship and this is confirmed later by his version of the *Divina Commedia*, and by certain little-known articles of his on the Origins of the French Language, on the French Language in England, and on the Old French Romances. His conception of the scholar's method could not have been profound, for after his first return from Europe he wrote of that semi-learned fribble Ménage, author of *Observations*

de Monsieur Ménage sur la Langue Française (1672): "we have no fears," writes Longfellow, "of falling under the imputation of such rigid scrutiny" as his. While not an intellectual leader, Longfellow's services during his eighteen years of professorship, are important. He tells us that he "hated to lecture before small audiences"; no doubt he was conscious of power over a wider public. As we know, his vocation was that of the poet and public-spirited citizen. Edward Everett Hale, who was his pupil, reports that "We students were proud to have Longfellow in college, but all the same we respected him as a man of affairs." During the anti-slavery troubles, Longfellow, as he tells us, longed to "do something in my humble way for the great cause of negro emancipation," and he issued in favor of the movement a pamphlet which brought him his share of popular odium. His religious temper is revealed by his verdict upon Fichte's Jena addresses on the Vocation of the Scholar: "Nobly done!" exclaims Longfellow, "and from the highest point of view. To Fichte's doctrine of the Divine Idea must every scholar conform himself." He himself went to the polls, and in the early war-time found it "disheartening to see how little sympathy there is in the hearts of young men here for freedom and great ideas."

Lowell, Longfellow's successor in 1855, and once the honored president of this Association, had a wider range of mind than either of his predecessors. The genial and prolific Mr. Saintsbury sees in Lowell the main apostle of criticism in America; for our purposes we may merely note that Lowell declared that he would make out of every youth at college "a man of culture, a man of intellectual resource, a man of public spirit." The manifold public services of the brilliant and kindly Lowell are too

recent and too well known to need rehearsal here. He once confest to his friend Curtis:

I love too well the pleasures of retreat,
Safe from the crowd and cloistered from the street;
I sank too deep in this soft-stuffed repose
That hears but rumors of earth's wrongs and woes;
Too well these Capuas could my muscles waste,
Not void of toils, but toils of choice and taste;
These still had kept me could I but have quelled
The Puritan drop that in my heart rebelled!

Finally, the prevailing temper of all this noble group was well exprest by the serious Sumner, in his oration upon the True Grandeur of Nations, 1845: "The true greatness of a nation cannot be in triumphs of the intellect alone . . . the true grandeur of humanity is in moral elevation . . . Christian beneficence and justice." Or, if we hear-ken to Charles Eliot Norton, "the last of the Romans," we meet with essentially the same spirit. Norton wrote in 1895 to Henry B. Fuller, of Chicago: "I hold with the poets and idealists, not the idealizers, but those who have ideals, and, knowing that they are never to be realized, still strive to reach them and to persuade others to take up the same quest." Ticknor, Longfellow, Lowell, Norton, in the words of the poet,

These suns are set. O rise some other such!

But if we pass from these representatives of the Harvard group to a trio of scholars who drew their first inspiration from Yale, we find the same conception of the scolar's rôle in society. The life of William Dwight Whitney is full of instruction for the young teacher. "He possest," said Victor Henry, "not only a vigorous intelligence but also in the highest degree the power that is given by conscience and kindness." As another of his

eulogists has observed, he conquered the love of ease, the love of money, and the love of praise; he overcame selfishness and the pains of weakness and ill-health in the steady pursuit of his professional labors: the result was that, in the words of the aged Boechtlingk, "the distant future will use his works with thankfulness." It is told that Whitney made some progress upon a Sanskrit vocabulary the day his household was moved to a new dwelling. *Nulla dies sine linea* was evidently his rigid program, and yet he also took an open part in politics and lent a hand in the affairs of his community; he was both a good neighbor and a good citizen.

From Yale and Harvard a good deal of this spirit was transferred to Johns Hopkins in 1876, by Gilman and his close friend and adviser, Andrew D. White. Ex-President Eliot gave the opening address; Child and Lowell lectured in Baltimore soon after the opening. "The object of the University," declared Gilman, "is to develop character, to make men," while Eliot saw in universities "fountains of spiritual and moral power. These contribute to the true greatness of a state, which consists in immaterial or spiritual things, in the purity, fortitude, and uprightness of their people. . . . Above all, here may many generations of manly youth learn righteousness."

For an institution where the physical and medical sciences have always been most prominent, one might find a surprising amount of "the ethical preoccupation" in these utterances. And one might wonder why, with so religious an aim, it was announced from the same platform that a faculty of theology "is not now proposed." We must remember that in those days theology, the ancient and legitimate queen of the sciences, was a Queen of

Sheba, abasht and silent before the infallible wisdom of the scientific Solomons. Personally, I believe it forever impossible for a university to shape the Complete Man and ignore two of the most ancient and fundamental of human institutions, the Church and the Law: the absence of these two disciplines means a more or less narrow professionalism. But this ideal of the Complete Man makes me wander, like Aucassin in search of Nicolette, away from the highway. My subject is public spirit in American scolars, and we hardly need to be reminded that Gilman was a man of open mind, and of conscientious and generous concern for the public welfare. "Wisdom," said James Bryce, "grows out of the temper and heart of a man as well as out of his intellect. Where there is practical work and delicate work to be done, insight and sympathy must go together. They were happily united in Gilman, and to their union in him your University largely owes its present high position."

Is it not sufficiently apparent, even from this mere *pochade*, that a public-spirited scholarship has been the ideal of our intellectual leaders from Ticknor to Gilman, Angell, Eliot, and Hadley? Review all that America accomlisht in the 19th century towards religious toleration, towards the extension of suffrage, toward the liberal treatment of immigrants, toward the discontinuance of war, and toward the general diffusion of education and well-being: it is certain that underneath all these movements there has been noble endeavor, determined effort, and a strong moral purpose. And there is a vital connection between these two facts: the public-spirited ideal of scolarship has had its share, along with other forces, in bringing these results to pass. The conclusion is that for us any other idea or conception of the rôle of

scholarship is un-American. "The necessity of bringing all our special investigations into relations with the whole body of philological work, with the life of the world" has been laid before us as his weightiest message by the Nestor of American scholars, Gildersleeve, who asserts also that "the most effective work is done by those who see all in the one as well as one in the all," and that "the true life [of the scholar as of other leaders] is due to the consciousness of service."

They who are complaining of late that this ideal has weakened among us are, let us hope, only superficial observers. It may well be that our intellectuals have been intimidated by the overweening claims of the physical sciences, whose advance has been accompanied by indifference or hostility to humanistic studies. The religious tempers have been disconcerted by the apparent break-up of religion, not perceiving that we are assisting not at a *déluge* nor a *débâcle*, but at the periodic readjustment: confronted with a free and thoro investigation of religious origins and with a closer grapple with Oriental thot, the Church has merely been forced to a restatement of its truth. A third reason for the impression that scholarship in America has ceast to concern itself with the public welfare is the process, now going on under our eyes, by which the colleges are being blasted loose from Church control. This process, to be sure, is not yet completed: even now if we listen we can hear heavy detonations in the direction of Tennessee, and I am told that large orders for dynamite have been placed for early use in Virginia and elsewhere. But it cannot be denied that the old denominational college deserved well of us for upholding the ideal of public spirit before its graduates. The *Independent* printed some statistics as to the professions fol-

lowed by the American college graduates of the years 1796 to 1800, as compared with those of 1896 to 1900. The figures are presented as human forms of different sizes. Noteworthy in the data for 1796 to 1800 is a sizable young fellow who represents the graduates of those years who fitted themselves for various kinds of public service: in 1896-1900 this young man has shrunk to a veritable Liliputian. The Ministry figure has also terribly dwindled: those who have profited by his dwindling are Law, Business, and—largest of all—Education, that is, teachers and scholars. Thus college deans and college professors have fallen heir to greatly increased responsibilities in guarding the public-spirited ideal of scholarship. No doubt this has been said often enough, but I believe we are not yet fully under the weight of it, otherwise the complaints which were quoted at the outset this evening would not have found their way into print.

One curious result of these three depressing factors in the immediate situation—the extravagant claims of science, the general readjustment of religion, and the withdrawal of denominational control of colleges—one curious result has been that the downfall of dogma has been often confused with the abolition of righteousness. How else explain that in academic circles words like 'pious' and 'virtuous' have lost caste to the point of becoming terms of reproach among those who have cut their eye-teeth; even 'benevolent' and 'philanthropic' are not without a shade of suspicion, while puritanical restraint and Sunday-school goodness have become if not anathemas then at least taboos. It is probable that Church and Sunday-school have deserved this fate, but it would be a serious error to assume that they must needs continue to deserve it; for Science has recently become much more modest in tone, there has been a remarkable revival of the religious

spirit directed to social betterment and to moral education, while college students show a much more lively interest in religion than they did twenty years ago. It is also well known that the anti-intellectualist philosophy—one which recognizes other sources of knowledge than the senses and the reason—is gaining in favor. Sir Oliver Lodge reflected this recent change of attitude when he said before the British Association meeting this year: "Emotion and intuition and instinct are immensely older than Science. The prescientific insight of genius—of poets and prophets and saints—is of supreme value, and the access of those inspired seers to the heart of the universe is profound." In Germany Fechner, Eucken, Kühnemann, Paulsen, and Herman Grimm, in Switzerland Hilty, in France Bergson and Boutroux, in America William James and others have advanced philosophies which have in common a series of affirmations: some of these are deeply significant for all those who would deal with life as a whole. The young scholar of today may find—no doubt many of you have already found—much that is vital and stirring in the message of these thinkers. If you cut yourself off from your social instincts, they tell us, you doom yourself to be a crank—yea verily, a crank of some sort you will inevitably be. It rests with each of us, as with all men, to help or not to help in making this world more inhabitable, a better place to live in. A real neutrality is unattainable: he who is not for the commonwealth is against it. It is the function of the trained minds to educate by example as well as precept the great neutral, uninformed public, and to dig channels for their vast energies. This expert guidance is all the more needed in a country where Church and State are separate and in which there is at present no one great unifying intellectual influence—no one great city, no uni-

versal military service, no national university, no single great newspaper. The new philosophy further reminds the scholar that any truth is helpless until some man or woman takes it up and acts upon it, and that from time to time the professor "in spectacles and starched shirt" should be that man. Some principle, some central purpose should inform his studies and his teaching, to give them dynamic and steadiness. He needs the grip of some such principle as this to counteract the influence of extreme specialization, a matter which we may now take a moment to consider.

"To see all in the one" is no doubt the right ideal for the young scholar, but we know that in practice specialization works against this ideal. If one is to fight with his strongest arm and make his talent tell where it will be the most effective (and best paid) one must now more than ever seek mastery over a narrow field. Specialization is also the right corrective for much crude and uninspired work, for it is only the specialist who has a discriminating respect for the great achievements of the past. And so our academic public requires us to ignore an ancient maxim and adopt instead Mark Twain's modern version of it: "Put all your eggs into one basket, and watch that basket!" The time seems to have gone by when a poorly prepared young scholar could expect from his colleagues that vast indulgence which Anatole France tells us was extended to one of his fellow students: "We called him," relates the French *littérateur*, "little Raymond. He knew nothing, and his mind was not of the sort to take knowledge in; but he was very fond of his mother. We were all very careful not to expose the ignorance of one who was so excellent a son, and, thanks to our indulgence, little Raymond succeeded in all his ambitions. Even after his mother was gone, honors show-

ered upon him, to the great detriment of his colleagues and of science."

The enthusiasm which lies, as Ritschl said, only in one-sidedness is a real and precious working force, but there are too many of us who hug Ritschl's saying to our bosoms and make of it an excuse for a masterly non-intervention in community affairs where we might be helpful. And within the field of our own studies what except public spirit can keep our specializing within due metes and bounds? What else will prevent us from investigating entirely useless subjects such as (to use the classic example) "the effect of fishtails in motion upon the undulations of the sea," or from aspiring, like Richter's Fixlein, to the distinction of publishing a *catalogue raisonné* of all the misprints to be found in the German authors?

In France at this moment, as in the days of Rabelais, the Sorbonistes and the Sorbonicoles (notably Lanson and his school) are the object of attack: the complaint is that they are putting forth studies which the assailing party describes as *érudition sans pensée*. If the dissertations of the Lanson school really contain no *pensée*, no vital point of connection with the national life, past or present; if they are mere finger-and-thumb work or the lucubrations of those who would make a parade of learning, then these critics, belletristic or chauvinistic, have a perfect right to grow black in the face and talk of a *crise universitaire*. But all such critics, in France or in America, are either forgetful or ignorant of two things, first, that a lot of inside bricks and other coarse material that does not show on the outside must go into the building of the cathedral of knowledge, and, second, that if the *pensée* be new to the world, the young candidate, like any other scholar, is bound to show his proofs. Baron Bunsen, says

Max Müller, made the mistake of "throwing away his ladders as soon as he had reached his point," and Bunsen's works, tho by no means without influence, have been notably short-lived. Goethe was disappointed and angry because his discoveries in optics and osteology were received with a great coolness by the naturalists and physicists of his time: the sage of Weimar must have been unacquainted with that first principle of cathedral building which has been so well formulated by Helmholtz, that "theoretic ideas can be expected to attract the notice they deserve from those competent in the field only when their publication is accompanied by the whole supporting evidence—*das ganze beweisende Material*. My colleagues assure me that Lanson and his pupils may safely ignore the criticism that their work is unimportant or not co-ordinated nearly enough with anything the public knows about: the New Sorbonne knows that it is precisely because the public cannot always judge as to what is significant and what is not that the scolar and his pupils are bound by a moral responsibility as to what they do and what they leave undone.

An activist world-philosophy working in the scolar is thus the proper influence to save him from going round "in an eddy of purposeless dust," and it will preserve him from the other traditional failings of his guild. Perhaps the worst of our professional failings, as Gildersleeve has said, is specialization for personal vanity. This disease usually attacks us soon after the examination for the doctorate. Some never outgrow it: they must exhibit their superior *Belesenheit* or their greater penetration. Instead of viewing their colleague's work solely in its relation to the Whole, they must pick here and there a pinpoint flaw. They secretly regret that it is not now as it was in the good old days when, in an acid foot-note, one

could roundly refer to the confrère who espied the weak spot in his argument, as *vir ineptissimus*, or *asinus praeclarus*. But more serious, to my mind, than vanity or vain emulation in scholars is the specialization which aims at money and social position. These inglorious Ichabods have their reward, but their punishment is that in the sifting process of time they must lose their claim to leadership and must see others who have not made "the great refusal" distance them in pointing out to the world the true meaning of life, the right field of action and the real grounds of hope. I believe it to be true, as John Dewey has said, that "the highest product of the interest of man in man is the Church"; next come the agencies for the enlarging and training of the mind. Church and School are the great depositories of the experience and culture of the past, and of ideals for the future. Our particular chapel in this great temple, our particular allotment in this vast field, or—to come gradually nearer to the truth unadorned—our particular floor in this vast department store is that where the modern languages are sold, or perhaps I should say, given away. The latest guess at the figures is that English is now spoken by 160 million people, German by 130 millions, and the Romance languages by 195 millions. There is nothing in our Constitution which excludes from our activity the languages of India, Japan and China, and I can see no reason why the Central Division should not, in the near future, shoulder some of the responsible work of interpreting Oriental thought and of adapting Western ideals to our neighbors beyond the Pacific. If upon serious reflection, the magnitude of such a task should seem almost staggering, we may yet remember that truth is always to be weighed rather than counted, and that from one point of view our task is comparatively simple. The very core and nucleus

of our teaching, that which gives significance to our goings and comings, is the upholding of the humanistic ideals; by these I mean freedom of inquiry, intellectual honesty, the disinterested pursuit of truth, and the courage, self-denial, and perseverance which are involved in that pursuit, and finally, the promotion of a social consciousness which shall be wider than national boundaries.

It would be a congenial task to develop here a chapter *De virtutibus eruditorum*; especially attractive is this idea of a modern confraternity of scholars, international in scope, representing to us what the *Civitas Dei* was to the keener medieval minds. Admission to this confraternity will depend not upon cleverness, but upon a sense of unity with and fidelity to the humanistic ideals. Have we not our enemies? Are not perhaps ten per cent. of our own population hostile to culture and free inquiry? Are not eighty per cent. if not hostile at least indifferent or distrustful? Must we not reaffirm almost daily the noble ideal expressed in Dante's words, *Nos autem cui mundus est patria?*

Probably there is no need to urge allegiance to this program before this audience: the paper last year which evoked the heartiest applause was one in which this idea of the higher nationality was warmly advocated. But I am afraid my effort and your amiable attention will both have been wasted unless we go on to realize that faith in the humanistic program comes only by trying it out—by application and experiment. We are not toiling ourselves or leading others toward intellectual freedom merely to find congenial pursuits and pleasures in the field of knowledge. If so, we have no fighting edge to our intentions and we need the sharp reminder of one of our most trusted leaders: "The more ideals a man has," said William James, "the more contemptible, on the whole,

do you continue to deem him if the matter ends there for him." To get some of our vision into brick and mortar, to do our share toward making our community more inhabitable, is the natural and proper function of the complete man or woman of whatever vocation.

It is also true that scholars and teachers need from week to week something of the refreshment of direct action. "Thot expands but lames," said Goethe: let me add that you and I need almost daily treatment and exercise for this lameness. Fortunate it is for us, tho it is the fashion, I know, to say just the opposite, that we have successive waves of young and inexperienced minds to deal with in more or less practical relations. If Jackson cannot get his dissertation into print, it is wholesome for me to have to convince somebody of the vast significance of dissertations in general and of Jackson's in particular. Then too, Art is desperately long, Life is fearfully short. The rate of progress in the world's total knowledge, won as it must be by the hardest of work upon the materials of human experience, resembles that of a glacier. To use a different metaphor, the great cathedral of organized knowledge is always building and never complete: scaffolding disfigures this or that tower, large parts of it are always shut off for alterations and repairs. Many who aspire to carve a cinquefoil or an airy pinnacle, or merely to square a humble stone for use in the foundation, never attain to so laudable an ambition: their rôle is reduced to that of personally conducting the flocks of more or less serious tourists who annually "do" the cathedral. To be bent upon getting more of the humanistic ideals into circulation will meantime help to keep us, builders and conductors, from many a pitfall: from laziness after we have reacht our saturation point in academic promotion; from falling behind and dissipation of energy by too

many *dîners en ville*; from discouragement and *cui bono*-ism of all kinds; from that insidious temptation to neglect the less well-endowed among our pupils; and from pettiness of whatever description.

Lastly, there is no doubt that the competence which is accompanied by some degree of participation in its application to public affairs, is good pedagogy. A serious medical student at one of our State universities said to me that the teachers who were known to be effective as men of affairs made deeper impressions upon his mind, even tho they were less able lecturers on technical subjects, than those professors, however brilliant, who were known to hold themselves aloof. Adolescence and youth are notoriously humanistic in their sympathies and ideals, uncompromisingly so. The President of Amherst College believes that the freshman year is none too soon to introduce young men to the urgent problems of our time. "I should like to see every freshman," he says, "at once plunged into the problems of philosophy, into the difficulties and perplexities about our institutions, into the scientific accounts of the world, especially as they bear upon human life." The teacher's sympathetic interest, his open-minded readiness to consider new solutions, his willingness to join and promote even unpopular causes are among the most communicable of mental attitudes: public spirit, in other words, is eminently contagious, and the student respects none of his instructors more than him whose class-room pronouncements are habitually made with the caution born of attempts to change conditions in this exasperating world. Experience should have taught the older mind that what Emerson calls "the sore relation to persons" is involved in nearly every attempt at progress. Progress, we are

told, is the effort to combine ideal novelty with reality, and it is the professor's duty and privilege to present the two—the real and the ideal—with such clearness, insight, optimism, and faith that to the younger minds improvement shall seem the next natural and desirable, nay the inevitable, step. In our explanations of texts—and we are after all an association of explainers of texts—we have often been besought not to leave off till our text has been “riddled with light”; with light, yes, but for the total effect of our work we must not forget that it takes more than light to make a fire that burns. We must add to our light warmth, and to our warmth motion if we would kindle and maintain a fire which, like Bishop Latimer's candle, shall never be put out.

The speaker at Cornell was Edwin D. Mead, of Boston. He believed, however, “that there was no other class which on the whole has been so faithful or shown so much true leadership.” The Oxford volume is Schiller's *Formal Logic*, reviewed in *Current Literature* 53, p. 551 (see also *The Independent* 73, p. 375). The “best seller” is Churchill's *The Inside of the Cup*. C. Tennyson's book is *Cambridge from Within*, 1912; *vox clamantis* is A. K. Rogers, *Popular Science Monthly* 80, p. 574. President Meiklejohn's Inaugural is printed in the *Amherst Graduates' Quarterly* for November, 1912, p. 65. The reference is to Cosmo Hamilton, *A Plea for the Younger Generation*, 1913.—The merry jest of haling Celia of *As You Like It* into a company of dryasdusts is not my own, but belongs to Professor J. Rendel Harris: see his essay, “The Art of Conjectural Emendation” (*Side-Lights on New Testament Research*, 1908). For Thomasius, besides Paulsen, one might reread Andrew D. White's article in the *Atlantic Monthly* 95, p. 520. What is said of Francke is noted by Harnack, in *Revue de Théologie et Philosophie* 30, p. 264. Francke's scriptural motto was II Cor. ix, 8: “*Dieu peut faire que possédant en toutes choses de quoi satisfaire à vos besoins, vous ayez encore en abondance pour toute bonne œuvre.*” Our English version is not so clear in its rendering. Thomasius also had his motto: *Acts xxiv, 13-14*. The passages from Fichte are taken from Smith's edition of his *Works* (I, p. 188). For Renan and Mazzini, see the latter's essay, “M. Renan and France”; for

Amiel, his *Journal Intime*, pp. xl, 178, 188 (Mrs. Ward's translation, 1889).

The invasion of Germany by Young America in 1815 and thereafter has been treated by Hinsdale, in *Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Education for 1897-8*, Vol. I, also by Viereck in the same *Report for 1900-1901*, p. 531 ff., and by E. G. Sihler, in three articles in the *Neue Jahrbücher*, 1902. None of these writers pretends to exhaust the subject; there is much additional material in the letters of Ticknor (see also G. T. Northup, "Ticknor's Travels in Spain," *University of Toronto Studies, Philological Series*, No. 2, 1913) of Everett (see also *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, for September, 1897) of Bancroft and others. The best summary is that of A. B. Faust in his *German Element in the United States*, II, p. 202 ff. For the condition of classical instruction in America in 1815, see Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, III, p. 453. The anecdote of Lincoln and Schurz is quoted in *The Nation*, 97, p. 261.

Dissen became *Professor Ordinarius* in 1817; he edited Pindar, Tibullus, and Demosthenes, but seems to have excelled more as a teacher and interpreter. "Little Dissen," wrote Bancroft, "is the most learned of the whole [group of professors of ancient literature, but he] is so sickly and so easily disturbed and brought low that his good will exceeds his powers of action."—The foundation of the Abiel Smith chair is described by Quincy, *History of Harvard College* II, p. 323. Ticknor was unable to make much headway against conservative influences in Harvard; he finally resigned and devoted 14 years to his *Spanish Literature*. Barrett Wendell, in his *Literary History of America*, damns the work with faint praise: it is "heavily respectable," and "not interesting." Similarly, Adams's *Catalogue of American Authors* describes Ticknor's work as "dull, but accurate." We presume the same shallow comments might be made on many another epoch-making tool, forged with wide aims and infinite toil. Everett's addresses at Amherst and Yale Colleges are representative (*Works*, Vol. I). Longfellow's articles are found in the *North American Review* April, 1831 and October, 1840. Lowell's words are quoted in our own *Publications* 25, p. 496. For Whitney see the *Report of that session of the first American Congress of Philologists which was devoted to the Memory of the late Professor William Dwight Whitney, of Yale University, held at Philadelphia, Dec. 28, 1894*. Edited by Charles R. Lanman, Boston, 1897; especially pp. 56, 62, 71, 88. For Bryce's tribute to Gilman, see *Johns-Hopkins University Circular* No. 211, Dec. 1908, p. 23 ff.—The quotations are from Gildersleeve's *Oscillations and Nutations*

of *Philological Studies* (*J. H. U. Circular* No. 151) and from his *Hellas and Hesperia*, 1909, pp. 45-6. Anatole France's friend Raymond figures in *Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard*, where this quondam laxity is contrasted with the supposed pitilessness of M. Paul Meyer and the *Romania*. "Fishtails in motion" is an ancient jibe from the days of *la jeune France* (Wright's *History of French Literature*, p. 663). One may begin to read of the alleged "Germanization" of the Sorbonne in P. Lasserre, *La Doctrine officielle de l'Université*, 3me éd., 1913, 506 pp. (*Parvum in multo*).—For Bunsen and Max Müller, see the latter's *Chips* III, p. 385. For Goethe and Helmholtz, see the latter's lecture "Goethe's Naturwissenschaftliche Arbeiten" (*Populäre wissenschaftliche Vorträge*, 1876). William James's doctrine is in everybody's mind: this sentence is from the *Talks on Psychology and Life's Ideals*, p. 292.

AN ADDRESS IN COMMEMORATION OF
FRANCIS ANDREW MARCH, 1825-1911

DELIVERED AT THE JOINT SESSION OF THE AMERICAN
PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION AND THE MODERN
LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
AT CAMBRIDGE, MASS., 30
DECEMBER, 1913

BY PROFESSOR JAMES WILSON BRIGHT

In the history of philological studies in America, as in the history of other departments of knowledge, a limited number of names will always stand out prominently, if not as heads of chapters, at least as marking centers of influence or direction of tendencies. The name of Francis Andrew March is one of these. It is, therefore, highly appropriate, at this first joint convention, since his death two years ago,¹ of the American Philological Association and the Modern Language Association of America, to pay a special tribute to Professor March, in commemoration of his long-sustained and distinguished devotion to the common cause promoted by these organizations.

He was born October 25, 1825, in Millbury, Mass., and three years later the family removed to Worcester, Mass., where his education was begun in a manner that was gratefully recalled in his maturity.² The child was

¹ Professor March died September 9, 1911.

² Use has been made of the "Biographical Note" by his son, Professor Francis Andrew March, Jr., which is published in *Ad-*

admitted to "a kind of kindergarten in the family of Dr. L. I. Hoadley, Sabbath-school author, then preaching in Worcester, in which Miss Collins, with ingenious contrivances and apparatus, made the children understand many things before the usual time." It was a good preparation for the public schools of Worcester, which were then reputed to be excellent, and the lad soon attained the rank of an efficient pupil, of a clever participant in the activities of the literary societies of the High School, and also of "a leader on the playground." He became a ready writer in "prose and verse, took part in the acting of plays, in searching for good old plays to act, and making new ones." The library of the school and especially the library of the American Antiquarian Society stimulated in him an eagerness to read incontinently on a wide range of subjects. In due time he was prepared for college, but his father had meanwhile experienced disaster in business.³ This disheartening condition was, however, mitigated by the Hon. Alfred D. Foster, of Worcester, a trustee of Amherst, who offered him "a provision of \$200 a year for a college course at Amherst."

Young March entered college at the age of fifteen

dresses delivered at a celebration in honor of Professor Francis A. March, LL.D., L.H.D., at Lafayette College, October 25, 1895. Easton, Pa., Lafayette Press, 1895. The reader may also be referred to a pamphlet prepared by Richard N. Hart, entitled *Francis Andrew March: a Sketch*. Easton, Pa., 1907.

³ His father, Andrew, removing to Worcester had "entered upon various business projects, particularly the manufacture of fine cutlery, one of the first enterprises of this character in this country, and for which it was necessary to import English workmen." But now his partner in the cutlery business had defrauded him, and by fire he had sustained further loss, finally even that of his own residence.

(1841), and in competition with clever and, for the most part, older class-mates ⁴ won and maintained prominence in scholarship and in the exercises of the speaker's platform and the exhibition stage. At graduation he was appointed valedictorian of his class, and it is not without special significance in his case to add that he had continued to be a leader in athletics.

At this point in the story one may begin to observe the proclivities of the young man's mind. A strong inclination to philosophic speculation is indicated in the subject of his 'Junior Oration,' "Greatest-Happiness Philosophy," and in that of his commencement discourse, "God in Silence."

On the other hand, it is clear that his liking for the study of languages was definitely directed to the scientific study of English under the instruction, during the first two years of his college course, of Professor William Chauncey Fowler. It was in the year 1843 that Professor Fowler retired from the college (continuing his residence in Amherst, however, to the year 1858) to gain time for his linguistic studies, which culminated in his well-known book, *English Grammar: The English Language in its Elements and Forms*, 1850 (second edition, revised and enlarged, 1855).

The relation, at this time, of young March to his teacher may be inferred from a later acknowledgment of his assistance in the preparation of the school edition of this grammar (1858), which was afterward enlarged to embrace, as an appendix, March's *Method of Philological*

⁴ Some of these are enumerated in the "Biographical Note": Hon. Henry Stockbridge, of Baltimore; Professor Marshall Henshaw, of Rutgers; J. R. Bingham, Esq., of Milwaukee; and "preachers better known in India and Zululand and through the wilds of the west—Noyes, Tyler, Packard, Woodworth."

Study of the English Language.⁵ The inference is clear that Professor Fowler, as teacher and author, and Noah Webster (Professor Fowler's father-in-law), thru his writings, together exercised a dominant influence on March's mind at this early period. Both masters were philosophic and historic grammarians. They were also 'practical' in their aims (as is made clear, for example, in the title of one of Webster's books, *A Philosophic and Practical Grammar of the English Language*, 1807), and these descriptives are applicable to their follower. Moreover, it may be said that however self-reliant and creative in his work, Professor March always maintained in his linguistic philosophy something of the characteristics of a disciple of these two masters.

From the close of his career at college to his call to Lafayette is a period of educational experiments and of physical discouragement. He began by teaching for a short term at Swanzey, N. H., then for two years in the Leicester Academy, where he "made trial of the plan of teaching English classics like the Greek and Latin." He was next a tutor at Amherst from 1847 to 1849. Here, it might be supposed, was an opportunity to secure anchorage in English scholarship, but his active and perhaps wavering mind took another turn, as is shown by the title of his 'Master's Oration,' delivered in 1848, "The Relation of the Study of Jurisprudence to the Origin and Progress of the Baconian Philosophy."⁶ This inclination

⁵ It is to be noticed also that in March's *Method* there is the acknowledgment that "the name and form of this book are taken from the *Method of Classical Study*, by Dr. [Samuel Harvey] Taylor, of Andover [1861]."

⁶ It is interesting to repeat the report that this oration was much praised, and that it was heard and approved by Rufus Choate. It was published in the *New Englander* for October of that year, and is the first number on the list of Professor March's publications.

to the study of law was, however, soon converted into a fixed purpose. During his vacations he studied in the office of F. H. Dewey, Esq., of Worcester, and in the year 1849 entered as a student the office of Barney and Butler, in New York city. In the following year (1850) he began the practice of the profession, in partnership with Gordon L. Ford, Esq.; but after two years the former 'leader on the playground' was warned by a hemorrhage of the lungs, and was hurried to Cuba for restoration of his health. The effect of the climate of Cuba and Key West gave encouragement to resume his professional work the next year; but the ominous warning was repeated, and "he gave up finally all hope of a legal career, and even of life." In this depression of spirit he was persuaded to try the milder climate of Virginia, and thru the mediation of the Rev. Lyman Coleman, of Philadelphia (who afterward was for many years one of his colleagues at Lafayette), he secured a teacher's place "in a private academy at Fredericksburg." His residence there of three years proved to be an important link in the chain of his destiny both domestic and professional. Among his pupils in the academy was Miss Margaret Mildred Stone Conway (a sister of Moncure D. Conway), who, in the year 1860, came to Easton as Mrs. March; and the head of the school was Dr. George Wilson McPhail, who brought him to the notice of the authorities of Lafayette. Dr. McPhail had gone to Easton to become pastor of the Brainard Presbyterian Church, and was in consultation with the faculty of Lafayette when the college required a teacher in Philosophy and English, and upon his recommendation the position of a tutor in these subjects was offered to the young teacher in Fredericksburg.⁷ The offer was

⁷ Tradition has preserved the words in which Dr. McPhail expressed his enthusiastic judgment: "I know a young man who is

accepted. This was in the year 1855, when March was thirty years of age. Here the story of his experimentations and wanderings comes to an end. Fifty-six years were added to his life, and these were spent in loyal devotion to Lafayette College.⁸

Loyalty to Lafayette College dominated his life. But this sentiment must be interpreted in that profounder sense which can be verified only in uncommon instances. A faithful adherence to a college thru years of financial disabilities, and a steadfast hope and cheerful self-denial thru a long period of development from inconvenient compromise with the demands of the function assumed by a college to the honorable state of satisfying those demands, these are true virtues, and they are placed conspicuously to the credit of Professor March. But the practice of these and allied virtues is fortunately not so uncommon as in itself to evoke altogether exceptional praise. The degree of merited praise is to be read on the graduated scale of character and personality. Applying this rule, Professor March's loyal devotion to the growth and welfare of his adopted institution rises to the highest point of academic virtue.

He was not provincial or self-deceived at any stage of his progress to wide recognition as a scholar. For some years he assumed an inordinate share of the work demanded of a small and more or less undifferentiated group of teachers. He shared in the teaching of Latin and Greek as well as in that of French and German, and

just the one you want. . . . He knows more than all of us. It is Mr. March of Fredericksburg." Dr. McPhail was President of Lafayette College from 1857 to 1863.

⁸ Professor March retired from active service in the year 1906, but as Professor Emeritus he continued to the end to be influential and revered in the councils of the college.

for a considerable number of years he conducted even the classes in Botany. There was, however, no perfunctory manner in all this, but a deep purpose to do everything as well as possible under the conditions, and a prophetic hope that gave a vision of a better future. This comment is not merely logically warranted by inferences from his character. It is a statement of fact, plainly made unavoidable by the records of the college, which abound in acknowledgments of Professor March's unequalled share of the foresight and wisdom by which Lafayette was brought to its best estate.

To complete the outlines of diversified occupation as a teacher, it must be added that Professor March also taught Blackstone for many years; was "Lecturer on Constitutional and Public Law and the Roman Law" from 1875 to 1877; until near the close of his career, taught Political Economy, together with a critical examination of the Constitution of the United States, and (after 1863) speculative philosophy, under the designation of Mental Philosophy.⁹ All this while he bore the title (newly devised for him and bestowed in the year 1857)

⁹His study of the national Constitution led him to prepare "a scheme of amendments . . . intended to bring about a peaceful settlement of the difficulties between the North and South, which he advocated by letters to the *New York Times* and *World* [1860-1861]. These amendments attracted much attention, and were introduced in Congress, in the Virginia legislature and elsewhere."—"Biographical Note," p. 18.

At this time he also made an important contribution to philosophic thought in two articles on Sir William Hamilton's "Theory of Perception," and "Philosophy of the Conditioned," published in *The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review*, April and July, 1860. The second article was reprinted in *The British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, Edinburgh, Jan., 1861. These articles brought him into friendly relations with Dr. James McCosh (then still in Ireland) and Victor Cousin.—"Biographical Note," p. 17.

and performed the duties of "Professor of the English Language and Comparative Philology."

A teacher thus occupied might well be excused for submitting to a restriction of the sphere of his diligence by the immediate demands of the college. But Professor March connected himself actively with the organized agencies for promoting scholarship in philology, both in America and in England, and became a close student of the work of the great scholars in Germany. Altho always fettered by the necessity of guarding against exertions that might disturb the uncertain poise of his health, he was notably regular in his attendance at the meetings of the philological societies, was a frequent contributor to the proceedings, served on important committees, and performed in turn the duties of the presiding officer. Add to this his contributions to periodical publications, his work as an author of books, and his participation in general educational matters of various character, and the resultant sum is a large one to be placed to the credit of a busy teacher in a college.

It is surely deserving of special consideration in this sketch that Professor March was content to remain a college teacher. The statement must, however, be strengthened and made more specific by saying that he was unalterably fixed in his wish to remain a teacher in Lafayette College. In proof of his loyalty to this college, he steadfastly refused invitations to larger institutions. It must be clear that we are now reflecting on the most important aspect of his view of the academic life. An institution that had fostered him in his growth might urge a right to his maturity; and he was not lacking in the sentiment of *pietät*. But he was governed by a more profound theory of what a scholar should do for his institution. The principal features of this theory he has made

plainly deducible. Eminence in scholarship, he would have us believe, does not unfit a man for work in a college; it makes him all the more effective in the class-room. Rightly to teach the elements of knowledge requires ripeness in knowledge, philosophic breadth of view, insight into the laws of the mind, sound judgment, and much wisdom. He might be supposed to say, if a college stands for the things of the mind, does it not stand also for the higher and the highest things of the mind?—and thus to drive home the reflection that there should be no false notions concerning the relative satisfactions offered at intermediate halting-places on the journey to completest attainments,—no false notions in the policy of an educational institution or in the mind of either teacher or learner. In short, a college must be kept in touch with the foremost thought of the day, and it must contribute to the growth of knowledge. A college in which the influence of these conceptions is felt as a stimulating force, that college will be sure to do in the right manner its more immediate work of instructing the youthful mind. Nor did the new ‘university-idea’ and the establishment of schools of research change Professor March’s judgment respecting the office of the college. The plain inference is that the college has all the more important work to do as knowledge increases, and as the fetters of tradition are reverently and with candor broken in obedience to newer revelations of truth. Nor must the most effective college necessarily be a large one; it may indeed be a very small one. Its character is determined by the superior tests of corporate attitude to truth, the personal and scholastic quality of its teachers, and of its wider relations to the educational world.

Few colleges can rival Lafayette in having had such a nobly conceived theory of the character and function of

the college represented by so richly endowed a man, and by him made so effective in the general policy of the institution, in its various departments of instruction, and especially in his own work in the class-room and in his winning and maintaining a position in the guild of the leading scholars of his time. And Lafayette College has earned the warmest approval of the educational world in due and amply expressed appreciation, at all times, of Professor March's character, influence, and work. Something has previously been said on this point, but the significant detail may be added here, that at his seventieth birth-day the annual exercises of 'Founders Day' were officially converted into a celebration in honor of Professor March as one of the principal founders of the college.

Professor March was a truly great teacher. On this subject one could hardly hope to say anything that would not promptly be declared by all the surviving members of his classes to fall short of the full truth. He was that one teacher who, above all others, left the most significant group of ineffaceable impressions on the mind, those impressions that thruout life serve as rallying-points of theoretic thought or as germinal centers of purposeful action. His methods were simple—unrelentingly simple—but how they enabled him to pull at the unsuspected strings of one's mental operations, to get at the very inmost recesses of one's mind! At every recitation might be learned some new discriminations in thought; clearer notions of authority in the ascertainment of truth and of the relative values of tradition are definitely associated with the exercises in that class-room; and it was there, more than elsewhere in the college, that one was corrected in self-judgments and encouraged in good efforts. His methods were simple and his manner most gentle, but his searching questions were so adroitly levelled at the specific

point as to impress the immature mind with a sense akin to severity. Many a student stood before him in bewilderment at the 'cruel kindness' (the student's favorite illustration of oxymoron) of this master-questioner of the dodging and evasive mind of youth. The student's confusion was, of course, not the effect sought, for he was duly rescued (if there was something pertinent in him to take hold of, otherwise he was temporarily abandoned to his own reflections) and by a gradual dispersion of difficulties brought to a clear perception of the matter in hand.

In Professor March's severely gentle manner there was also a touch of suppressed playfulness. His eyes will be remembered for a twinkle that betokened a delight in subtleties of thought, in the intricacies of a problem. Just as memorable was that look of human kindness that assured one of benevolent concern for every good thing pertaining to mind and character.

He was so dominated by philosophic reflections and comprehensive human sympathy that, in his instruction in whatever subject and with whatever relentless insistence on details, he always aimed to impart a sense of the relation of one subject to another, and of a unity, a philosophic whole, of all the knowledges. There could, therefore, be no tolerance in his mind for the follies of pedantry, or for pride in the display of wit. He had, moreover, in large measure the saving sense of humor, which made him alert in genial observation, and apt in varying his illustrations for the enforcement of a truth. In a summary fashion one can only say that it was all instructive, inspiring, and unforgettable.

During a long period of years Professor March had under his supervision a succession of students in graduate work. One and another Bachelor of Arts lingered in the

college after his graduation to study English under the continual guidance of him who had awakened a special interest in the subject. This is not a negligible fact in an account of the teacher's work and influence.

As is well known, Professor March gave precision and depth to the methods of language-study that were in use in his earlier years. He informed the method with the spirit of an unwavering confidence in rigid discipline in minute details. As professor of 'The English Language and Comparative Philology' he set the method forth in several elementary text-books; and as chief director of all the language-work in the college he required conformity to it in the study of Greek and Latin, French and German. As expounded and illustrated by him, it is the method of a keenly analytic mind and of an unquestioned master in linguistic science; and it was fruitful of good results in the master's hand; but in the hands of weaker men it must have contributed something to that practice in the schools which in time evoked an ignorant repudiation of 'philology,' as it was called, of which there is still to be heard an occasional but faint echo. No progress in the science of philology and no changes in methods of instruction, however, can obliterate the merit of the grammatical acumen and of the philosophic control of principles exhibited in Professor March's manuals. Every detail, even of very familiar facts, is carried along in a current of profound thought.

Professor March's fame rests chiefly on that extraordinary book into which one can never look without amazement. It is one of the most notable monuments of industry bestowed on the study of the earliest state of our language. The title-page must have startled the schools of that day. Something had been heard, and occasionally something had been learned, of Anglo-Saxon, but who

could find out the secrets of such a wide relationship with other languages? But there was the declaration: "A Comparative Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language; in which its forms are illustrated by those of the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Gothic, Old Saxon, Old Friesic, Old Norse, and Old High German." The preface is dated October 25, 1869, and the book was published in the following year. This book revealed the author's full stature as a commanding figure in the world of philological scholarship. Foreign scholars greeted him with bountiful praise, and placed his name on the list of their most eminent colleagues. Twenty-six years later (in the summer of 1896), Professor March crossed the ocean, for the first and only time in his life, to receive the final proofs of his uninterrupted reputation abroad. The University of Oxford bestowed on him the degree of D.C.L., and the University of Cambridge that of Litt.D.

To-day the *Grammar* would have to be tried by the same tests, and by no others, that were applied to it in the year 1870; for obviously the purpose, the plan, and the execution of the work can be judged only with reference to the time of the author, and not with reference to the present and changed conditions of the science.

To touch briefly on the critical tests, no ordinary courage was required to form the resolution to prepare a treatise on Anglo-Saxon in accordance with the pertinent results of Indo-European philology. There was no pattern to follow; and to train oneself to handle such diverse materials was a stupendous task,—just the opportunity for the exceptional man to do that which he alone could do. The universal and final decision declares that the *Grammar* 'marked an epoch,'—conclusive proof that the exceptional man was at hand, and that all possible questioning of the purpose, the plan, and the execution of the

work is closed, unless it be for exceptional lessons in wisdom and in industry, and for tracing the operations of a mind strongly original in thought and ingenious in method and devices for clear and coherent instruction in abstruse and complicated subjects.

How many years elapsed between the beginning of the work and its completion with the simultaneous publication of the *Reader* is not recorded. The outward limits of time, if reckoned from the author's first year at Lafayette, would be fifteen years. From this sum must be deducted at least five years, and there are indications that still more must be taken off. Something less than a decade is not an excess of time for the performance of such an undertaking by a college teacher daily occupied in the class-room.

The *Grammar* was to be comprehensive, and as accurate in all its parts as it could then be made. There was to be no evasion of difficulties in collecting the necessary apparatus; no faltering in the self-instruction that would fit him to make a trustworthy use of facts and principles that had to be observed in a diversity of languages. All the published Anglo-Saxon texts were, therefore, brought together and carefully read; the grammars, the lexicons, and the special treatises were sifted. As he was wont to enjoin upon others, he spent days and nights with Grein; also with Grimm and Bopp, Curtius and Pott. He numbered among his "constant companions" Maetzner, Koch, and Heyne; Schleicher, Rumpelt, and Holtzmann were at hand "for phonology and etymology," and Becker for syntax. This enumeration is in accord with what Professor March selected for special mention in his too brief preface. It embraces merely the summits of his "authorities," which may be taken to

symbolize the full equipment of his workshop reported in subjoined lists of "texts cited" and "helps" used.

The scientific grammarian will always be well rewarded for any attention he may bestow on this *chef-d'œuvre*. The unrestrained promise of the title-page is fulfilled in a surprisingly complete manner. The collection of facts from the extensive domain laid under contribution has not converted the author into a statistician; there is no suspicion of the mere collector of 'instances.' The author is an erudite investigator, seeking to restate accepted knowledge in conformity with increments of independently observed phenomena. Governing principles and underlying rules are elicited with sound reasoning and keen insight. Noteworthy in the manner of handling his thousands of interrelated details is the free, one may say the almost excessive, use of technical terminology, and the accompanying feature, thus made possible, of the complexity of cross-references. All the technical terms of the science are admitted on the condition of clear and illustrative definition and of constant and consistent application. He thus gains an indispensable help in that compression of statement without loss of clearness in which he is unsurpassed; it is a help that enables him always to hang facts on principles, and to mark out the pursuit of principles into various directions for fulness of import.¹⁰

¹⁰ Professor March expressed his view on the usefulness of technical terms in words that may be cited also to illustrate the playful range of his illustrations: "Now and then he would have been clearer even to general readers if he had used precise technical terms instead of indefinite popular expressions. . . . Scientific treatment which abjures technicalities cannot be very exact. . . . The stupidest land-lubber gets more from the sailor's technical slang than from any explanatory circumlocutions for it." Review of Morris's *Historical Outlines of English Accidence*, in *The Nation*, September 5, 1872, p. 154.

The book is a noteworthy contribution to grammatical science and method. The spirit in which it was constructed is unmistakable. The whole is held together and permeated by the dignity and earnestness of philosophic thought, and begets the conviction that one is being taught to deal with a great subject in that comprehensive department of knowledge, philology, which gives report of transcendent laws and achievements of the human mind.

Too much emphasis cannot be laid on the point that to understand his character, his works, and the enduring elements of his fame it must be kept in mind that Professor March was completely controlled by the noblest philosophic conception of the science of grammar. This conception was the spring of his sustained enthusiasm, the central dogma of his most assured faith, and came to expression on all possible occasions. An illustration may be observed in a few sentences from his Presidential Address before the American Philological Association in the year 1874:¹¹ “. . . these facts and laws of language are seen to be facts and laws of mind and of the history of man. . . . The ignorant man's cosmos is little like the real one, and the scientific study of the real one by the aid of language brings out the truth in the clearest light. Such studies as these are the honor of the race, and enlarge the vision and wisdom of man, and they dilate the imagination more than all other uses of his powers. . . . Mind is the highest object we know. Discoveries about it are the most important and most fascinating discoveries. In truth, space fascinates us because it is the sensorium of the universal reason; time, because it is the movement of the universal rational energy. There is nothing great in the world but mind.”

¹¹ *The Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review*, N. S. III (1874), 713.

Professor March's commanding personality, his wide reputation for scholarship, the increased use of his books, and his coöperation in a diversity of educational activities placed him conspicuously in the position of a national leader in all that pertained to the thoro study of English. Anglo-Saxon came to be studied more and more in the schools and colleges, despite the fact that as late as the year 1883 the President of one of the largest colleges banished the subject to the limbo of merited neglect, or of something worse.¹² America was thus preparing to react favorably to the new movement in Modern Philology, which was inaugurated, as it is usually held, about the year 1876, and to make the progress that is now represented by The Modern Language Association of America.

The progress made in philology since the publication of the *Grammar* might suggest an interest in checking its pages off against modern doctrine. Undoubtedly that would be an instructive exercise; but it is more appropriate to this occasion to be reminded of what the author himself did in this matter, by his continued participation in the progressive work of his colleagues in the science. He continued to the last to observe with minute interest, and with frequent comment or original suggestion to promote, the discussion of new theories concerning old facts. He discussed subtle aspects of such questions as the shifting of consonants, ablaut, the inviolability of phonetic law, and quantity in English verse; expounded a group of phe-

¹² He laments that "some professors of Greek should be foremost in desiring to reduce the study of Greek to an elective branch and to treat it as a select and rare form of intellectual culture, like Quaternions or Anglo-Saxon or Icelandic." *The Princeton Review* for September, 1883, p. 127. This reference is also applicable to *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, xviii, p. xlv.

nomena that must now be designated by his own term, 'dissimilated germination'; and by a subtle examination of "time and space in word concepts" arrived at a psychological explanation of compensatory lengthening. At one time he called himself a *junggrammatiker* 'of a primeval period,' to secure a genial effect for a searching question on the order of the elements in the tri-literal form of roots; at another time he was even in advance of the neo-grammarians, postulating problems that he assigned to the coming 'newer-grammarians.' Perhaps such an era has now come to pass, with its theory of *nebenton* and *gegenton* and other glottogonic problems, in which he would have taken deep interest. He reviewed books and special articles, wrote summary reports of what was most important in the current work of scholars, contributed original articles to American and foreign periodicals, and delivered addresses. All this activity cannot be analyzed at this time. In a published "Bibliography"¹³ everything to the year 1895 is enumerated in chronological order.

There was, however, coherent and centralized occupation, which also must now be dismissed by mere enumeration. Professor March was willing to revise an old argument in favor of 'Christian writers,' and to urge the colleges to admit, as a parallel to the usual course in the 'classics,' an optional course in patristic Latin and Greek.¹⁴ An opportunity to supply the texts necessary for experimentation was given in the endowment of the "Douglas Series of Christian Greek and Latin Writers,

¹³ See *Addresses* mentioned in the first foot-note.

¹⁴ For an illustration of Professor March's advocacy of this view, see *The Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review*, N. S. III (1874), 712. See also Professor Gildersleeve's reminiscences in *The American Journal of Philology*, XXV (1904), 484.

for use in Schools and Colleges," of which Professor March was appointed Editor-in-chief. Five volumes were published in rapid succession (1874-1877), and others were in a state of preparation, when the endowment was cancelled by reason of financial reverses. Perhaps the most thorogoin trial of the course was made at Lafayette, Professor March himself taking part in the instruction. However, a permanent result of the experiment remains in the usefulness of Professor March's edition of *Latin Hymns* (the first volume of the series), and in Professor Gildersleeve's indispensable notes to his edition of *The Apologies of Justin Martyr* (the last published volume of the series).

He was chief of the reformers of English spelling; kept the subject unintermittingly before the philological societies and before the public at large, and coöperated with the efforts of scholars in England. He memorialized Congress, and published a short-lived quarterly. Without faltering or an abatement of zeal, he survived a period of general quiescence and became an earnest and active member of the Simplified Spelling Board. His name had almost become a popular synonym for the cause he had so much at heart.

Professor March did considerable work on dictionaries of the language. From 1879 to 1882 he selected and directed the American readers for the *Oxford Dictionary*; and from 1890 to 1895 he was the Consulting Editor of Funk and Wagnalls' *Standard Dictionary*. His share in the preparation of *A Thesaurus Dictionary of the English Language* (1903), however, was very slight; he did little more than read printer's proofs and contribute "A Foreword." He must have rendered valuable assistance to the editors at Oxford; and the *Standard* is confessedly planned and executed according to his well-

thought-out methods and devices. He was intensely interested in this latter project, and one must regret the lack of a specific account of the labor he bestowed on it.

During all the years, Professor March was a close student of literature and taught the subject in an effective manner. He had keen insight and notable strength and individuality in criticism. Intolerant of affected attitudes of appreciation, he renounced the popularizing critic with his conceits and vanities and time-serving superficialities. The homely, rational phrase is better, more direct, more accurate, more honest; it may also be graceful and rich in allusion. The history of man's development shows that reason presides over the sense of beauty as surely as over the senses of "use, right, and truth." The profoundly human truth and purpose of literature is to be kept in mind steadfastly. No writer is truly worthy of attention, if he is not deeply concerned with the needs of the human heart and mind. Judgments in literature are, therefore, based on elements that are plain to the reason. All about the life of an author must be understood before the character of his work can be rightly understood. His education and environment determine much. The views of life and the state of society and of knowledge in his day are answerable for much that would fail in power and effect, if these elements were not sympathetically considered. The true author is easily recognized. Under all conditions he speaks to the universal consciousness, and he speaks sincerely, and attractively according to the approved canons of his art. Only approved authors, and especially the greatest, should be diligently studied. It is a vain academic fashion to be bringing to light so many obscure or forgotten writers,—even if it be difficult to find subjects for the doctors' dissertations. The thoughts of the best authors should be minutely probed for fullest

meaning; their art should be finely felt. The memory should be stored with words and passages that are immortal. These are partial indications of his doctrine, and they have been expressed somewhat in the style and manner of his terse judgments and admonitions, which linger in the memory of his pupils. It would be profitable to pursue his work as a critic thru his reviews of books, public discourses, and original contributions to the solution of literary problems.

A philosophic and erudite scholar, a resourceful teacher, subtle and profound in thought, disinterested in purpose, simple in life, and warm of heart,—Professor March was a notable personality.

The life of a truly great and good man imparts a beneficence to those who may reflect on it with discerning sympathy. Every scholar has access to such help and inspiration in reflection on the character and career of Professor Francis A. March. This enduring influence is uppermost in the thoughts of all who knew him best, who will accordingly be heartiest in approval of this tribute to his memory—however imperfectly composed—on behalf of the two philological societies convened to-day in a joint session.

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CONSTITUTION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

ADOPTED ON THE TWENTY-NINTH OF DECEMBER, 1903

I

The name of this Society shall be *The Modern Language Association of America*.

II

1. The object of this Association shall be the advancement of the study of the Modern Languages and their Literatures thru the promotion of friendly relations among scholars, thru the publication of results of investigation by members, and thru the presentation and discussion of papers at an annual meeting.

2. The meeting of the Association shall be held at such place and time as the Executiv Council shall from year to year determin. But at least as often as once in four years there shall be held a Union Meeting, for which some central point in the interior of the country shall be chosen.

III

Any person whose candidacy has been approved by the Secretary and Tresurer may become a member on the payment of three dollars, and may continue a member by the payment of the same amount each year. Persons who for twenty years or more have been activ members in good

and regular standing may, on retiring from activ servis as teachers, be continued as activ members without further payment of dues. Any member, or any person eligible to membership, may become a life member by a single payment of forty dollars or by the payment of fifteen dollars a year for three successiv years. Persons who for fifteen years or more hav been activ members in good and regular standing may become life members upon the single payment of twenty-five dollars. Distinguisht foren scholars may be elected to honorary membership by the Association on nomination by the Executiv Council. But the number of honorary members shal not at any time excede forty.

IV

1. The officers and governing boards of the Association shal be: a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Tresurer; an Executiv Council consisting of these six officers, the Chairmen and Secretaries of the several Divisions, and seven other members; and an Editorial Committee consisting of the Secretary of the Association (who shal be Chairman *ex officio*), the Secretaries of the several Divisions, and two other members.

2. The President and the Vice-Presidents shal be elected by the Association, to hold offis for one year.

3. The Chairmen and Secretaries of Divisions shal be chosen by the respectiv Divisions.

4. The other officers shal be elected by the Association at a Union Meeting, to hold offis until the next Union Meeting. Vacancies occurring between two Union Meetings shal be fild by the Executiv Council.

V

1. The President, Vice-Presidents, Secretary, and Tresurer shal perform the usual duties of such officers.

The Secretary shal, furthermore, hav charge of the Publications of the Association and the preparation of the program of the annual meeting.

2. The Executiv Council shal perform the duties assignd to it in Articles II, III, IV, VII and VIII; it shal, moreover, determin such questions of policy as may be referd to it by the Association and such as may arise in the course of the year and call for immediate decision.

3. The Editorial Committee shal render such assistance as the Secretary may need in editing the Publications of the Association and preparing the annual program.

VI

1. The Association may, to further investigation in any special branch of Modern Language study, create a Section devoted to that end.

2. The officers of a Section shal be a Chairman and a Secretary, elected annually by the Association. They shal form a standing committee of the Association, and may add to their number any other members interested in the same subject.

VII

1. When, for geograical reasons, the members from any group of States shal find it expedient to hold a separate annual meeting, the Executiv Council may arrange with these members to form a Division, with power to call a meeting at such place and time as the members of the Division shal select; but no Division meeting shal be held during the year in which the Association holds a Union Meeting. The expense of Division meetings shal be borne by the Association. The total number of Divisions shal not at any time excede three. The present Division is hereby continued.

2. The members of a Division shall pay their dues to the Treasurer of the Association, and shall enjoy the same rights and privileges and be subject to the same conditions as other members of the Association.

3. The officers of a Division shall be a Chairman and a Secretary. The Division shall, moreover, have power to create such committees as may be needed for its own business. The program of the Division meeting shall be prepared by the Secretary of the Division in consultation with the Secretary of the Association.

VIII

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any Union Meeting, provided the proposed amendment has received the approval of two-thirds of the members of the Executive Council.

ACTS OF THE EXECUTIV COUNCIL

- I. In accordance with a proposition of date January 8, 1914, *Voted*:

That the invitation of Columbia University to hold the next annual meeting under its auspices be accepted.

- II. In accordance with a proposition of date April 6, 1914, *Voted*:

That the Association subscribe to the permanent fund of The American Dialect Society the sum of one hundred dollars, payment to be made when the American Dialect Society shall have secured subscriptions to the amount of five thousand dollars.

- III. In accordance with propositions of date May 2, 1914, *Voted*:

That the following distinguished foreign scholars be nominated for Honorary Membership in the Association:

Professor Ferdinand Brunot, University of Paris.

Professor Alfred Jeanroy, University of Paris.

- IV. In accordance with a proposition of date May 12, 1914, *Voted*:

That Dr. Percy W. Long, of Harvard University, be appointed a delegate of the Association to attend the Conference of Teachers of English at Stratford-upon-Avon in August, 1914.

- V. In accordance with a proposition of date September 10, 1914, *Voted*:

That Professor Willy Bang, of the University of Louvain, be nominated for Honorary Membership in the Association.

W. G. HOWARD,
Secretary.

MEMBERS OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

INCLUDING MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE ASSOCIATION

Names of Life Members are printed in small capitals

- Adams, Arthur, Professor of English, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
- ADAMS, EDWARD LARRABEE, Assistant Professor of French and Spanish, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1333 Washtenaw Ave.]
- Adams, John Chester, Assistant Professor of English, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- Adams, Joseph Quincy, Jr., Assistant Professor of English, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [169 Goldwin Smith Hall]
- Adams, Warren Austin, Professor of German, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- Alberti, Christine, Head of the French Department, Allegheny High School, N. S. Pittsburgh, Pa. [318 W. North Ave.]
- Albright, Evelyn May, Associate in English, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Alden, Raymond Macdonald, Professor of English, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
- Alderman, William E., Instructor in English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [1216 W. Washington Ave.]
- Alexander, Luther Herbert, Instructor in Romance Languages, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [660 Riverside Drive]
- Allen, Clifford Gilmore, Associate Professor of Romanic Languages, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
- ALLEN, EDWARD ARCHIBALD, Professor Emeritus of the English Language and Literature, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
- Allen, F. Sturges, Springfield, Mass. [75 Bay St.]
- Allen, Hope Emily, Kenwood, Oneida Co., N. Y.
- Allen, Philip Schuyler, Assistant Professor of German Literature, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [1508 E. 61st St., Jackson Park Sta.]
- Allen, William H., Jr., Oxford University Press, 35 W. 32nd St., New York, N. Y.

- Almstedt, Hermann, Professor of Germanic Languages, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
- Altrocchi, Rudolph, Instructor in Romance Languages, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [33 Concord Ave.]
- Anderson, Frederick, Instructor in French and Spanish, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [1007 Yale Station]
- Andrews, Albert LeRoy, Instructor in German and Scandinavian, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
- Andrews, C. Edward, Assistant Professor of English, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
- Andrist, Charles Martin, Professor of French, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Ansley, C. F., Professor of English and Dean of the College of Fine Arts, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.
- Armstrong, Edward C., Professor of the French Language, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- Armstrong, Edwin Stanley, Instructor in English, Baltimore Polytechnic Institute, Baltimore, Md. [5361 Wingshocking Terrace, Germantown, Pa.]
- Arnold, Frank Russell, Professor of Modern Languages, State Agricultural College, Logan, Utah.
- Arnold, Morris LeRoy, Professor of English Literature, Hamline University, St. Paul, Minn. [2628 Park Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.]
- Arrowsmith, Robert, Orange, N. J. [253 Highland Ave.]
- Ashley, Edgar Louis, Assistant Professor of German, Massachusetts Agricultural College, Amherst, Mass. [Prospect House]
- Austin, Herbert Douglas, Instructor in French and Italian, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- Aydelotte, Frank, Associate Professor of English, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
- Ayer, Charles Carlton, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Colorado, Boulder, Col.
- Ayres, Edward, Professor of Rhetoric, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Ind. [1003 State St.]
- Ayres, Harry Morgan, Assistant Professor of English, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Babbitt, Irving, Professor of French Literature, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [6 Kirkland Road]
- Babcock, Charlotte Farrington, Instructor in English, Simmons College, Boston, Mass. [11 Downer Ave., Dorchester, Mass.]
- Babcock, Earle Brownell, Assistant Professor of French, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [5546 Madison Ave.]

- Babson, Herman, Professor of German, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Ind.
- Bachelor, Joseph Morris, Assistant Professor of English Literature, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Ia.
- Bacon, George William, Wyncote, Pa.
- Bagster-Collins, Elijah William, Associate Professor of German, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Baillet, Edouard Paul, Professor of Romance Languages, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. [2109 Sherman Ave.]
- Baker, Asa George, G. & C. Merriam Co., Publishers of Webster's Dictionaries, Springfield, Mass.
- Baker, Fannie Anna, Head of the Department of Modern Languages, Fort Smith High School, Fort Smith, Ark. [515 N. 15th St.]
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- Baker, George Pierce, Professor of Dramatic Literature, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [195 Brattle St.]
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- Baker, Thomas Stockham, Head Master, Tome School for Boys, Jacob Tome Institute, Port Deposit, Md.
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- Baldwin, Edward Chauncey, Assistant Professor of English Literature, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [1002 S. Lincoln Ave.]
- Barba, Preston Albert, Instructor in German, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. [412 E. 4th St.]
- Bargy, Henry, Professor of French, Hunter College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- Barlow, William M., Instructor in German, Commercial High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. [282 Halsey St.]
- Barnes, Nathaniel Waring, Professor of English Composition and Rhetoric, De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind. [P. O. Box 27]
- Barney, Winfield Supply, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. [408 Pultney St.]
- Barrows, Sarah T., Assistant Professor of German, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
- Barry, Phillips, Cambridge, Mass. [1640 Cambridge St.]
- BARTLETT, Mrs. DAVID LEWIS, Baltimore, Md. [16 W. Monument St.]
- Barto, Philip Stephen, Instructor in German, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [312 W. Springfield Ave., Champaign, Ill.]

- Barton, Francis Brown, Instructor in Romance Languages, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
- Baskervill, Charles Read, Assistant Professor of English, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [Faculty Exchange]
- Bates, Madison Clair, Professor of English, South Dakota College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, Brookings, S. D.
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- BATTIN, BENJAMIN F., Professor of German, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
- Baugh, Albert C., Instructor in English, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [638 S. 54th St.]
- Baumgartner, Milton D., Professor of Germanic Languages, Butler College, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Baxter, Arthur H., Associate Professor of Romance Languages, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
- Beach, Joseph Warren, Assistant Professor of English, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. [1801 University Ave., S. E.]
- Beall, Mrs. Emilie, Teacher of French, German, and Spanish, High School of Commerce, Columbus, O. [961 S. High St.]
- Beam, Jacob N., Assistant Professor, Preceptor in Modern Languages, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Bean, Helen, Professor of English, Lenox College, Hopkinton, Ia.
- Bear, Maud Cecelia, Instructor in German and Latin, Bellefonte High School, Bellefonte, Pa. [Bush House]
- Beardsley, Wilfred Attwood, Instructor in French, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [Yale Station]
- Beatty, Arthur, Assistant Professor of English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [1824 Vilas St.]
- de Beaumont, Victor, Associate Professor of the French Language and Literature, Victoria College, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada.
- Beck, Jean Baptiste, Associate Professor of Mediæval French Literature, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. [1140 County Line Rd.]
- Becker, Ernest Julius, Principal, Eastern High School, Baltimore, Md.
- Becker, Wilhelmina Marie, Professor of German, Penn College, Oskaloosa, Ia. [149 College Ave.]
- Bek, William G., Professor of German, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, N. D. [Box 1233, University, N. D.]
- Belden, Henry Marvin, Professor of English, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. [811 Virginia Ave.]

- Belknap, Arthur Train, Professor of English, Franklin College of Indiana, Franklin, Ind.
- Bell, Robert Mowry, Minneapolis, Minn. [229 Fifth Ave., S. E.]
- Bender, Harold H., Assistant Professor, Preceptor in Modern Languages, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Benson, Adolph Burnett, Instructor in German, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [East Berlin, Conn.]
- Berdan, John Milton, Assistant Professor of English, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- Bergeron, Maxime L., Instructor in French, College of the City of New York, 138th St. and Amsterdam Ave., New York, N. Y.
- Bernbaum, Ernest, Instructor in English, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [86 Sparks St.]
- Bernkopf, Margarete, Head of the German Department, Yonkers High School, Yonkers, N. Y. [503 W. 121st St., New York, N. Y.]
- DE BÉTHUNE, BARON FRANÇOIS, Louvain, Belgium. [34 rue de Bériot]
- Betz, Gottlieb A., Instructor in Germanic Languages and Literatures, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Béziat de Bordes, André, Professor of French, Newcomb College, Tulane University, New Orleans, La.
- Bigelow, Eleanor, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Mass. [6 Wellington Terrace, Brookline, Mass.]
- Bigelow, Otis Munro, Jr., Instructor in French, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [124 Mansfield St.]
- Billetdoux, Edmond W., Associate Professor of Romance Languages, Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J. [144 Hamilton St.]
- Bishop, David Horace, Professor of the English Language and Literature, University of Mississippi, Oxford, Miss. [University, Miss.]
- Blackwell, Robert Emory, President and Professor of English, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va.
- Blanchard, Frederic Thomas, Instructor in English, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. [2610 Russell St.]
- BLAU, MAX FRIEDRICH, Professor of Germanic Languages and Literatures, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Blayne, Thomas Lindsey, Professor of the German Language, Rice Institute, Houston, Texas. [Yoakum Boulevard]
- Blondheim, David Simon, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [University Club]
- Blood, Edna Banks, Teacher of German, Lower Merion High School, Ardmore, Pa. [119 Coulter Ave.]

- Bloomfield, Leonard, Assistant Professor of Comparative Philology and German, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- Blount, Alma, Assistant Professor of English, Michigan State Normal College, Ypsilanti, Mich. [712 Ellis St.]
- Blume, Carlos August, Instructor in French and Spanish, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- Bockstahler, Oscar Leo, Professor of German and French, Charles City College, Charles City, Ia.
- Boesche, Albert Wilhelm, Assistant Professor of German, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [Forest Home Drive]
- Bohn, William Edward, Teacher of English, School of Ethical Culture, New York, N. Y. [206 N. Maple Ave., East Orange, N. J.]
- Boll, Helene Hubertine, New Haven, Conn. [409 Orange St.]
- Bond, Otto Ferdinand, University Fellow in Romance Languages, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [1017 E. 54th St., Hyde Park]
- Bonilla, Rodrigo Huguet, Instructor in French and Spanish, U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md.
- Bonnell, John Kester, Instructor in English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [625 Mendota Court]
- Booker, John Manning, Associate Professor of English, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
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- Borgmann, Albert Stephens, Detroit, Mich. [295 Seminole Ave.]
- Bothne, Gisle C. J., Head Professor of Scandinavian Languages and Literatures, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Boucke, Ewald A., Professor of German, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- Bourland, Benjamin Parsons, Professor of Romance Languages, Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
- Bouton, Archibald Lewis, Professor of Rhetoric, New York University, University Heights, New York, N. Y.
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- Boyer, Clarence Valentine, Instructor in English, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- Boynton, Percy Holmes, Assistant Professor of English, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [5748 Kimbark Ave.]
- Boysen, Johannes Lassen, Instructor in German, University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
- Bradshaw, S. Ernest, Professor of Modern Languages, Furman University, Greenville, S. C.
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- Brandt, Hermann Carl Georg, Professor of the German Language and Literature, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y.
- Braun, Frederick Augustus, Instructor in Modern Languages, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. [18 Bank St.]
- Braun, Wilhelm Alfred, Associate Professor of Germanic Languages and Literatures, Barnard College, Director of the Deutsches Haus, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Brede, Charles F., Professor of German, Northeast Manual Training High School, Philadelphia, Pa. [1937 N. 13th St.]
- Bremicker, Charles, Professor of German, Macalester College, St. Paul, Minn. [1507 Selby Ave.]
- Brewer, Theodore Hampton, Professor of English Literature, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla. [P. O. Box 564]
- Briggs, Fletcher, Professor of Modern Languages, Iowa State College, Ames, Ia. [Station A]
- Briggs, William Dinsmore, Assistant Professor of English, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
- BRIGHT, JAMES WILSON, Professor of English Philology, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- Bristol, Edward N., Henry Holt & Co., 34 W. 33d St., New York, N. Y.
- Bronk, Isabelle, Professor of the French Language and Literature, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
- Bronson, Thomas Bertrand, Head of the Modern Language Department, Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville, N. J.
- Bronson, Walter C., Professor of English Literature, Brown University, Providence, R. I.
- Brooke, C. F. Tucker, Assistant Professor of English, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [725 Yale Station]

- Brooks, Neil C., Assistant Professor of German, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- Brown, Arthur C. L., Professor of English, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. [625 Colfax St.]
- Brown, Calvin S., Professor of Modern Languages, University of Mississippi, University, Miss.
- Brown, Carleton F., Professor of English Philology, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- Brown, Frank Clyde, Professor of English, Trinity College, Durham, N. C. [410 Guess St.]
- Brown, Frederic Willis, Professor of Modern Languages, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.
- Brown, Harold Gibson, Instructor in English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [University Club]
- Brown, Kent James, Associate Professor of German, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
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- Brownell, George Griffin, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Alabama, University, Ala.
- Bruce, Charles A., Professor of Romance Languages, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
- Bruce, James Douglas, Professor of the English Language and Literature, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.
- Bruner, James Dowden, President, Chowan College, Murfreesboro, N. C.
- Bruns, Friedrich, Assistant Professor of German, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [423 N. Butler St.]
- Brush, Henry Raymond, Professor of Romance Languages, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, N. D. [607 Walnut St.]
- Brush, Murray Peabody, Collegiate Professor of French, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- Brusie, Charles Frederick, Principal, Mt. Pleasant Military Academy, Ossining, N. Y.
- Bryan, Walter Speight, Assistant Instructor in German, Yale College, New Haven, Conn. [173 Park St.]
- Buchanan, Milton Alexander, Associate Professor of Italian and Spanish, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada. [88 Wells Hill Ave.]
- Buck, Gertrude, Professor of English, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. [112 Market St.]
- Buck, Philo Melvin, Jr., Professor of Rhetoric, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. [1825 Pepper Ave.]
- BUCKINGHAM, MARY H., Boston, Mass. [96 Chestnut St.]

- Buffum, Douglas Labaree, Professor of Romance Languages, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Burchinal, Mary Cacy, Head of the Department of Foreign Languages, West Philadelphia High School for Girls, 47th and Walnut Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.
- Burkhard, Oscar Carl, Assistant Professor of German, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Burnet, Percy Bentley, Director of Modern Languages, Manual Training High School, Kansas City, Mo. [3751 Flora Ave.]
- Burnett, Arthur W., Henry Holt & Co., 34 W. 33d St., New York, N. Y.
- Burnham, Josephine May, Associate Professor of English, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
- Burrage, Leslie M., Instructor in Romance Languages, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa. [243 S. Pugh St.]
- Bursley, Philip E., Instructor in French and Spanish, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [917 Olivia Ave.]
- Burton, John Marvin, Professor of French and German, Millsaps College, Jackson, Miss.
- Busey, Robert Oscar, Assistant Professor of German, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. [2050 Inka Ave.]
- Bush, Stephen Hayes, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.
- Bushee, Alice H., Instructor in Spanish, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
- Busse, Paul Gustav Adolf, Associate Professor of German, Hunter College, 68th St. and Park Ave., New York, N. Y.
- Butler, Pierce, Professor of English, Newcomb College, New Orleans, La.
- Cabeen, Charles William, Professor of Romance Languages, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y.
- Cabot, Stephen Perkins, Head of the Department of French and German, St. George's School, Newport, R. I.
- Cady, Frank William, Assistant Professor of English, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt.
- Cairns, William B., Assistant Professor of American Literature, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [2010 Madison St.]
- Callaway, Morgan, Jr., Professor of English, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. [1104 Guadalupe St.]
- Camera, Amerigo Ulysses N., Instructor in Romance Languages, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- Cameron, Ward Griswold, Instructor in Romance Languages, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. [526 Ostrom Ave.]

- Campbell, Gertrude H., Fellow in English, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- Campbell, James Andrew, Professor of German, Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.
- Campbell, Killis, Associate Professor of English, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. [2301 Rio Grande St.]
- Campbell, Lily B., Instructor in English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
- Campbell, Oscar James, Jr., Assistant Professor of English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [15 E. Gilman St.]
- Campbell, Thomas Moody, Professor of German, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va. [College Park, Va.]
- Canby, Henry Seidel, Assistant Professor of English, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [105 East Rock Road]
- Canfield, Arthur Graves, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [909 E. University Ave.]
- Cannon, Lee Edwin, Professor of Modern Languages, Eureka College, Eureka, Ill.
- Carhart, Paul Worthington, Assistant Editor, G. and C. Merriam Co., Myrick Building, Springfield, Mass.
- Carnahan, David Hobart, Associate Professor of Romance Languages, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- CARNEGIE, ANDREW, New York, N. Y. [2 E. 91st St.]
- Carpenter, Fred Donald, Instructor in German, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [130 Howe St.]
- CARPENTER, FREDERIC IVES, Barrington, Ill.
- Carpenter, Jennette, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Iowa State Teachers' College, Cedar Falls, Ia. [412 W. 8th St.]
- Carr, Muriel Bothwell, Instructor in English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [419 Sterling Pl.]
- Carruth, William Herbert, Professor of Comparative Literature, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
- Carson, Lucy Hamilton, Professor of English, Montana State Normal College, Dillon, Mont.
- Carteaux, Gustave A., Professor of the French Language, Polytechnic Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- Cave, Charles E., Head of the Department of German, Idaho State Normal School, Albion, Idaho.
- Cehrs, Carrie M., Assistant Professor of German, Montana State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, Bozeman, Mont.

- Cerf, Barry, Associate Professor of Romance Languages, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [1911 Monroe St.]
- Chamberlain, May, Adjunct Professor of the German Language and Literature, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. [Station A]
- Chamberlin, Willis Arden, Professor of the German Language and Literature, Denison University, Granville, O.
- Chandler, Edith Beatrice, Professor of Modern Languages, Highland Park College, Des Moines, Ia.
- Chandler, Frank Wadleigh, Professor of English and Comparative Literature, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. [222 Hosea Ave., Clifton, Cincinnati]
- Chapin, George Scott, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
- Charles Arthur M., Professor of German and French, Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.
- Chase, Lewis Nathaniel, London W., England. [54 Digby Mansions, Hammersmith Bridge]
- Chase, Stanley P., Assistant Professor of English, Union College, Schenectady, N. Y.
- Chatfield-Taylor, Hobart C., Lake Forest, Ill.
- Cheever, Louisa Sewall, Associate Professor of the English Language and Literature, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. [Chapin House]
- Chenery, Winthrop Holt, Librarian and Assistant Professor of Spanish, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
- Cherington, Frank Barnes, Chillicothe, O. [83 N. Ulain St.]
- Child, Clarence Griffin, Professor of English, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [4237 Sansom St.]
- Childs, Francis Lane, Assistant Professor of English, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. [Box 142]
- Chiles, James Alburn, Professor of German and French, Wofford College, Spartanburg, S. C.
- Chinard, Gilbert, Associate Professor of French, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
- Church, Henry Ward, Professor of Modern Languages, Monmouth College, Monmouth, Ill. [1014 E. First Ave.]
- Church, Howard Wadsworth, Instructor in German, Yale College, New Haven, Conn. [719 Yale Station]
- Churchill, George Bosworth, Professor of English Literature, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
- Churchman, Philip Hudson, Professor of Romance Languages, Clark College, Worcester, Mass. [20 Institute Rd.]
- Claassen, Peter A., Professor of Modern Languages, Centre College of Central University, Danville, Ky.

- Clapp, John Mantell, Professor of English, Lake Forest College, Lake Forest, Ill.
- Clark, Eugene Francis, Assistant Professor of German, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- Clark, Thatcher, Head of the Department of French, School of Ethical Culture, 63d St. and Central Park, West, New York, N. Y.
- Clark, Thomas Arkle, Professor of Rhetoric and Dean of Men, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- Clarke, Charles Cameron, Professor of French, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [254 Bradley St.]
- Clary, S. Willard, D. C. Heath & Co., 50 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.
- Clementine, Sister M., Teacher of English, Saint Clara College, Sinsinawa, Wis.
- Coffman, George Raleigh, Assistant Professor of English, University of Montana, Missoula, Mont.
- Cohen, Helen Louise, First Assistant in English, Washington Irving High School, New York, N. Y. [38 W. 93d St.]
- Cohn, Adolphe, Professor of the Romance Languages and Literatures, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Cohn-McMaster, Albert Marian, Professor of Modern Languages, Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Va.
- Cole, George Franklin, Associate Professor of Romance Languages, Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa.
- Collings, Harry T., Professor of German, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa. [308 S. Burrows St.]
- Collins, George Stuart, Professor of German and Spanish, Polytechnic Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- Collins, Varnum Lansing, Professor of the French Language and Literature, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- COLLITZ, HERMANN, Professor of Germanic Philology, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- Colton, Molton Avery, Instructor in Modern Languages, U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md.
- Colville, William T., Carbondale, Pa.
- Colwell, William Arnold, Professor of the German Language and Literature, Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- Comfort, William Wistar, Professor of the Romance Languages and Literatures, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
- Compton, Alfred D., Tutor in English, College of the City of New York, 138th St. and Amsterdam Ave., New York, N. Y.
- Conant, Martha Pike, Associate Professor of English Literature, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. [25 Weston Rd.]

- Condit, Lola M., Professor of Modern Languages, State College, Brookings, S. Dak.
- Conklin, Clara, Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.
- Conrow, Georgianna, Instructor in French, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- Cons, Louis, Associate in Romance Languages, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- Cook, Albert S., Professor of the English Language and Literature, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [219 Bishop St.]
- Cool, Charles Dean, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [1607 Adams St.]
- Cooper, Lane, Assistant Professor of the English Language and Literature, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [Cornell Heights]
- Cooper, William Alpha, Associate Professor of German, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
- Corbin, Alberta Linton, Associate Professor of German, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas.
- Corbin, William Lee, Associate Professor of English, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y.
- Corley, Ames Haven, Instructor in Spanish, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [1007 Yale Station]
- Corwin, Robert Nelson, Professor of German, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [247 St. Ronan St.]
- Cory, Herbert Ellsworth, Assistant Professor of English, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. [2558 Buena Vista Way]
- Cosulich, Gilbert, Teacher of Second-Year English, West Des Moines High School, Des Moines, Ia.
- Coues, Robert Wheaton, Assistant in English, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [10 Mason St.]
- Cox, Edward Godfrey, Assistant Professor of English, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
- Cox, John Harrington, Professor of English Philology, West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va. [188 Spruce St.]
- Craig, Hardin, Professor of English, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Crane, Ronald Salmon, Instructor in English, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. [725 Foster St.]
- Crawford, Douglas, Instructor in English, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. [Bishop Hall]
- Crawford, James Pyle Wickersham, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [College Hall]

- Crawshaw, William Henry, Dean and Professor of English Literature, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y.
- Creek, Herbert L., Instructor in English, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [501 W. High St.]
- Croissant, De Witt C., Assistant Professor of English, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas.
- Croll, Morris William, Assistant Professor of English, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. [53 Patton Hall]
- Crook, Mrs. Martha Loescher, Professor of German, Denver University, Denver, Col. [1055 Lincoln St.]
- Cross, Tom Peete, Associate Professor of English Literature, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Cross, Wilbur Lucius, Professor of English, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [24 Edgehill Road]
- Crowell, Asa Clinton, Associate Professor of Germanic Languages and Literatures, Brown University, Providence, R. I. [66 Oriole Av., East Side Sta.]
- Crowne, Joseph Vincent, Instructor in English, College of the City of New York, 138th St. and Amsterdam Ave., New York, N. Y.
- Cru, Robert Loyalty, Assistant Professor of French, Hunter College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- CUNLIFFE, JOHN WILLIAM, Professor of English and Associate Director of the School of Journalism, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Curdy, Albert Eugene, Associate Professor of French, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [743 Yale Station]
- Curme, George Oliver, Professor of Germanic Philology, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. [629 Colfax St.]
- Curts, Paul, Associate Professor of German, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
- Cushwa, Frank William, Professor of English, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H.
- Cutting, Starr Willard, Professor and Head of the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Daland, Rev. William Clifton, President and Professor of English and Biblical Literature, Milton College, Milton, Rock Co., Wis.
- Damon, Lindsay Todd, Professor of Rhetoric, Brown University, Providence, R. I.
- Dana, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Instructor in English and Comparative Literature, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

- Daniels, Francis Potter, Professor of Romance Languages, Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind. [107 Marshall St.]
- Danton, George Henry, Field Agent, Simplified Spelling Board, New York, N. Y. [7 Livingston Ave., Lyndhurst, N. J.]
- Dargan, Edwin Preston, Assistant Professor of French Literature, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Darnall, Henry Johnston, Professor of Germanic Languages, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.
- David, Henri Charles-Edouard, Assistant Professor of French Literature, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [5469 Madison Ave.]
- Davidson, Hermann Christian, Assistant Professor of German, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [Highland Ave.]
- Davies, William Walter, Professor of the German Language, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, O.
- Davis, Edward Ziegler, Assistant Professor of German, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [424 N. 34th St.]
- Davis, Edwin Bell, Professor of Romance Languages, Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J. [145 College Ave.]
- Davis, Henry Campbell, Professor of the English Language and Rhetoric, University of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C. [2532 Divine St.]
- Davis, William Hawley, Professor of English and Public Speaking, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. [4 Page St.]
- Davis, William Rees, Professor of English, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Wash.
- Daw, Elizabeth Beatrice, Reader in English, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. [Low Buildings]
- Dearborn, Ambrose Collyer, Henry Holt & Co., 34 W. 33d St., New York, N. Y.
- De Beck, B. O. M., American Book Co., 300 Pike St., Cincinnati, O.
- Deering, Robert Waller, Professor of Germanic Languages and Literatures, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. [2931 Somerton Road, Mayfield Heights, Cleveland]
- De Forest, John Bellows, Instructor in French, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [1019 Yale Station]
- De Haan, Fonger, Professor of Spanish, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- Deister, John Louis, R. F. D. 3, Parkville, Mo.
- Delamarre, Louis, Assistant Professor of French, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. [237 Tecumseh Ave., Mt. Vernon, N. Y.]

- Denney, Joseph Villiers, Professor of English and Dean of the College of Arts, Philosophy, and Science, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
- Dey, William Morton, Professor of Romance Languages, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
- Diekhoff, Tobias J. C., Junior Professor of German, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- Dingus, Leonidas Reuben, Professor of German, Richmond College, Richmond, Va. [108 N. West St.]
- Dodge, Daniel Kilham, Professor of the English Language and Literature, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- Dodge, Robert Elkin Neil, Assistant Professor of English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [15 W. Gorham St.]
- Doernenburg, Emil, Professor of German, Ohio University, Athens, O.
- Domroese, Frederick C., Teacher of German, Manual Training High School, Indianapolis, Ind. [110 W. Arizona St.]
- Doniat, Josephine C., Instructor in French and German, Carl Schurz High School, Chicago, Ill.
- Donnelly, Lucy Martin, Professor of English, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- Douay, Gaston, Professor of French, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
- Dow, Louis Henry, Professor of French, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- Downer, Charles Alfred, Professor of Romance Languages, College of the City of New York, 138th St. and Amsterdam Ave., New York, N. Y.
- Doyle, Henry Grattan, Instructor in Romance Languages, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [29 Berkeley St., Somerville, Mass.]
- Drummond, Robert Rutherford, Assistant Professor of German, University of Maine, Orono, Me.
- Dudley, Louise, Professor of English, Lawrence College, Appleton, Wis.
- Dunlap, Charles Graham, Professor of English Literature, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas.
- Dunn, Joseph, Professor of Celtic Languages and Lecturer in Romance Languages, Catholic University, Washington, D. C.
- Dunster, Annie, Head of the Department of Foreign Languages, William Penn High School for Girls, 15th and Wallace Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.
- Durham, Willard Higley, Instructor in English, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [179 Vanderbilt-Scientific Hall]

- Dutton, George B., Instructor in English, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
- Dye, Alexander Vincent, Secretary, Phelps, Dodge & Co., Bisbee, Ariz.
- van Dyke, Henry, Professor of English Literature, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Easley, Owen Randolph, Teacher of French and German, High School, Lynchburg, Va.
- Eastburn, Iola Kay, Professor of German, Oxford College for Women, Oxford, O.
- Easter, De la Warr B., Professor of Romance Languages, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va.
- Eastman, Clarence Willis, Professor of the German Language and Literature, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
- Eaton, Horace Ainsworth, Professor of English, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. [609 Comstock Ave.]
- Eberhardt, Edward Albert, Jefferson City, Mo.
- Eckelmann, Ernst Otto, Instructor in German, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. [3442 Cascade View Drive]
- Effinger, John Robert, Junior Professor of French and Dean of the Summer Session, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- Eggert, Carl Edgar, Assistant Professor of German, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [924 Baldwin Ave.]
- Eisenlohr, Berthold A., Professor of German, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
- Eiserhardt, Ewald, Assistant Professor of German, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.
- Elias, Edward, Professor of German and French, Hope College, Holland, Mich.
- Elliott, George Roy, Professor of English Literature, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.
- Elson, Charles, Instructor in German, Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y. [118 Oak St., Kane, Pa.]
- Emerson, Oliver Farrar, Professor of English, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. [98 Wadena St.]
- Emery, Fred Parker, Professor of English, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- Eno, Arthur Llewellyn, Assistant Professor of English, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa.
- Erskine, John, Associate Professor of English, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Espinosa, Aurelio Macedonio, Associate Professor of Spanish, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.

- Evans, Marshall Blakemore, Professor of German, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
- Evers, Helene M., Mary Institute, St. Louis, Mo.
- Ewart, Frank Carman, Professor of Romanic Languages, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y.
- Fahnestock, Edith, Instructor in Romance Languages, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- Fairchild, Arthur Henry Rolph, Professor of English, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. [708 Maryland Place]
- Fairchild, J. R., American Book Co., 100 Washington Sq., New York, N. Y.
- Fairley, Barker, Professor of German, University of Alberta, Edmonton South, Alberta, Canada.
- Farley, Frank Edgar, Professor of English, Simmons College, Boston, Mass.
- Farnsworth, William Oliver, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. [103 Orchard St., W. Somerville, Mass.]
- Farr, Hollon A., Assistant Professor of German, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [351 White Hall]
- Farrand, Wilson, Head Master, Newark Academy, Newark, N. J.
- Farrar, Thomas James, Professor of Germanic Languages, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va.
- Faulkner, William Harrison, Professor of Germanic Languages, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. [Box 228]
- FAUST, ALBERT BERNHARDT, Professor of German, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [Cornell Heights]
- Fay, Charles Ernest, Professor of Modern Languages, Tufts College, Tufts College, Mass.
- Fay, Percival Bradshaw, Instructor in Romance Languages, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
- Feise, Richard Ernst, Assistant Professor of German, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [1011 Edgewood Ave.]
- Ferguson, John De Lancey, Fellow in English, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [924 Sherman Ave., Plainfield, N. J.]
- Ferren, Harry M., Professor of German, Allegheny High School, North Side, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Ferrin, Dana Holman, The Century Co., 623 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.
- Few, William Preston, President and Professor of English, Trinity College, Durham, N. C.
- Ficken, Hilbert Theodore, Professor of German, Baldwin-Wallace College, Berea, O.

- Fife, Robert Herndon, Jr., Professor of German, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. [347 High St.]
- Files, George Taylor, Professor of German, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.
- Fischer, Walther Paul, Instructor in French, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Fisher, John Roberts, Professor of Modern Languages, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va.
- Fiske, Christabel Forsyth, Associate Professor of English, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- Fitz-Gerald, John Driscoll, Assistant Professor of the Romance Languages, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- FITZ-HUGH, THOMAS, Professor of Latin, University of Virginia, University, Va.
- Fletcher, Jefferson Butler, Professor of Comparative Literature, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [112 E. 22d St.]
- Fletcher, Robert Huntington, Professor of English Literature, Grinnell College, Grinnell, Ia.
- Flom, George Tobias, Assistant Professor of Scandinavian Languages, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- Florer, Warren Washburn, Assistant Professor of German, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [910 Olivia Ave.]
- Flowers, Olive, Teacher of French and English, West High School, Columbus, O. [763 Franklin Ave.]
- Foerster, Norman, Instructor in English, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
- Fogel, Edwin Miller, Assistant Professor of German, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Fogg, Miller Moore, Professor of Rhetoric, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.
- Fogle, David Edgar, Professor of German, Georgetown College, Georgetown, Ky.
- Fontaine, Camille, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Ford, Daniel, Assistant Professor of Rhetoric and Composition, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Ford, J. D. M., Professor of the French and Spanish Languages, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [9 Riedesel Ave.]
- Ford, Joseph Sherman, Assistant to the Principal, The Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H.
- Ford, R. Clyde, Professor of Modern Languages, State Normal College, Ypsilanti, Mich.
- Forsythe, Robert Stanley, Instructor in English, Adelbert College, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. [18 Adelbert Hall]

- Fortier, Edward J., Instructor in Romance Languages and Literatures, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [Hamilton Hall]
- Fossler, Laurence, Head Professor of the Germanic Languages and Literatures, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.
- Foster, Irving Lysander, Professor of Romance Languages, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa.
- Fowler, Earle Broadus, Monroe, N. C.
- Fowler, Thomas Howard, Professor of German, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y.
- Fox, Charles Shattuck, Professor of Romance Languages, Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pa. [230 Wall St., Bethlehem]
- Francke, Kuno, Professor of the History of German Culture and Curator of the Germanic Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [3 Berkeley Place]
- Frank, Colman Dudley, Head of the Department of Romance Languages, De Witt Clinton High School, 59th St. and Tenth Ave., New York, N. Y.
- Franklin, George Bruce, Assistant Professor of English, Simmons College, Boston, Mass. [22 Trowbridge St., Cambridge, Mass.]
- Frantz, Frank Flavius, Professor of Modern Languages, Central College, Fayette, Mo.
- Fraser, William Henry, Professor of Italian and Spanish, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada.
- Freeman, Clarence Campbell, Professor of English Literature, Transylvania College, Lexington, Ky.
- French, George Franklin, Instructor in Modern Languages, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. [12 School St.]
- French, John Calvin, Associate in English, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- French, Mrs. W. F., (M. Katherine Jackson), London, Ky.
- Friedland, Louis Sigmund, Instructor in the English Language and Literature, College of the City of New York, 138th St. and Amsterdam Ave., New York, N. Y.
- Froelicher, Hans, Professor of German, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md.
- Fuentes, Ventura P., Assistant Professor of Spanish, College of the City of New York, 138th St. and Amsterdam Ave., New York, N. Y.
- Fuess, Claude Moore, Instructor in English, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass.
- Fulton, Edward, Associate Professor of English, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- Fulton, Maurice Garland, Professor of English, Davidson College, Davidson, N. C.

- Galloo, Eugénie, Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas.
- Galpin, Stanley Leman, Professor of Romance Languages, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
- Galt, Mary Meares, Teacher of French, Williams Memorial Institute, New London, Conn.
- Gambrill, Louise, Instructor in French, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
- Gardner, Edward Hall, Assistant Professor of English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [1924 Kendall Ave.]
- Gardner, May, Instructor in Romance Languages, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas.
- Garver, Milton Stahl, Instructor in French, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [811 Yale Station]
- Gaston, Charles Robert, Head of the Department of English, Richmond Hill High School, New York, N. Y. [215 Abingdon Road, Richmond Hill, N. Y.]
- Gauss, Christian, Professor of Modern Languages, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- GAW, MRS. RALPH H., Topeka, Kas. [1321 Filmore St.]
- Gay, Lucy Maria, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [216 N. Pinckney St.]
- Gayley, Charles Mills, Professor of the English Language and Literature, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. [Parr's Bank, Ltd., 4 Bartholomew Lane, London, England]
- GEDDES, JAMES, JR., Professor of Romance Languages, Boston University, Boston, Mass. [20 Fairmount St., Brookline, Mass.]
- Geissendoerfer, John Theodore, Instructor in German, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Gerig, John Lawrence, Associate Professor of Celtic, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Gerould, Gordon Hall, Assistant Professor, Preceptor in English, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Getz, Igerna Miriam, Instructor in German and English, Marshalltown High School, Marshalltown, Ia. [5 S. 4th St.]
- Gideon, Abram, Professor of German and French, University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyo.
- Gilbert, Allan H., Instructor in English, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [215 Pleasant St.]
- Gilbert, Donald Monroe, Instituto Nacional, Panama, Pan.
- Gildersleeve, Virginia Crocheron, Dean and Professor of English, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Gillet, Joseph Eugene, Instructor in German, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

- Gingerich, Solomon Francis, Assistant Professor of English, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [517 Elm St.]
- Gingrich, Gertrude, Professor of the German Language and Literature, University of Wooster, Wooster, O. [575 University St.]
- Glascock, Clyde Chew, Assistant Professor of German, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [Graduates' Club]
- Goddard, Eunice Rathbone, New Salem, Mass.
- Goddard, Harold Clarke, Professor of English, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
- Goebel, Julius, Professor of Germanic Languages, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- Goettsch, Charles, Assistant Professor of Germanic Philology, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Goodnight, Scott Holland, Associate Professor of German, Director of the Summer Session, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [2130 W. Lawn Ave.]
- Goodsell, Marguerite, Teacher of French and German, Gilbert School, Winsted, Conn.
- Gorham, Maud Bassett, Instructor in English, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
- Gould, Chester Nathan, Assistant Professor of German and Scandinavian Literature, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Gould, William Elford, New York, N. Y. [55 Irving Pl.]
- GRANDGENT, CHARLES HALL, Professor of Romance Languages, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [107 Walker St.]
- Graves, Thornton Shirley, Assistant Professor of English, Trinity College, Durham, N. C.
- Gray, Charles Henry, Assistant Professor of English Literature, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas. [4303 Baltimore Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.]
- Gray, Roland Palmer, Professor of English, University of Maine, Orono, Me.
- Green, Alexander, Instructor in German, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [924 Illinois St.]
- Greene, Ernest Roy, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. [19 Maple St.]
- Greene, Herbert Eveleth, Collegiate Professor of English, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. [1019 St. Paul St.]
- Greenfield, Eric Viele, Assistant Professor of German, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Ind.
- Greenlaw, Edwin Almiron, Professor of English, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

- Greenough, Chester Noyes, Assistant Professor of English, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [17 Lawrence Hall]
- Greever, Gustavus Garland, Associate Professor of English, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark. [American Express Company, 6 Haymarket, London, S. W., England]
- Griebisch, Max, Director, National German-American Teachers' Seminary, 558-568 Broadway, Milwaukee, Wis.
- Griffin, James O., Professor of German, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
- Griffin, Nathaniel Edward, Assistant Professor, Preceptor in English, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. [14 N. Dod Hall]
- Griffith, Reginald Harvey, Associate Professor of English, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. [University Station]
- Grimm, Karl Josef, Professor of the German Language and Literature, Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa.
- Gronow, Hans Ernst, Instructor in German, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Grünbaum, Gustav, Instructor in Romance Languages, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- GRUENER, GUSTAV, Professor of German, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [146 Lawrance Hall]
- Grumbine, Harvey Carson, Professor of the English Language and Literature, University of Wooster, Wooster, O.
- Grumann, Paul H., Professor of Modern German Literature, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. [1967 South St.]
- Gubelmann, Albert Edward, Assistant Professor of German, Yale College, New Haven, Conn. [806 Yale Station]
- Guérard, Albert Léon, Professor of the History of French Culture, Rice Institute, Houston, Tex.
- Guerlac, Othon G., Assistant Professor of French, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [3 Fountain Place]
- Guitner, Alma, Professor of German, Otterbein University, Westerville, O. [75 W. College Ave.]
- Gummere, Francis B., Professor of English, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.
- Gunn, Sidney, Cambridge, Mass. [3 Linnæan St.]
- Gutknecht, Louise L., Instructor in German and French, J. Bowen High School, Chicago, Ill. [7700 Bond Ave., Windsor Park]
- Guyer, Foster Erwin, Assistant Professor of French, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- Haertel, Martin H., Assistant Professor of German, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

- Hale, Edward E., Professor of English, Union College, Schenectady, N. Y.
- Hale, Wm. Gardner, Professor of Latin, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Hall, Edgar A., Assistant Professor of English, Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y. [420 Park Place]
- Hall, John Lesslie, Professor of the English Language and Literature, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va.
- Hall, Margaret Woodburn, Acting Chairman of the French Department, Evander Childs High School, New York, N. Y. [P. S. 47]
- Haller, William, Instructor in English, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Halley, Albert Roberts, Head of the Department of Modern Languages, Chatham Academy, Savannah, Ga. [Box 154]
- Hamilton, George Livingstone, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
- Hamilton, Theodore Ely, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
- Hammond, Eleanor Prescott, Chicago, Ill. [1357 E. 57th St.]
- Handschin, Charles Hart, Professor of German, Miami University, Oxford, O.
- Haney, John Louis, Professor of English Philology, Central High School, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Hanford, James Holly, Associate Professor of English, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
- Hardy, Ashley Kingley, Assistant Professor of German and Instructor in Old English, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- Harper, Carrie Anna, Associate Professor of English Literature, Mount Holyoke College, So. Hadley, Mass.
- Harper, George McLean, Professor of English, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- HARRIS, CHARLES, Professor of German, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O
- Harris, Lancelot Minor, Professor of English, College of Charleston, Charleston, S. C.
- Harrison, Frederick Browne, Instructor in English, Jacob Tome Institute, Port Deposit, Md.
- Harrison, John Smith, Assistant Professor of English, Kenyon College, Gambier, O.
- Harry, Philip Warner, Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures, Colby College, Waterville, Me.
- HART, CHARLES EDWARD, Professor Emeritus of Ethics and Evidences of Christianity, Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J. [33 Livingston Ave.]

- HART, JAMES MORGAN, Professor Emeritus of the English Language and Literature, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [English Seminary, Cornell University Library]
- Hart, Walter Morris, Associate Professor of English Philology, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. [2255 Piedmont Ave.]
- Hartmann, Jacob Wittmer, Instructor in the German Language and Literature, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. [468 W. 153d St.]
- Harvitt, Helen J., Brooklyn, N. Y. [192 Hooper St.]
- Hastings, Harry Worthington, Assistant Professor of English, New York State College for Teachers, Albany, N. Y.
- Hastings, William Thomson, Assistant Professor of English, Brown University, Providence, R. I. [13 John St.]
- HATFIELD, JAMES TAFT, Professor of the German Language and Literature, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
- Hauhart, William F., Instructor in German, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- Hausmann, John Fred, Instructor in German, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [531 State St.]
- Havens, Raymond Dexter, Assistant Professor of English, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.
- Hayden, Philip Meserve, Professor of French, Tufts College, Tufts College, Mass. [1120 Amsterdam Ave., New York, N. Y.]
- Heck, Jean Olive, Instructor in History, Raschig School, Cincinnati, O. [3757 Darwin Ave., Station L]
- Heiss, John, Associate Professor of German, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Ind. [403 University St.]
- Heller, Anna Marie, Teacher of German and French, William Penn High School, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Heller, Otto, Professor of the German Language and Literature, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
- Helmholtz-Phelan, Mrs. Anna Augusta, Instructor in English, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. [Faculty Box 95]
- Hemingway, Samuel Burdett, Assistant Professor of English, Yale College, New Haven, Conn. [72 Yale Station]
- Hempl, George, Professor of Germanic Philology, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
- Henby, Abbie, Instructor in German, High School, Kokomo, Ind. [530 E. Mulberry St.]
- Hénin, Benjamin Louis, Professor of French, High School of Commerce, 157 W. 65th St., New York, N. Y.
- Henning, George Neely, Professor of Romance Languages, George Washington University, Washington, D. C.

- Herford, Charles Harold, Professor of English Literature, University of Manchester, Manchester, England.
- Hermannsson, Halldór, Curator of the Icelandic Collection and Lecturer in Scandinavian, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
- Herrick, Asbury Haven, Instructor in German, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [34 Maple Ave.]
- Hersey, Frank Wilson Cheney, Instructor in English, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [61 Oxford St.]
- HERVEY, WILLIAM ADDISON, Associate Professor of the Germanic Languages and Literatures, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Heuser, Frederick W. J., Assistant Professor of the Germanic Languages and Literatures, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Heusinkveld, Arthur Helenus, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [5825 Maryland Ave.]
- HEWETT, WATERMAN THOMAS, Professor Emeritus of the German Language and Literature, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
- Hewitt, Theodore Brown, Instructor in German, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
- Heyd, Jacob Wilhelm, Professor of German, State Normal School, Kirksville, Mo. [917 E. Normal Ave.]
- Hicks, Fred Cole, Professor of Modern Languages, Dakota Wesleyan University, Mitchell, S. Dak.
- Hicks, Rivers Keith, Instructor in French, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- Hill, Herbert Wynford, Professor of English, University of Nevada, Reno, Nev.
- Hill, Hinda Teague, Professor of French, State Normal College, Greensboro, N. C.
- Hill, John, Dresden, Tenn.
- Hill, Murray Gardner, Instructor in English, Adelbert College, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
- Hill, Raymond Thompson, Instructor in French, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- Hills, Elijah Clarence, Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures, Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Col. [12 College Place]
- Hinckley, Henry Barrett, Northampton, Mass. [54 Prospect St.]
- Hinsdale, Ellen C., Professor of the German Language and Literature, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.
- Hochdörfer, K. F. Richard, Professor of Modern Languages, Wittenberg College, Springfield, O.
- HODDER, MRS. ALFRED, Baltimore, Md. [33 Mt. Vernon Place, East]
- Hohlfeld, Alexander R., Professor of German, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

- Holbrook, Richard Thayer, Associate Professor of Old French and Italian, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- Hollander, Lee M., Instructor in German and Scandinavian, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [312 Prospect Ave.]
- Holt, Josephine White, Head of the French Department, John Marshall High School, Richmond, Va. [113 N. 3d St.]
- Holzwarth, Charles Homer, Head of the Modern Language Department, West High School, Rochester, N. Y.
- Holzwarth, Franklin James, Professor of the Germanic Languages and Literatures, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. [911 Walnut Ave.]
- Hopkins, Annette Brown, Instructor in English, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md.
- Hopkins, Edwin Mortimer, Professor of Rhetoric and the English Language, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas.
- Horning, Lewis Emerson, Professor of Teutonic Philology, Victoria College, Toronto, Canada.
- Hosie, James Fleming, Professor of English, Chicago Teachers' College, 68th St. and Stewart Ave., Chicago, Ill. [10423 Seeley Ave.]
- Hoskins, John Preston, Professor of the Germanic Languages, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. [22 Bank St.]
- Hospes, Mrs. Cecilia Lizzette, Teacher of German, McKinley High School, St. Louis, Mo.
- House, Ralph Emerson, Instructor in Romance Languages, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Houston, Percy Hazen, Instructor in English, University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
- HOWARD, WILLIAM GUILD, Assistant Professor of German, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [39 Kirkland St.]
- Howe, Thomas Carr, President, Butler College, Indianapolis, Ind. [48 S. Audubon Road]
- Howe, Will David, Professor of English, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
- Hoyt, Prentiss Cheney, Professor of English, Clark College, Worcester, Mass. [940 Main St.]
- Hrbkova, Šárka B., Assistant Professor, Head of the Department of Slavonic Languages and Literatures, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. [105 M. Arts Hall]
- Hubbard, Frank Gaylord, Professor of English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [409 N. Murray St.]
- Hughes, Mrs. Charlotte Condé, Tutor in Romance Languages, Grand Rapids, Mich. [20 North College Ave.]

- Hulbert, James Root, Instructor in English, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Hulme, William Henry, Professor of English, College for Women, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
- Humphreys, Wilber R., Assistant Professor of English, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1435 Cambridge Rd.]
- Hunkins, Charles H., Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Brown University, Providence, R. I.
- Hunt, Theodore Whitefield, Professor of English, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Hurlburt, Albert Francis, Instructor in Romance Languages, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [513 Elm St.]
- Hutchins, Henry Clinton, Instructor in English, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
- HYDE, JAMES HAZEN, New York, N. Y. [23 W. 50th St.]
- Ilgen, Ernest, Associate Professor of German, College of the City of New York, 138th St. and Amsterdam Ave., New York, N. Y.
- Imbert, Louis, Instructor in Spanish, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [Hamilton Hall, Columbia University]
- Ingraham, Edgar Shugert, Professor of Romance Languages, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
- Jaeck, Emma Gertrude, Professor of German, Converse College, Spartanburg, S. C.
- von Jagemann, H. C. G., Professor of Germanic Philology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [113 Walker St.]
- JENKINS, T. ATKINSON, Professor of French Philology, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [5411 Greenwood Ave.]
- Jenney, Adeline Miriam, Fellow in English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [191 W. Johnson St.]
- Jensen, Gerard Edward, Instructor in English, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [203 De Witt Place]
- JESSEN, KARL DETLEV, Professor of German Literature, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- Johnson, Amandus, Instructor in Scandinavian and German, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [Box 39, College Hall]
- Johnson, Carl Wilhelm, Assistant Professor of German, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
- Johnson, Henry, Professor of Modern Languages, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.
- Johnson, Herman Patrick, Acting Professor of English, University of Mississippi, University, Miss.

- Johnson, William Savage, Assistant Professor of English Literature, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas. [1135 Ohio St.]
- Johnston, Oliver Martin, Associate Professor of Romanic Languages, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
- Jonas, Johannes Benoni Eduard, Teacher of German, DeWitt Clinton High School, New York, N. Y. [50 Turner Ave., Riverside, R. I.]
- Jones, Everett Starr, Head Master, Allen School, West Newton, Mass.
- Jones, Florence Nightingale, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.
- Jones, Harry Stuart Vedder, Assistant Professor of English, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- Jones, Jessie Louise, Assistant Professor of German, Lewis Institute, Chicago, Ill.
- Jones, Raymond Watson, Instructor in German, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- Jones, Richard, Professor of English, Tufts College, Tufts College, Mass. [9 Concord Ave., Cambridge, Mass.]
- Jones, Richard Foster, Instructor in English, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
- Jones, Virgil Laurens, Professor of English, Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Va.
- Jordan, Daniel, Assistant Professor of the Romance Languages and Literatures, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Jordan, Mary Augusta, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. [Hatfield House]
- JOYNES, EDWARD S., Professor Emeritus of Modern Languages, University of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C.
- Judson, Alexander Corbin, Instructor in English, University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
- Kaufman, J. Paul, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [56 Brentford Hall]
- Kayser, Carl F., Professor of the German Language and Literature, Hunter College, New York, N. Y. [71 E. 87th St.]
- Keep, Robert Porter, Instructor in German, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass.
- Keidel, George Charles, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
- Keidel, Heinrich C., Instructor in German, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
- Keith, Oscar L., Professor of Modern Languages, University of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C. [1518 University Place]
- Kellogg, Robert James, Professor of Modern Languages, James Millikin University, Decatur, Ill. [6 Sacramento St., Cambridge, Mass.]

- Kent, Charles W., Professor of English Literature, University of Virginia, University, Va.
- Kenyon, John Samuel, Professor and Head of the Department of English, Butler College, Indianapolis, Ind. [5339 University Ave.]
- Keppler, Emil A. C., Tutor in Germanic Languages and Literatures, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. [214 Drake Ave., New Rochelle, N. Y.]
- Kerlin, Robert Thomas, Professor of English, Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Va.
- Kern, Alfred Allan, Professor of English, Millsaps College, Jackson, Miss.
- Kerr, William Alexander Robb, Professor of Modern Languages, University of Alberta, Edmonton South, Alberta, Canada.
- Kind, John Louis, Assistant Professor of German, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [425 Sterling Court]
- King, James Percival, Professor of German, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.
- King, Robert Augustus, Professor of German, Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind.
- Kinoshita, Junichiro, New York, N. Y. [156 E. 49th St.]
- Kip, Herbert Z., Associate Professor of German, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.
- KITTREDGE, GEORGE LYMAN, Professor of English, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [8 Hilliard St.]
- Kittredge, Rupert Earle Loring, Professor of French, Trinity College, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada.
- Klaeber, Frederick, Professor of Comparative and English Philology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- KLEIN, DAVID, Instructor in English, College of the City of New York, 138th St. and Amsterdam Ave., New York, N. Y.
- Kleinhans, Sophie Dorothea, Head Teacher of German, High School, Crawfordsville, Ind.
- von Klenze, Camillo, Professor of the German Language and Literature, Brown University, Providence, R. I.
- Knoepfler, John Baptist, Professor of German and French, Iowa State Teachers' College, Cedar Falls, Ia.
- Knowlton, Edgar Colby, Instructor in English, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. [226 Porter St.]
- Kolbe, Parke Rexford, President, Municipal University of Akron, Akron, O.
- Koller, Armin Hajman, Instructor in German, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [1110 S. 3d St., Champaign, Ill.]

- Kotz, Theodore Franklin, Instructor in German, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
- Kracher, Francis Waldemar, Assistant Professor of the German Language and Literature, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. [405 N. Linn St.]
- Krapp, George Philip, Professor of English, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Krause, Carl Albert, Head of the Modern Language Department, Jamaica High School, Jamaica, New York, N. Y. [1087A Prospect Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.]
- Kroeh, Charles F., Professor of Modern Languages, Stevens Institute of Technology, Hoboken, N. J.
- Krowl, Harry C., Associate Professor of English, College of the City of New York, 139th St. and Convent Ave., New York, N. Y.
- Kruse, Henry Otto, Associate Professor of German, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas.
- Kueffner, Louise Mallinckrodt, Instructor in German, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- Kuersteiner, Albert Frederick, Professor of Romance Languages, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
- Kuhl, Ernest P., Instructor in English, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. [6 College St.]
- Kuhne, Julius W., Associate Professor of Romance Languages, Miami University, Oxford, O.
- Kuhns, Oscar, Professor of Romance Languages, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
- Kullmer, Charles Julius, Professor of German, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. [505 University Place]
- Kurrelmeyer, William, Associate Professor of German, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. [Ellicott City, Md.]
- Lambert, Marcus Bachman, Teacher of German, Richmond Hill High School, New York, N. Y. [5 Maxwell Ave., Jamaica, New York]
- Lancaster, Henry Carrington, Professor of Romance Languages, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
- Lang, Henry R., Professor of Romance Philology, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [176 Yale Station]
- Lange, Carl Frederick Augustus, Professor of German, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
- Langley, Ernest F., Professor of French, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass.
- Lathrop, Henry Burrowes, Associate Professor of English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

- Laubscher, Gustav George, Professor of Romance Languages, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va. [College Park, Va.]
- Lauer, Edward Henry, Assistant Professor of German, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. [702 Iowa Ave.]
- Lavertu, Francis Louis, Head of the Modern Language Department, Hill School, Pottstown, Pa.
- Law, Robert A., Adjunct Professor of English, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. [2108 San Gabriel St.]
- Lawrence, William Witherle, Associate Professor of English, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Layton, Katherine A. W., Instructor in German, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. [11 Arnold Ave.]
- Leach, Henry Goddard, Secretary, The American-Scandinavian Foundation, 25 W. 45th St., New York, N. Y.
- Learned, Henry Dexter, Instructor in German, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [229 S. 44th St.]
- Learned, Marion Dexter, Professor of the Germanic Languages and Literatures, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Lecompte, Irville Charles, Assistant Professor of French, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [764 Yale Station]
- Le Duc, Alma de L., Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
- Lemmi, Charles W., Instructor in English, Simmons College, Boston, Mass.
- Leonard, Arthur Newton, Professor of German, Bates College, Lewiston, Me. [24 Riverside St.]
- Leonard, William Ellery, Assistant Professor of English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
- Leser, Eugene, Assistant Professor of German, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. [420 S. Sluss Ave.]
- Lessing, Otto Eduard, Professor of German, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [905 S. Lincoln Ave.]
- Levi, Moritz, Professor of French, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- Lewis, Charlton Miner, Professor of English Literature, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- Lewis, Edwin Herbert, Professor of English and Dean of the Faculty, Lewis Institute, Chicago, Ill.
- Lewisohn, Ludwig, Assistant Professor of German, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. [23 Sixteenth Ave.]
- Licklider, Albert Harp, Assistant Professor of English Literature, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
- Liddell, Mark Harvey, Assistant Professor of English, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Ind. [523 Waldron St.]

- Lieder, Frederick William Charles, Instructor in German, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [6 Holyoke House]
- Limper, Henry William, Professor of the German Language and Literature, Southwestern College, Winfield, Kas.
- Lincoln, George Luther, Instructor in Romance Languages, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [2000 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass.]
- Lindsay, Julian Ira, Instructor in English, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt.
- Lipari, Angelo, Lecturer in French, Trinity College, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada.
- Livingston, Albert Arthur, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Lockwood, Francis Cummins, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.
- Lockwood, Laura E., Associate Professor of English, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. [8 Norfolk Terrace]
- Logeman, Henry, Professor of English Philology, University of Ghent, Ghent, Belgium. [343 boulevard des Hospices]
- Loiseaux, Louis Auguste, Associate Professor of the Romance Languages and Literatures, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Lomax, John Avery, Secretary of the Faculties, University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
- Long, Orie William, Professor of Modern Languages, Worcester Polytechnic Institute, Worcester, Mass.
- Long, Percy Waldron, Instructor in English, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [18 Willard St.]
- Longden, Henry Boyer, Professor of the German Language and Literature, De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind.
- Loomis, Roger Sherman, Tutor in English, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [1008 Oregon St.]
- Lorenz, Charlotte Marie, Instructor in German, Iowa State Teachers' College, Cedar Falls, Ia.
- Lotspeich, Claude Meek, Associate Professor of German, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O.
- Lovell, George Blakeman, Instructor in German, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [753 Yale Station]
- Lowes, John Livingston, Professor of English, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
- Luebke, William Ferdinand, Assistant Professor of German, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.
- Luquiens, Frederick Bliss, Assistant Professor of Spanish, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [97 Canner St.]

- Lustrat, Joseph, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.
- Lutz, Frederick, Professor of Modern Languages and Acting Professor of Latin, Albion College, Albion, Mich.
- Lynch, Samuel Adams, Head of the Department of English, Iowa State Teachers' College, Cedar Falls, Ia.
- Lyon, Charles Edward, Assistant Professor of German, Clark College, Worcester, Mass. [21 King St.]
- McBryde, John McLaren, Jr., Professor of English, and Editor of the *Sewanee Review*, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.
- McClelland, George William, Instructor in English, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [3706 Locust St.]
- MacClintock, William D., Professor of English, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [5629 Lexington Ave.]
- McCobb, Arthur Lewis, Instructor in German, Clark College, Worcester, Mass.
- MACCRACKEN, HENRY NOBLE, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
- MacDonald, Wilbert L., Professor of English, University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, N. B.
- McIntyre, Clara Frances, Instructor in English, University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyo.
- Mackall, Leonard Leopold, Hon. Member, Georgia Historical Society, Foreign Member, Bibliographical Society of London, Jena, Germany. [Forstweg 14]
- Mackenzie, Alastair St. Clair, Professor of English and Dean of the Graduate School, State University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky. [Box 208]
- McKENZIE, KENNETH, Assistant Professor of Italian, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [142 Cold Spring St.]
- Mackenzie, William Roy, Associate Professor of English, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
- McKibben, George Fitch, Professor of Romance Languages, Denison University, Granville, O.
- MacKimmie, Anderson, Assistant Professor of French, Massachusetts Agricultural College, No. Amherst, Mass.
- McKnight, George Harley, Professor of English, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
- McLaughlin, William Aloysius, Instructor in French, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [644 S. Ingalls St.]
- McLay, Walter Scott Williams, Professor of English and Dean of Arts, McMaster University, Toronto, Ont.

- McLean, Charlotte Frelinghuysen, Professor of English, College of Montana, Deer Lodge, Montana.
- McLouth, Lawrence A., Professor of Germanic Languages and Literatures, New York University, University Heights, New York, N. Y.
- McMahon, Charles Omar, Instructor in Romance Languages, University of Louisville, Louisville, Ky.
- Macmillan, Beulah A., Instructor in English, Wilson College for Women, Chambersburg, Pa.
- Mahr, August Carl, Instructor in German, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [116 Vanderbilt Hall (Sheff.)]
- Maloubier, Eugène F., Instructor in Romance Languages, Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- Manchester, Frederick A., Instructor in English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
- Manley, Edward, Englewood High School, Chicago, Ill. [6100 Lexington Ave.]
- Manly, John Matthews, Professor of English, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Manthey-Zorn, Otto, Associate Professor of German, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
- Marcou, Philippe Belknap, Paris, France. [28 quai d'Orléans]
- Marden, Charles Carroll, Professor of Spanish, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- Marquardt, Carl Eugene, Assistant Professor of German, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa.
- Marsh, George Linnæus, Extension Associate Professor of English, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Marvin, Robert B., Head of the German Department, Commercial High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. [826 Marcy Ave.]
- Mason, James Frederick, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
- Mason, Lawrence, Instructor in English, Yale College, New Haven, Conn.
- Mathews, Charles Eugley, Assistant Professor, Preceptor in Modern Languages, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- MATTHEWS, BRANDER, Professor of Dramatic Literature (English), Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [337 W. 87th St.]
- Maxfield, Ezra Kempton, Instructor in English, Colby College, Waterville, Me. [17 West St.]
- Mayfield, G. R., Instructor in German, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.

- Maynadier, Gustavus H., Instructor in English, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [24 Fairfax Hall]
- Mead, William Edward, Professor of the English Language, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
- Meador, Clarence Linton, Junior Professor of General Linguistics, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1941 Geddes Ave.]
- Meisnest, Frederick William, Professor of German, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. [4705 Sixteenth Ave., N. E.]
- Mensel, Ernst Heinrich, Professor of Germanic Languages and Literatures, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
- Mercier, Louis Joseph Alexander, Instructor in French, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
- Metzinger, Leon, Instructor in German, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. [979 Fourteenth Ave., S. E.]
- Meyer, Edward Stockton, Associate Professor of German, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
- Meyer, George Henry, Assistant Dean and Assistant Professor of the German Language and Literature, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- Michaud, Régis, Assistant Professor, Preceptor in Modern Languages, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Miles, Dudley Howe, Chairman of the English Department, Evander Childs High School, Bronx, New York, N. Y. [509 W. 122d St.]
- Miles, Louis Wardlaw, Assistant Professor, Preceptor in English, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Miller, George Morey, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind. [609 E. Wabash Ave.]
- Miller, Kate Belle, Assistant Professor of English, Lewis Institute, Chicago, Ill.
- Miller, Raymond Durbin, Associate Professor of English, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. [305 Hicks Ave.]
- Mills, Agnes Dorothy, New York, N. Y. [401 W. 118th St.]
- Mims, Edwin, Professor of English, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.
- Mitchell, Robert McBurney, Assistant Professor of Germanic Languages and Literatures, Brown University, Providence, R. I. [144 Congdon St.]
- Monroe, Robert Emmett, Professor of Modern Languages, Transylvania University, Lexington, Ky.
- Mookerjee, H. C., Assistant Professor of English, Calcutta University, Calcutta, India. [1 and 2 Dehi Serampore Rd.]

- Moore, Cecil Albert, Assistant Professor of English, Trinity College, Durham, N. C. [9 Lamont Ave.]
- Moore, Clarence King, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.
- Moore, Olin Harris, Instructor in Romance Languages, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [University Club]
- Moore, Robert Webber, Professor of German, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y.
- Moore, Samuel, Assistant Professor of English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [112 Lathrop St.]
- Morgan, Bayard Quincy, Assistant Professor of German, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [1710 Adams St.]
- Morgan, Charlotte E., Instructor in English, Mrs. Randall-McIver's Classes (Miss Davidge's Classes), New York, N. Y. [1173 Bushwick Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.]
- Moriarty, William Daniel, Instructor in Rhetoric, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [309 Thompson St.]
- Morley, Sylvanus Griswold, Professor of Romanic Languages, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
- Morris, George Davis, Associate Professor of French, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
- Morris, John, Professor of Germanic Languages, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.
- Moseley, Thomas Addis Emmet, Instructor in Romance Languages, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Mosher, William Eugene, Professor of the German Language and Literature, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O.
- MOTT, LEWIS F., Professor of the English Language and Literature, College of the City of New York, 139th St. and Convent Ave., New York, N. Y.
- Moyse, Charles Ebenezer, Vice-Principal, Professor of English, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.
- Mueller, Eugene, Teacher of German, Shortridge High School, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Mulfinger, George Abraham, Professor of the German Language and Literature, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.
- Murray, William Henry, Assistant Professor of Modern Languages, Tuck School, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- Mutterer, Frederick Gilbert, Professor of German, Indiana State Normal School, Terre Haute, Ind. [667 Oak St.]
- Myers, Clara Louise, Associate Professor of English, College for Women, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
- Myers, Walter R., Assistant Professor of German, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. [1629 University Ave., S. E.]

- Myrick, Arthur B., Professor of Romance Languages, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. [86 Williams St.]
- Nadal, Thomas William, Dean and Professor of English, Olivet College, Olivet, Mich.
- Nason, Arthur Huntington, Assistant Professor of English, New York University, University Heights, New York, N. Y.
- Neef, Francis J. A., Instructor in German, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- Neff, Theodore Lee, Assistant Professor of French, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Neidig, William J., Chicago, Ill. [1156 N. Dearborn St.]
- NEILSON, WILLIAM ALLAN, Professor of English, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [34 Kirkland St.]
- Nelson, Clara Albertine, Professor of French, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, O.
- Nelson, Joseph Raleigh, Assistant Professor of Rhetoric, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [927 Forest Ave.]
- Nettleton, George Henry, Assistant Professor of English, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [570 Prospect St.]
- Neumann, Gustaf Julius, Professor of English and Psychology, Wartburg College, Clinton, Ia.
- NEWCOMER, CHARLES BERRY, Des Moines, Ia. [1131 25th St.]
- Newport, Mrs. Clara Price, Assistant Professor of German, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
- Nichols, Charles Washburn, Assistant Professor of Rhetoric, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Nichols, Edwin Bryant, Professor of Romance Languages, DePauw University, Greencastle, Ind. [529 Anderson St.]
- Nicolay, Clara Leonora, Professor of Modern Languages, Queen's College, Charlotte, N. C.
- Nitze, William Albert, Professor and Head of the Department of Romance Languages, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [1220 E. 56th St.]
- Noble, Alvin Buell, Professor of Literature and Rhetoric, Iowa State College, Ames, Ia. [Station A]
- Noble, Charles, Professor of the English Language and Rhetoric, Grinnell College, Grinnell, Ia. [1110 West St.]
- von Noé, Adolf Carl, Assistant Professor of German Literature, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Noé, Rachel, Teacher of French, Bayonne High School, Bayonne, N. J. [105 W. 8th St.]

- Nolle, Alfred Henry, Assistant in German, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [122 S. 33d St.]
- Nollen, John S., President, Lake Forest College, Lake Forest, Ill.
- Northrop, George Norton, Instructor in English, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. [2213 Grand Ave.]
- NORTHUP, CLARK SUTHERLAND, Assistant Professor of English, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [407 Elmwood Ave.]
- Northup, George Tyler, Assistant Professor of Italian and Spanish, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ont. [211 Cottingham St.]
- Nykerk, John Bernard, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Hope College, Holland, Mich.
- Odebrecht, August, Assistant Professor of Modern Languages, Denison University, Granville, O. [Box 365]
- Ogden, Phillip, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O.
- O'Leary, Raphael Dorman, Associate Professor of Rhetoric, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas.
- Oliver, Thomas Edward, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [912 W. California Ave.]
- Olmsted, Everett Ward, Professor and Head of the Department of Romance Languages, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Olthouse, John W., Adjunct Professor of French and German, University of Wooster, Wooster, O.
- Osgood, Charles Grosvenor, Assistant Professor, Preceptor in English, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Osthaus, Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand, Professor of German, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. [417 S. Fess Ave.]
- Osuna, Andrés, Instructor in Spanish, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. [3021 Beech Ave.]
- Ott, John Henry, Professor of the English Language and Literature, College of the Northwestern University, Watertown, Wis.
- Owen, Arthur Leslie, Associate Professor of Romance Languages, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas. [536 Ohio St.]
- Owen, Edward Thomas, Professor of French and Linguistics, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [614 State St.]
- Owen, Ralph Woodland, Instructor in English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [21 Mendota Court]
- Pace, Roy Bennett, Assistant Professor of English, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
- Padelford, Frederick Morgan, Professor of English, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. [University Station]

- PAGE, CURTIS HIDDEN, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- Palmblad, Harry V. E., Instructor in Germanic Languages and Literatures, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Palmer, Arthur Hubbell, Professor of the German Language and Literature, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [221 Everit St.]
- Palmer, Earle Fenton, Assistant Professor of English, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- Palmer, Inez Ethel, Instructor in Latin, German, and English, High School, Cashmere, Wash. [P. O. Box 436]
- Palmer, Philip Mason, Professor of German, Lehigh University, So. Bethlehem, Pa. [University Park]
- Panaroni, Alfred G., Instructor in Romance Languages, College of the City of New York, 139th St. and Convent Ave., New York, N. Y.
- PANCOAST, HENRY SPACKMAN, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa. [Spring Lane]
- Park, Clyde William, Assistant Professor of English, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O.
- Parker, E. F., Instructor in Romance Languages, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
- Parker, Luther Wood, Instructor in French, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. [1206 S. E. 5th St.]
- Paton, Lucy Allen, Paris, France. [Morgan, Harjes & Co., 31 boulevard Haussmann]
- Patterson, Arthur Sayles, Professor of French, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. [415 University Place]
- Patterson, Frank Allen, Assistant Professor of English, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Patton, Julia, New York, N. Y. [417 W. 120th St.]
- Paul, Harry G., Assistant Professor of the English Language and Literature, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- Payne, Leonidas Warren, Jr., Adjunct Professor of English, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. [2104 Pearl St.]
- PEARSON, CALVIN WASSON, Professor Emeritus of the German Language and Literature, Beloit College, Beloit, Wis. [Wallingford, Pa.]
- Pease, Samuel J., Professor of German, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, N. D. [University, N. D.]
- Peck, Harvey Whitefield, Instructor in English, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. [506 W. 33d St.]
- Peck, Mary Gray, Geneva, N. Y. [R. F. D. 2]

- Peebles, Rose Jeffries, Instructor in English, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- Peirce, Walter Thompson, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
- Pellissier, Adeline, Instructor in French, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. [302 Elm St.]
- PENNIMAN, JOSIAH HARMAR, Vice-Provost, Professor of English Literature, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [4326 Sansom St.]
- Percival, Virginia E., Professor of the English Language and Literature, Lake Erie College, Painesville, O.
- Perrin, Ernest Noël, Long Lake, Hamilton Co., N. Y.
- PERRIN, MARSHALL LIVINGSTON, Professor of Germanic Languages, Boston University, 688 Boylston St., Boston, Mass.
- Perring, Roy Henderson, Professor of Modern Languages, Grinnell College, Grinnell, Ia. [916 Sixth Ave.]
- Perrow, Eber Carl, Professor of English, University of Louisville, Louisville, Ky.
- Perry, Bliss, Professor of English Literature, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [5 Clement Circle]
- Pettengill, Ray Waldron, Instructor in German, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [12 Rutland St.]
- Phelps, Ruth Shepard, Instructor in Italian, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Phelps, William Lyon, Professor of English Literature, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- Pierce, Frederick Erastus, Assistant Professor of English, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [188 Canner St.]
- Pittenger, Lemuel Arthur, Critic in English, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
- Plimpton, George A., Ginn & Co., 70 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.
- Poll, Max, Professor of German, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O.
- Pope, Paul Russel, Assistant Professor of German, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [Cayuga Heights, Ithaca]
- Porterfield, Allen Wilson, Instructor in Germanic Languages and Literatures, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Potter, Albert K., Associate Professor of the English Language, Brown University, Providence, R. I. [220 Waterman St.]
- POTTER, MURRAY A., Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [191 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass.]

- Pound, Louise, Professor of the English Language, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. [1632 L St.]
- Preston, Herbert French, St. George's School, Newport, R. I.
- Prettyman, Cornelius William, Professor of German, Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa.
- Price, Lawrence Marsden, Instructor in Germanic Languages, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
- Price, William R., State Inspector of Modern Languages, Albany, N. Y.
- Priest, George Madison, Professor of Germanic Languages and Literatures, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Prokosch, Eduard, Professor of Germanic Languages, University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
- Pumpelly, Laurence, Instructor in French, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
- Purin, Charles M., Assistant Professor of German, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
- Putnam, Edward Kirby, Acting Director, Davenport Academy of Sciences, Davenport, Ia.
- PUTZKER, ALBIN, Professor Emeritus of German Literature, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
- Pyre, James Francis Augustine, Associate Professor of English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
- Quinn, Arthur Hobson, Dean of the College, and Professor of English, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Raggio, Andrew Paul, Associate Professor of Romance Languages, University of Maine, Orono, Me.
- Ramsay, Robert Lee, Associate Professor of English, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. [25 Allen Place]
- Rand, Albert Edward, Instructor in German, Brown University, Providence, R. I. [134 Lloyd Ave.]
- Rand, Edwin Watson, Master in Classics, Montclair Academy, Montclair, N. J., and Head Master, Rand Summer School, Allenhurst, N. J. [Hodge Road, Princeton, N. J.]
- Rankin, James Walter, Assistant Professor of English, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
- Ransmeier, John Christian, Professor of German, Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans, La. [St. Charles Ave.]
- Raschen, John Frederick Lewis, Professor of the German Language and Literature, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Rau, Charlotte, Teacher of German, Laurel School, 1956 E. 101st St., Cleveland, O.
- Raymond, Frederic Newton, Associate Professor of English, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas. [812 Illinois St.]

- Rea, John Dougan, Professor of Classical and English Literature, Earlham College, Richmond, Ind. [8 S. 12th St.]
- Read, William A., Professor of the English Language and Literature, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La. [338 Lafayette St.]
- Reed, Albert Granberry, Professor of English Literature, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La.
- Reed, Edward Bliss, Assistant Professor of English Literature, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [Yale Station]
- Reed, Frank Otis, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [401 Wisconsin Ave.]
- Reed, Warren W., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [6 Ashton Place]
- Rees, Byron Johnson, Assistant Professor of English, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
- Reeves, William Peters, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Kenyon College, Gambier, O.
- Reichard, Harry Hess, Professor of German, Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.
- Reid, Elizabeth, Professor of German, Huron College, Huron, S. D. [718 Illinois St.]
- Reining, Charles, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Palo Alto, Cal. [340 Embarcadero Road]
- Remy, Arthur Frank Joseph, Assistant Professor of Germanic Philology, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Rendtorff, Karl G., Associate Professor of German, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. [1130 Bryant St., Palo Alto]
- Rennert, Hugo Albert, Professor of Romanic Languages and Literatures, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [2212 Pine St.]
- Reynolds, George Fullmer, Professor of English, University of Montana, Missoula, Mont.
- Rice, John Pierrepont, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
- Rice, Richard Ashley, Jr., Assistant Professor of English, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
- Richards, Alfred Ernest, Professor of English, New Hampshire State College, Durham, N. H.
- Richardson, Henry Brush, Master in French, Lake Forest Academy, Lake Forest, Ill.
- Riddle, Lawrence Melville, Professor of the French Language, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal.
- Riddle, Lawrence Melville, Professor of the French Language and Literature, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal.

- Ridenour, Harry Lee, Instructor in English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [424 S. Mills St.]
- Riemer, Guido Carl Léo, Professor of Modern Languages, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa.
- Riethmüller, Richard Henri, Philadelphia, Pa. [P. O. Lock Box 1615]
- Rinaker, Clarissa, Instructor in English, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [321 University Hall]
- Ristine, Frank Humphrey, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y.
- Robertson, James Alexander, Librarian, Philippines Library, Manila, P. I.
- ROBINSON, FRED NORRIS, Professor of English, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [Longfellow Park]
- Rockwell, Leo Lawrence, Instructor in German, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa.
- Rockwood, Robert Everett, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [32 Conant Hall]
- Roe, Frederick William, Assistant Dean, and Assistant Professor of English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [608 E. Gorham St.]
- Roedder, Edwin Carl, Associate Professor of German Philology, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [1614 Hoyt St.]
- Roessler, John Edward, Professor of German, Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, Ind.
- Root, Robert Kilburn, Assistant Professor, Preceptor in English, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Rosenberg, S. L. Millard, Professor of French and Spanish, Girard College, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Roulston, Robert Bruce, Associate in German, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- Routh, James, Assistant Professor of English, Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans, La.
- Royster, James Finch, Professor of English, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
- Rudwin, Maximilian Josef, Instructor in German, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Ind. [120 Andrew Place]
- Ruthrauff, Mary Josephine, Teacher of German, Owosso High School, Owosso, Mich.
- Ruutz-Rees, Caroline, Head Mistress, Rosemary Hall, Greenwich, Conn.
- de Salvio, Alfonso, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. [1115 Davis St.]

- Sampson, Martin Wright, Professor of English, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
- Samra, Emile Sam, Instructor in French, Colby College, Waterville, Me. [11 Center St.]
- Sanderson, Robert Louis, Assistant Professor of French, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- Sandison, Helen Estabrook, Instructor in English, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- Sbedico, Attilio Filippo, Instructor in Romance Languages, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
- Schappelle, Benjamin Franklin, Acting Professor of Romance Languages, Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa.
- Schelling, Felix E., Professor and Head of the Department of English, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [College Hall, University of Pennsylvania]
- Scherer, Peter J., Director of German, Pubic Schools, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Schevill, Rudolph, Professor of Spanish, Head of the Department of Romanic Languages, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
- Schilling, Hugo Karl, Professor of the German Language and Literature, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. [2316 Le Conte Ave.]
- Schinz, Albert, Professor of the French Language and Literature, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
- Schlatter, Edward Bunker, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [2259 Regent St.]
- Schlenker, Carl, Professor of German, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. [514 Eleventh Ave., S. E.]
- Schmidt, Friedrich Georg Gottlob, Professor of the German Language and Literature, State University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore. [609 E. 14th Ave.]
- Schmidt, Gertrud Charlotte, Head of the German Department, Miss Wright's School, Bryn Mawr, Pa. [631 Montgomery Ave.]
- Schoenemann, Friedrich, Instructor in German, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [3 Avon St.]
- Schoepperle, Gertrude, Associate in English, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- SCHOFIELD, WILLIAM HENRY, Professor of Comparative Literature, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [21 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass.]
- Scholl, John William, Assistant Professor of German, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [917 Forest Ave.]
- Schreiber, Carl F., Instructor in German, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [368 Norton St.]

- SCOTT, CHARLES PAYSON GURLEY, Editor, 1 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.
- Scott, Franklin William, Assistant Professor of English, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- Scott, Fred Newton, Professor of Rhetoric, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1351 Washtenaw Ave.]
- Scott, James Hubert, Professor of English, Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Ia. [312 So. 12th St.]
- Scott, Mary Augusta, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
- Searles, Colbert, Associate Professor of Romanic Languages, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
- Sechrist, Frank Kleinfelter, Lecturer in Educational Psychology, Clark University, Worcester, Mass. [7 Horner St.]
- Segall, Jacob Bernard, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Maine, Orono, Me. [Colonial Apartments, Bangor, Me.]
- Sehrt, Edward H., Fellow in German, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. [3425 Eastern Ave.]
- Seiberth, Philipp, Assistant Professor of German, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
- Simple, Lewis B., Teacher of English, Bushwick High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. [229 Jefferson Ave.]
- Seronde, Joseph, Instructor in French, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [1009 Yale Station]
- Severy, Ernest Elisha, Shelby County High School, Millington, Tenn.
- Seymour, Arthur Romeyn, Associate in Romance Languages, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [909 Nevada St.]
- Seymour, Clara Gertrude, Editorial Department, *The Survey*, 105 E. 22d St., New York, N. Y.
- Shackford, Martha Hale, Associate Professor of English Literature, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. [7 Midland Ave.]
- Shanks, Lewis Piaget, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Shannon, Edgar Finley, Professor of English, and Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark. [15 So. Duncan St.]
- Sharp, Robert, Professor of English, Acting President, Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans, La.
- Shaw, Esther Elizabeth, Instructor in English, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- Shaw, James Eustace, Associate Professor of Italian, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- Shaw, Marlow Alexander, Assistant Professor of English Literature, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.

- Shearin, Hubert Gibson, Professor of English Philology, Transylvania University, Lexington, Ky. [451 N. Broadway]
- Sheffield, Alfred Dwight, Instructor in English, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
- SHELDON, EDWARD STEVENS, Professor of Romance Philology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [11 Francis Ave.]
- Shelly, Percy Van Dyke, Instructor in English, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Shepard, Grace Florence, Instructor in English, Wheaton College, Norton, Mass.
- Shepard, William Pierce, Professor of Romance Languages, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y.
- Sherman, Lucius A., Professor of the English Language and Literature, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.
- Sherman, Stuart Pratt, Professor of English, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [1016 W. Nevada St.]
- Sherzer, Jane, President and Professor of English, The Oxford College for Women, Oxford, O.
- Shulters, John Raymond, Instructor in Romance Languages, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1011 Monroe St.]
- Shumway, Daniel Bussier, Professor of German Philology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Shute, Henry Martin, Instructor in German, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H.
- Sibley, Robert Pelton, Associate Professor of English, Lake Forest College, Lake Forest, Ill.
- Sievers, John Frederick, Professor of German, Acadia University, Wolfville, N. S.
- Sills, Kenneth Charles Morton, Dean and Professor of Latin, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.
- Simonds, William Edward, Professor of English Literature, Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.
- SIMONTON, JAMES SNODGRASS, Professor Emeritus of the French Language and Literature, Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa.
- Sisson, Louis Eugene, Associate Professor of English, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas. [1236 Louisiana St.]
- Skidmore, Mark, Associate Professor of Romance Languages, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas.
- Skillings, Everett, Professor of German, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt. [133 Main St.]
- Skinner, Macy Millmore, Associate Professor of German, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
- Skinner, Prescott Orde, Professor of the Romance Languages, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.

- Sloane, Thomas O'Connor, Consulting Engineer and Chemist, South Orange, N. J.
- Smart, Walter Kay, Professor of English, Armour Institute of Technology, Chicago, Ill. [1122 E. 54th Place]
- Smith, Charles Alphonso, Professor of English, University of Virginia, University, Va.
- Smith, Edward Laurence, Professor of Modern Languages, Delaware College, Newark, Del.
- Smith, Florence Mary, Instructor in English, Hunter College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. [418 W. 118th St.]
- SMITH, FRANK CLIFTON, Gurleyville, Conn.
- Smith, Horatio Elwin, Instructor in French, Yale College, New Haven, Conn. [837 Orange St.]
- Smith, Hugh Allison, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [15 Prospect Ave.]
- Smith, Mahlon Ellwood, Assistant Professor of English, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. [737 Maryland Ave.]
- Smith, Pinckney Freeman, Brownington, Mo. [R. F. D. 40, Box 53]
- Smith, Reed, Professor of English, University of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C. [1628 Pendleton St.]
- Smith, Richard R., Manager, College Department, The Macmillan Company, 66 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.
- Smith, Stanley Astredo, Assistant Professor of Romanic Languages, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
- Smith, Winifred, Instructor in English, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- Smyser, William Emory, Professor of English, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, O.
- Snively, Guy Everett, Registrar and Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa. [University Heights, New York, N. Y.]
- Snow, William Brackett, Head of the Department of Modern Languages, English High School, Boston, Mass.
- Snyder, Alice Dorothea, Assistant in Rhetoric, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [814 S. University Ave.]
- Snyder, Henry Nelson, President and Professor of English Literature, Wofford College, Spartanburg, S. C.
- Spaeth, J. Duncan, Professor of English, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Spalding, Mary Caroline, Professor of English, Wilson College, Chambersburg, Pa.
- Spangler, Glen Harwood, Instructor in Romance Languages, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [26 Boylston St.]

- Spanhoofd, Arnold Werner, Head of the Modern Language Department in the High and Manual Training Schools, Washington, D. C. [2015 Hillyer Place, N. W.]
- Spanhoofd, Edward, Head of the Department of German, St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H.
- Speare, Morris Edmund, Instructor in English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [803 State St.]
- Spencer, Matthew Lyle, Professor of Rhetoric, Lawrence College, Appleton, Wis. [8 Alton Place]
- Spiers, Alexander Guy Holborn, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.
- SPINGARN, JOEL ELIAS, New York, N. Y. [9 W. 73d St.]
- Spooner, Edwin Victor, Instructor in French, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H.
- Sprung, Annette Mabel, Instructor in German, Lincoln High School, Lincoln, Neb. [1500 South St.]
- Starck, Taylor, Fellow in German, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- Stathers, Madison, Professor of Romance Languages, West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va.
- van Steenderen, Frederic C. L., Professor of Romance Languages, Lake Forest College, Lake Forest, Ill.
- Steeves, Harrison Ross, Instructor in English, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Stempel, Guido Hermann, Associate Professor of Comparative Philology, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. [400 E. 2d St.]
- Sterling, Susan Adelaide, Assistant Professor of German, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [109 W. Washington Ave.]
- Stevens, Alice Porter, Associate Professor of German, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.
- Stewart, Morton Collins, Assistant Professor of German, Union College, Schenectady, N. Y. [725 Van Vranken Ave.]
- Stewart, William Kilborne, Assistant Professor of German, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- Stoddard, Francis Hovey, Dean of the College of Arts and Pure Science, Professor of the English Language and Literature, New York University, University Heights, New York, N. Y. [22 W. 68th St.]
- Stoll, Elmer Edgar, Professorial Lecturer, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Stone, Herbert King, Instructor in Romance Languages, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Stork, Charles Wharton, Assistant Professor of English, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [Logan P. O., Philadelphia]

- Stowell, William Averill, Associate Professor of Romance Languages, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
- Strauss, Louis A., Professor of English, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1601 Cambridge Road]
- Stroebe, Lilian L., Associate Professor of German, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- Struck, Henriette, Instructor in German, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- Strunk, William, Jr., Professor of the English Language and Literature, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [107 Lake St.]
- Stuart, Donald Clive, Assistant Professor, Preceptor in Modern Languages, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. [Western Way]
- Sturgis, Cony, Director and Instructor in Romance Languages, Sturgis Tutoring School, Ithaca, N. Y. [404 Stewart Ave.]
- Sturtevant, Albert Morey, Assistant Professor of German and Scandinavian, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas. [924 Louisiana St.]
- Supple, Edward Watson, Assistant in French and Spanish, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [3 Byers Hall]
- van Sweringen, Grace Fleming, Professor of the Germanic Languages, University of Colorado, Boulder, Col. [Hotel Boulderado]
- Swiggett, Glen Levin, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.
- Sykes, Frederick Henry, President, Connecticut College, New London, Conn.
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THOMAS R. PRICE, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [1903]
SYLVESTER PRIMER, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. [1912]
EUGEN REINHARD, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [1914]
LEWIS A. RHOADES, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. [1910]
HENRY B. RICHARDSON, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. [1906]
CHARLES H. ROSS, Agricultural and Mechanical College, Auburn, Ala. [1900]
OLIVE RUMSEY, Westfield, N. Y. [1912]
MARY J. T. SAUNDERS, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, College Park, Va. [1914]

- M. SCHELE DE VERE, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. [1898]
 ERICH SCHMIDT, University of Berlin [1913]
 O. SEIDENSTICKER, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [1894]
 JAMES W. SHERIDAN, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
 WALTER WILLIAM SKEAT, University of Cambridge, England [1912]
 MAX SOHRAUER, New York, N. Y. [1890]
 CARLO LEONARDO SPERANZA, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [1911]
 F. R. STENGEL, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [1890]
 CARLTON BEECHER STETSON, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. [1912]
 CAROLINE STRONG, Portland, Ore. [1908]
 HERMAN SUCHIER, University of Halle-Wittenberg [1914]
 HENRY SWEET, Oxford, England [1912]
 H. TALLICHET, Austin, Tex. [1894]
 ADOLF TOBLER, University of Berlin [1910]
 RUDOLF TOMBO, JR., Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [1914]
 HIRAM ALBERT VANCE, University of Nashville, Nashville, Tenn. [1906]
 E. L. WALTER, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1898]
 KARL WEINHOLD, University of Berlin [1901]
 CARLA WENCKEBACH, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. [1902]
 HÉLÈNE WENCKEBACH, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. [1888]
 MARGARET M. WICKHAM, Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y. [1898]
 R. H. WILLIS, Chatham, Va. [1900]
 CHARLES F. WOODS, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa. [1912]
 RICHARD PAUL WÜLKER, University of Leipzig [1910]
 CASIMIR ZDANOWICZ, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. [1889]
 JULIUS ZUPITZA, University of Berlin, Germany [1895]
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